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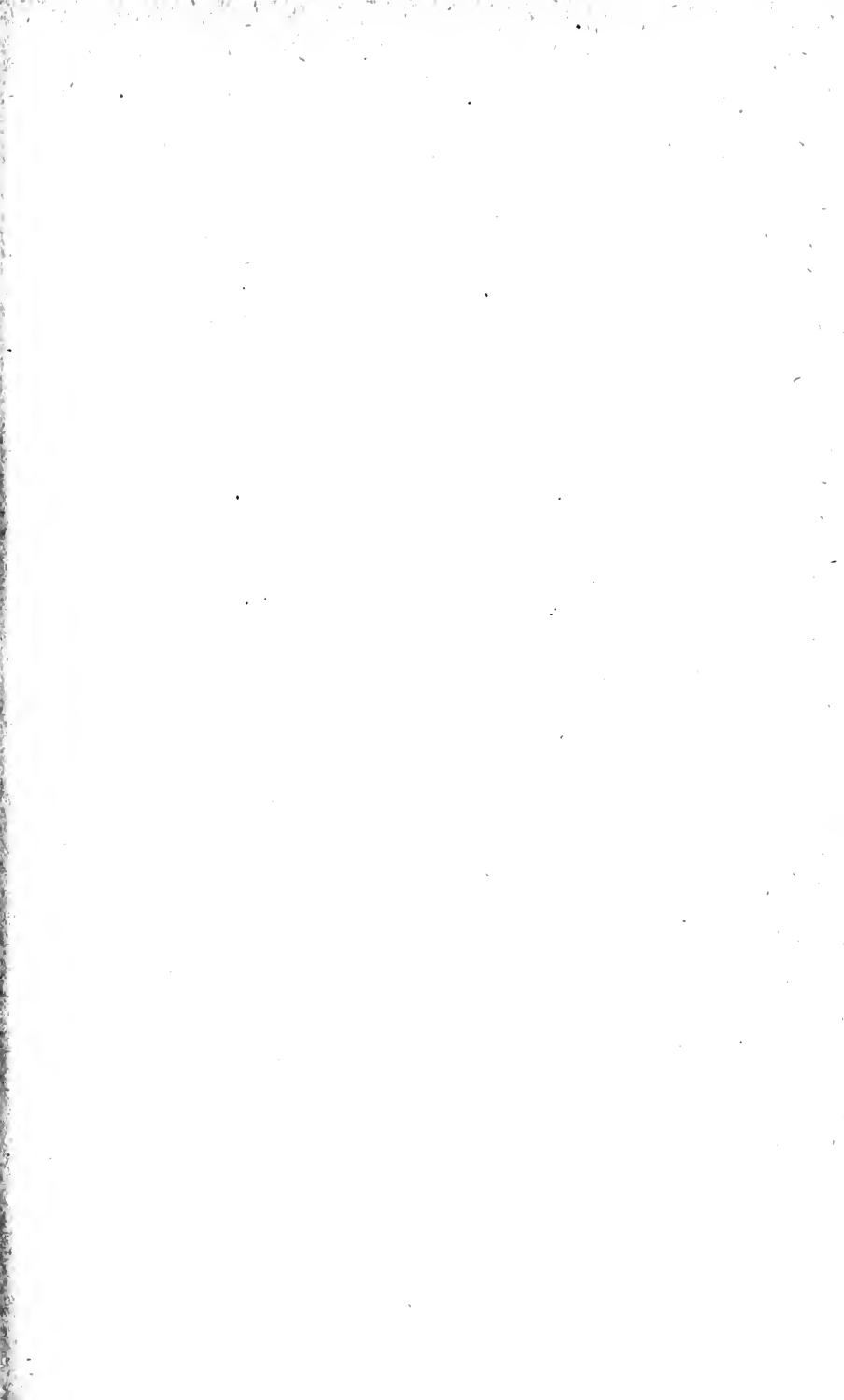
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ART. I.—THE ART OF BURIAL.

*Geschiedenis en Beschrijving der Lijkbehandeling en Rouwplechtigheden bij de meeste Volken.* Door Dr. IS. BAUWENS. Brussel : Polleunis. 1888.

IF my illustrious townsman, Thomas de Quincey, was justified in entitling one of his most famous essays "On Murder as a Fine Art," perhaps I, too, may plead justification for the title I have ventured to give to the present article.

Murder, indeed, may be fittingly described as a "fine art" in the sense that it is not a necessity of human life, but, as the cynic might say, rather a luxury—an unnecessary luxury of civilisation. Burial, on the other hand—or, to put it more exactly, the disposal of the remains of our dead—is pre-eminently a "useful art;" nay, oftentimes one of the most necessary of all. The dead we have always with us. The most cultured nation of the nineteenth century, as well as the most degraded savage horde of Africa or Australia; the men of the earliest dawn of human history at the beginning of the Stone Age, as well as those who shall be on earth long after our own time; of whatever race, tongue, religion, degree of civilisation, epoch of history, or region of the habitable globe; all have been, are, and ever will be constantly face to face with the problem: what to do with the remains of their dead? To say nothing of the philosophical or religious beliefs or theories involved, the mere exigencies of sanitary needs are

perpetually pressing this problem upon the attention of the survivors. And the more men prosper and multiply, the more great civilisations are built up, the more imperious becomes the necessity for a solution of the problem. And in this man is at once differentiated from the lower animals. Man, it will be remembered, has been ingeniously defined as "the only animal that cooks its food." We may venture to offer yet another definition: Man is the only animal that buries its dead.

So much for the importance of the subject which has recently been dealt with in an exhaustive manner by a Belgian Catholic writer, a physician of distinction, Dr. Isidore Bauwens, the name of whose book stands at the head of this article. His work, entitled "*History and Description of Funeral and Mourning Customs among the Principal Nations*," was published in Brussels in 1888. Unfortunately this meritorious volume has attracted little if any notice, owing to the fact that it is written in Flemish, and so not generally accessible to the reading public. It deserves, however, to be more widely read, for, as far as I can judge, it not only contains a store of really interesting facts, but its able writer has gathered his materials with commendable diligence from the most recent and best authenticated sources, and hence may be relied upon as a trustworthy authority. The present paper is little else than a brief analysis of Dr. Bauwens' book, with a selection of some of his innumerable facts, and, following him, I shall attempt to lay before the reader, in historical form, a sketch of what is known of the various methods of disposing of the dead practised by the chief races of mankind, in ancient as in modern times. The remarks or additions of my own are few and far between. As my task is purely expository, the reader will understand that I do not necessarily commit myself to all the theories or views enunciated by the author, whom I have the pleasure of introducing to English readers.

## I.

It may be useful to recall that, according to the conclusions of modern geologists, man made his first appearance on earth during the Quarternary period of geological history, and in that

part of it which is known as the "Palæolithic," or Old Stone Age, from the fact that, in the absence of any knowledge of the metals, these pre-historic races made use of weapons and implements of roughly hewn or split flint. Several races of man, distinguished by the physical characters of their remains, inhabited the greater part of Europe, portions of Asia and Africa, and of North America, during this period. It is customary to distinguish these races by the name of the localities where the most typical specimens of their remains have been found. Let us mention three principal of these: (1) The "Canstadt," or "Neanderthal," or "Spy race," inhabiting especially the valleys of the Rhine and Seine, and probably extending to Italy and Bohemia; men of gigantic stature, dolicocephalous, with low receding brows, and skulls pointed behind, evidently savages of brutal appearance, and contemporaries of the great extinct quadrupeds which once roamed over Europe. (2) In strong contrast to these, the so-called "Crô-Magnon race," inhabiting South-west France, Italy, and the Valley of the Meuse, gigantic in stature, and dolicocephalous like the former, but of handsome and intellectual appearance. These must have existed in Europe long after the Canstadt race, for, at least in the fourth of the progressive stages of their history, which have been distinguished by archæologists, all the great mammalia, except the mammoth and the rhinoceros, had disappeared, whilst the reindeer browsed peacefully over the greater part of Europe. With these Crô-Magnon men appear, too, the earliest traces of human art, the curious outlines of mammoth or reindeer upon fragments of ivory or horn, which may be seen in some of our museums. (3) Contemporaneous with the race just described, portions of modern Belgium were inhabited by the small, squat, brachycephalic race, very like the modern Lapps, who are perhaps their descendants, known to science as the "Furfooz race."

Now, of *all* the above races of the Palæolithic period—the earliest human races of which Science has been able to find any trace—one broad statement may be made: that they all practised burial of the dead, in many cases with conspicuous care and the accompaniment of tokens of respect and veneration, and that no single trace of cremation in any form appears.

A great gap separates the period we have described from

that known as the "Neolithic" or Polished Stone Age. Great changes of surface have by this time taken place. The sea, which had covered the modern Netherlands, has retired and left the flat country as it now exists. The race of men who occupy Europe has attained a very much higher level of culture. Together with the much finer, polished or worked flint implements, has come in the practice of agriculture and other arts of life.

This is the period, too, of the "Lake Dwellers," who in the lakes of Switzerland, as well as those of Lombardy, Austria, and parts of Germany, built their curious villages, raised on piles above the surface of the water. But what particularly distinguishes the Neolithic period is that it was a time of the great stone buildings, the age of the well-known dolmens, cromlechs, menhirs, barrows, or mounds, scattered over England, Ireland, France, Scandinavia, and North America; and which, as Mr. E. B. Tylor writes, "may be traced in a remarkable line on the map from India across to North Africa, and up to the west side of Europe." I perhaps hardly need remind the reader of the wonderful monument of Stonehenge in this country. It is now pretty well established that nearly all, if not all, these curious stone erections, in their various forms, and under their varied names, were nothing else than funeral monuments, vast graves, sometimes as in the great burial mound of Karlby in Gothland, still containing as many as eighty skeletons. It is remarkable that in the majority of these graves, the bodies are found in the sitting or crouching position, which, as we shall see later on, is so common in many other parts of the world. The bodies of those buried in these structures are generally surrounded with a large number of weapons, ornaments, trinkets, and amulets.

Now, it is to be remarked that though the great stone monuments of this age bear witness to the universality of inhumation, it is precisely in the same period that the first traces of the practice of cremation begin to appear, and this is also true with regard to the Lake Dwellings already referred to. But the practice was undoubtedly as yet only exceptional, and in some cases inhumated bodies and the ashes of those that have been cremated appear in one and the same grave.

Let me here add a remark with reference to both of the



pre-historic periods with which we have already dealt. There are evidences in many sepultures of both the Palæolithic and Neolithic periods that some at least of the races practised that extraordinary custom which is still found among several widely scattered peoples of the present day—that, namely, of stripping the bodies of the dead of the flesh before the burial of the bones, which latter are occasionally found painted with a red colour. The meaning or object of this strange custom, whether ancient or modern, has not, as far as I know, been satisfactorily explained.

I must claim my reader's indulgence for a few moments, whilst I refer in some detail to the remarkable and instructive discoveries of my distinguished friends, MM. Henri and Louis Siret of Antwerp, two brilliant young students of the University of Louvain, whose explorations in the South of Spain a few years ago, as described by themselves before the British Association in Manchester in 1887, caused quite a sensation in scientific circles, so extensive were their discoveries, and so enormous the amount of objects, especially in silver, which rewarded their excavations. Suffice it to say briefly that these discoveries of innumerable traces of pre-historic man, his homes and workmanship, covered the Neolithic period, a period of transition and a metal period. In the transition period, MM. Siret discovered distinct traces of the influences of a foreign invasion, either hostile, or mercantile and pacific, shown by the gradual admixture of bronze with stone implements. It is instructive to observe that together with this introduction of bronze appears also, for the first time, the practice of cremation, leading to the plausible conclusion that the metal and the new practice had one and the same source. It is also noticeable that ornaments are found only with the inhumated bodies, and probably only with females. Of the third or Metal age—so rich in silver that it might almost be called a Silver age—MM. Siret discovered no less than fifteen entire villages, and in these villages they were able to explore with the greatest care as many as 1300 burial-places. The remarkable thing is that during this period all traces of the practice of cremation *had disappeared*. The men of the period had returned to the primæval custom of inhumation; and, strangely enough, the graves as a general rule were beneath the floors of the houses

themselves, a custom not unknown in other parts of the world. In four-fifths of the cases the bodies were found in the crouching, knee-to-chin attitude above referred to, packed in large earthen jars, sometimes with an hermetically sealed cover; sometimes two such jars being joined mouth to mouth, and often two bodies, generally one of either sex, in the same jar. With the bodies, too, were found the remains of food, such as bones of oxen, also copper axes, and quantities of trinkets, especially in virgin silver.\*

From all the facts, of which the above is a very meagre summary, Dr. Bauwens, whom I am still following, draws the following general conclusions, namely: (1) To the earliest races the practice of cremation was unknown; (2) This practice came in with the race of the great stone builders, who probably were also the introducers of the first of all known metals, bronze. The question at once occurs, who were these people? Did they constitute one race or many? They must have been a people in whom the passion of wandering was strongly developed, for their structures are to be found in the Crimea, Southern Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, England, Ireland, France, Spain, Germany, Africa, Palestine, India. Even their path may be traced. "It is evident," writes Felitzin, "that the dolmen builders travelled from the eastern to the northern shores of the Black Sea, where the Crimea offers a similar series of buildings." From Scandinavia, too, the dolmen followed the coast of Western Europe to Portugal, turned back by Marseilles, and along the valleys of the Rhone and Saône, eventually reached to near Berlin. Dr. Bauwens, following in this such authorities as Fergusson, Hamard, and d'Estienne, believes that this race was no other than that of the Kelts, or, at least, was an Aryan or Indo-Germanic people. And the same conclusion is pretty generally accepted for the cotemporary Lake Dwellers, whom so eminent an authority as O. Schrader finds to be characteristically Aryan. (See his "Pre-historic Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples," part iv., chap. xi.) If the objection be made that these structures apparently belong to a period considerably before the great

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\* Mr. James McCarthy, of the Siamese Survey, informed MM. Siret and myself, at the British Association meeting referred to, that similar funeral jars are found in parts of Siam.

Aryan migration, our author answers that it is not at all impossible that detached tribes or hordes of Aryan wanderers, whether Keltic or otherwise, may, even during the earliest portions of the Neolithic period, have found their way into far distant parts of Europe, carrying with them the custom of cremation, as well as the knowledge of metal, to the less cultured or less gifted races among whom they established themselves.

## II.

The thesis which underlies the whole of Dr. Bauwens' work is therefore this :

The Aryans were the originators of cremation. All nations of Aryan origin made use of the funeral pyre. . . . On the other hand, cremation was unknown to the non-Aryan races, with the exception of a few peoples like the Japanese and Mexicans, among whom, however, the practice never attained such dimensions as it did with the Aryans.

It must not be thought that this theory is by any means new. Years ago Adolphe Pictet wrote in his "*Origines Indo-Européennes*":

The most evident result of the researches of J. Grimm is that, without any exception, cremation from the remotest period had prevailed over inhumation among the Aryan peoples. The Indians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, ancient Germans, Lithuanians, and the heathen Slavs, cremated their dead with certain ceremonies, which, in spite of their differences, offer unquestionable traits of agreement. The Eranians alone, on account of the great change which occurred in their religious beliefs, early on abandoned this ancient usage. For the nations of Europe it was Christianity that put a stop to cremation. This latter method of disposing of the dead was never practised by the Hebrews, Arabs, or Mohammedans in general. Such an agreement at once leads us to suspect a common origin dating from before the separation of the Aryans. Indeed, although the custom of burning the dead may be found here and there among other races of men (*e.g.*, Japanese and Mexicans), yet it never attained the same extension as in the Aryan family. The custom, as Grimm has pointed out, must have had its beginning in the earliest times of their pastoral life, before their departure from their nomadic home, for it enabled them to carry with them on their journeys the revered ashes of their dead.

It now becomes of importance and interest to inquire a little more fully into the funeral customs of the Aryans themselves. At this point I must beg to be allowed to decline

entering into the fascinating discussion regarding the cradle-land of our Aryan ancestors, to which some notable contributions were made in this country a year or two ago by Professor Sayce, Dr. Isaac Taylor, and Professor Rendal, of University College, Liverpool, on the one side, and by Professor Max Müller on the other.\* The question, however, will not directly affect our present investigation.

To return: the evidence for the prevalence of cremation among the earliest Aryans before their separation is twofold: from language and from custom. On the philological side it is curious that the first and strongest evidence is furnished by the language of that very branch of the Aryan family which we know to have abandoned both cremation and inhumation from religious motives, namely, the Eranians. For the very name of the repositories for their dead which is to be found in their sacred book, the Avesta itself, and which has survived unaltered among their descendants up to the present day, is *dakhma*, clearly referable to the well-known Aryan root *dah*, to burn, and therefore originally signifying nothing else than "a burning place." A curious analogy is furnished by the Keltic, wherein, we are told, the word *adnacul*, or *adhnachd*, signifies burial-place, whilst a comparison with the negative adjective *neph-adhnachte*, "unburnable," shows that the original meaning of the word also involves the idea of cremation.

The Latin *funus*, again, seems clearly connected with the root *dhā*, appearing both in Sanskrit and in the Latin *fumus*, "smoke." The connection, again, of *bustum*, signifying a tomb, with the old verb *buro* (still preserved in the compound *comburo*) is self-evident. It is suggested, moreover, that the Greek *θύμβος* may be connected with the root *dhā* above referred to, and some writers have seen in *σῆμα* (a mound or barrow, grave or gravestone, or also any mark or sign) the analogue of the Sanskrit *kshāma*, burning, from the root *kshā*.

If we now turn to what literature and history have preserved us of the funeral customs of the ancient civilised Aryan nations, especially the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans, we shall find a superabundant amount of material from which we can only afford time to glean a very few particulars.

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\* The best summary of the controversy and the most satisfactory refutation of the theories of European origin are to be found in several publications of the Rev. Père van den Gheyn, S.J.

The Rig-Veda contains plentiful details of the funeral ritual in use among the early Aryan conquerors of India. From it we learn how the funeral pyre was built of carefully chosen and valuable woods, especially the *dēva-dāru* (deodar, or divine tree). When the body, carefully prepared, had been reverently laid upon the pyre, the attendants thrice walked to the left around it—the so-called *prāsavya* rite, whose object was apparently to drive away evil spirits. When the fire had been set to the pile, a black cow or a black goat was brought forward and sacrificed, and the priest placed a kidney of the victim in each hand of the corpse, reciting meanwhile a verse from the Veda praying for the safe journey of the deceased in the nether world, and his protection from the two dread hounds of Yama. At this moment the widow stepped up to the pyre and laid herself down beside her husband. She was not, however, in Vedic times suffered to burn; for she was called away in the words of a Vedic hymn (R. V., x. 18, 8): “Rise up, O woman! come back to the world of the living! Thou art lying by one who is dead. Thy marriage with him is at an end.” The cruel custom of “suttee,” as it became called, or widow burning, so prevalent for centuries all over India, and which our Government has had so much difficulty in repressing, is an abuse of later date, and utterly repugnant to the precepts and spirit of the most sacred of the Indian books. Strange to say, like an inverted pyramid, the whole vast structure of centuries of inhuman cruelty rests for its authority upon a single textual corruption, namely, the substitution of an *n* for an *r* in R. V., x. 18, 6 (*agneh* for *agre*). Finally, when, after the recital of many hymns, the body had been entirely reduced to ashes, these were carefully gathered together and enclosed in an urn called *kumbha*.

I will not weary the reader with many details about the parallel descriptions to be found in the classical literature of Greece and Rome. The building of the funeral pyre as described by Homer and Virgil will occur to all, as also the triple running round the pile :

Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
τρίς περὶ χαλκείοις σὺν τεύχεσι διηθέντες  
τύμβῳ ἐνεκτερίξαν.\*

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\* Apollodorus of Rhodes, *Argonauts*, i. 1059 (compare *Iliad.*, xxiii. 13 ; *Odys.*, xxiv. 68 ; *Virgil, Aen.*, xi. 188).

Again, the slaughtering of black cattle occurs as an incident in the funeral rites of Greeks and Romans (*e.g.*, Aen., v. 97; vi. 243). Instead of the kidneys given by the Hindus, the Greeks put honey cake in the hands of the deceased, with which to pacify Pluto's three-headed hell hound, Cerberus. The funeral urns of Greeks and Romans are too well known to need further comment.

After speaking thus in detail of the crematory rites of the ancient Aryan peoples, it is curious to be reminded that in all probability, even among them, inhumation originally preceded cremation. Not only so, but it appears that the two rites existed side by side in Vedic times, and such is the conclusion of no less eminent authorities than Grimm, O. Schrader, and Zimmer. The last-named points out that the hymn R. V., x. 16, describes the disposal of the dead by cremation, whilst R. V., x. 18, describes the same by inhumation. Perhaps, as Pictet surmised, cremation was practised chiefly for the rich and noble, whilst the commoner folk had to be content with ordinary earth burial.

If we may believe the testimony of Plutarch and Aelian, burial in the earth was the earliest method of disposing of the dead among the Greeks. During the Trojan war cremation seems to have become general, but, according to the legend, Herakles was the first to burn a body and preserve the ashes in an urn. In Homer the heroes are cremated with great pomp and ceremony, whilst the common warriors, as in Virgil, are merely buried. In 888 B.C. the practice of cremation was condemned by Lycurgus. Under Solon, in 600 B.C., burial in the earth appears to be the ordinary Athenian custom. According to Thucydides, the Pythagoreans committed the remains of their deceased to the earth, and the heroes who fell at Marathon (490 B.C.), as well as those slain at Plataea, were also reverently committed to the earth. In fact, the nearer we approach the Christian era the more abundant become the evidences that inhumation was again steadily supplanting the practice of cremation.

With reference to the old Romans, we have the explicit tradition preserved by Pliny—*ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti; terra condebantur* (L. vii. c. 54), a testimony confirmed by Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. 22. In fact,

the early Romans, like the silver workers in pre-historic Spain, actually buried their dead beneath the hearths of their houses. It is evident, however, that from very early times both cremation and inhumation were practised side by side, for the Laws of the XII. Tables contain the express sanitary regulation: *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*. That burial was esteemed honourable, and, indeed, preferred by the noblest families during the palmy days of the Republic, appears from the magnificent graves along the Via Appia wherein during our own times the entire bodies of many of the Scipios, notably of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (Consul 298 B.C.), have been discovered (A.D. 1870). The custom of cremation appears to have been rendered popular by Sulla, who ordered the cremation of his own body, probably to prevent its being exhumed and dishonoured after the manner in which he had treated the remains of his great rival, Marius. From that time onward, and particularly under the Empire, cremation gained the upper hand, until, as in other parts of Europe, it was swept away by Christianity.

### III.

I have above referred to the peculiar position taken up in this matter by one of the most celebrated branches of the Aryan family, I mean the Eranians. It is true that, as the word *dakhma*, already quoted, bears witness, cremation was in common vogue among them in their earliest times. It is also true that the Achaemenid kings of ancient Persia, Cyrus and his successors, were buried in the earth. But it is likewise true that to that branch of the Eranian people which adopted the religious reform of Zarathustra or Zoroaster, both inhumation and cremation were utterly abhorrent. In their dualistic system, earth and fire were sacred elements, belonging to the realm of the good principle, Ahura Mazda. Death, on the other hand, caused the possession of the human body by the impure demon, Naçus, one of the spirits belonging to the legions of the evil principle, Añro-Mainyus. Hence the contact of a corpse was polluting in the highest degree, and to allow it to sully the elements of fire, or earth, or water, was a sacrilege of the gravest kind. Strange indeed was the

method excogitated by the Mazdean theologians for escaping from this dilemma—the same, indeed, as that practised by their lineal descendants, the Parsis of Bombay, at the present day. The bodies of the deceased were exposed in such a manner that the “four-footed or two-footed scavengers of Ahura-Mazda,” dogs, namely, and birds of prey, might consume all the soft portions of the human frame, and this stripping of the bones and leaving them clean and white, was held to be a process of purification. It is not unlikely that the Eranians borrowed this strange custom from some of their Turanian neighbours, for there are still forms of it in use among some of the Mongolian peoples, notably in the Steppes of Tibet. The rite above described may be seen to the present day, scrupulously observed in all its fulness, in the so-called Towers of Silence, the *dakhmas* of the Parsis, outside of Bombay. In a paper contributed in 1890 to the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, and since republished in a small pamphlet on “The Marriage and Funeral Customs of Ancient Persia,” I venture to think that I have satisfactorily cleared up certain difficulties surrounding the passage in the Avesta (Vend., vi. 49–51), which contains the authoritative directions of the legislator for the disposal of the dead. I think I have shown that, after the body had been thus stripped of its fleshy parts, the skeleton was to be carefully deposited in one of three kinds of receptacles, either in stone urns, or in concrete urns, or in cloth bags. Only in case of poverty, when the above *astodāns* or bone receptacles could not be procured, were the bleached bones to be left exposed on the bedding of the deceased in an elevated place.

Another of the great Aryan religions has played an important part in influencing funeral customs in the Eastern world. One of the most famous cremations on record is that of Buddha, and Buddhism has always adopted cremation as its special method of disposing of the dead. Hence it would appear that the spread of Buddhism has been the cause of the spread of cremation also in Ceylon, Siam, Burma, &c. In China, however, except in Buddhist monasteries, the custom has not succeeded in supplanting the old Chinese rite of committing the dead to mother earth. In fact, it may be said that the Chinese are pre-eminently a nation of earth-buriers, and it is



well known what enormous importance even those who have emigrated to America attach to the privilege of having their mortal remains restored to their native soil.

A very interesting MS. work on "Ladak (or Little Tibet) and Ladaki Buddhism," by Father Henry Hanlon, of Leh, which has been placed in my hands for publication, contains some exceedingly curious details of the funeral customs of that Tibetan country. The writer tells us that the *phos-spun*, or hereditary undertaker, ties up the corpse with ropes in the crouching knee-to-chin attitude, already referred to, in as small a space as possible. After several days of elaborate religious rites, the corpse, shrouded in a cotton bag, is carried on the back of the chief mourner to the cemetery, where it is eventually burned in a kind of oven, amid ritual chanting.

The reading and chanting continues until the first bone falls from the smouldering pyre; this bone is taken to the religious room in the house of the deceased, and pounded into dust, which is mixed with clay and moulded into a small image called *thsathsä*. If the deceased was wealthy, a large cenotaph, *chorten*, is erected to receive the *thsathsä*. The poor deposit their image in old cenotaphs.

The following passage is also significant :

In districts where wood is scarce, the bodies are exposed to be devoured by eagles and ravens. According to General Cunningham, in Greater Tibet the dead are cut up and thrown to the dogs; this is called a "terrestrial funeral." But when the bones are bruised and mixed with parched corn, which is made into balls and thrown to the dogs, this is called a "celestial funeral."

It will at once occur to the reader that, as we have hinted above, these details of the funeral rites of Central Asia probably serve to indicate whence the Eranians borrowed many of their strange and exceptional customs as recorded in the "Avesta" and subsequent literature.

But we are wandering somewhat from our subject. Let us return for a moment to the Aryans. Among the ancient Gauls, as with the more civilised of their sister races, both cremation and inhumation were practised. The same may be said of the Germans and the Scandinavians, but with all these, particularly with the last named, yet a third method was employed, that of water-burial. Sometimes, as in the case of the Visigoths under Alaric, they buried their dead in the beds of

rivers in order to preserve them from exhumation and desecration by their enemies. In other cases water-burial was a result of the maritime predilections of the seafaring races. The corpse, bound round in woollen garments, and surrounded with all kinds of ornaments and implements, was laid out in a boat and afterwards sunk out at sea. Sometimes again these sepulchral boats were buried in the earth itself. For English readers I can recommend on this interesting subject of Scandinavian burial the beautifully illustrated work of Mr. Paul du Chaillu, entitled "*The Viking Age*" (London, 1889; see vol. i. chap. xix.). Boat-burial, however, is by no means confined to the Scandinavians, but is to be found up and down the world among the most different races.

#### IV.

As in so many other things, the Semitic races present a striking contrast to their Aryan neighbours in this question of the disposal of their dead. If the Aryans on the whole may be called a cremating race, and probably even the originators of cremation, the Semites are distinctively a non-cremating, an earth-burying race. This is emphatically true of their great empires in antiquity. Modern research has shown that the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires had their great burial-grounds in the ancient land of Lower Chaldea, the plain that lies to the north of the Persian Gulf, especially at Warka and Mugheir. Indeed, the whole region may be called a vast cemetery, and every hill from Mugheir to the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates is an accumulation of graves. In all these Chaldean burial-places the bodies, like those of the prehistoric inhabitants of South-west Spain, are enclosed in great jars of earthenware, a custom, for the rest, which is also to be found in many parts of America, in Japan, and in Africa.

Peculiar interest, of course, attaches to the manners and customs of the people of Israel; and it has been maintained that cremation was not only in use, but also was held in honour, among them. This contention is not, however, borne out by an examination of Biblical history or antiquity. On the contrary, the Sacred Records show that from the time of the patriarchs onward, the practice of burial was universal

It is maintained that the bodies of Saul and his sons were burnt (1 Kings xxxi. 12, 13). Jeremiah, too, says to Zedekiah, "Thou shalt die in peace, and according to the *burnings* of thy fathers the former kings that were before thee, so shall they burn thee" (Jer. xxxiv. 5). But even if we were to grant these cases of the cremation of some of the kings, it is evident from the overwhelming testimony of the other portions of Holy Scripture that, in the vast majority of cases, the deceased of the chosen people, especially their patriarchs, prophets, and kings, were buried, not burned. As a matter of fact, however, in spite of the agreement of the Vulgate with the Anglican A.V. and R.V., the above texts are merely instances of mistranslation. There is excellent lexicographical authority to show that the verb שָׂרַף translated above by "burn," really signifies here not to cremate, but, constructed as it is with the preposition לְ—in other words, with the dative—to burn incense in honour of a person, a meaning strongly borne out by the parallel passages in Chronicles, *e.g.*, 2 Chron. xvi. 14, "And they buried (Asa) in his own sepulchres which he had hewn out for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecary's art, and they *made a very great burning* (שָׂרַף) for (לְ) him." It is a very strong confirmation of this view that in all these passages the LXX. translates the verb in question by ἐκλαυσαν—they mourned or lamented. The testimony of written records is supported by the numberless ancient graves still to be seen in every part of the Holy Land, and especially about Jerusalem, to mention only Makpelah, the grave of the fathers; the well-known burying-place of the kings, and the graves of the prophets in the sides of the Mount of Olives. We are, therefore, justified in concluding that the Jews are no exception to the general rule that the Semites were essentially a burying and not a cremating race.

We cannot now make quite as broad a statement with reference to that other celebrated branch of the Semitic family, I mean the greatest mercantile nation of antiquity, the Phœnicians. It has hitherto been universally admitted that the Phœnicians never burnt, but always buried their dead, generally, indeed, in curious coffins of human form. However,

the year after the publication of Dr. Bauwens' work a curious discovery has been made at Sûs in Tunis, the site of the ancient city of Hadrumetum. It is that of a large Punic necropolis, in which the funeral chambers, instead of containing, like other Phœnician burial-places, entire skeletons, are filled with large earthenware jars containing bones of men, women, and children, all of which have been calcined, like those found in the burial-places of the Romans, who, as we know, practised cremation. Punic inscriptions on several of the jars leave no doubt as to their origin. At the same time this discovery stands alone as a unique exception; and the fact that the date of the necropolis appears to be only just anterior to the Roman domination, or even contemporaneous with its commencement, renders it highly probable that the exceptional usage is due to Roman influence, and therefore deprives the case of some of its importance.

I think I shall not need to say much of the next great people of antiquity who now claim our attention. Of all ancient nations the Egyptians are certainly those who devoted the most elaborate care to the burial of their dead. Need I remind my readers of the universal custom of the embalming of the bodies of both rich and poor, an operation in the case of the former of a most costly nature; or need I again enter into a description of those most gigantic of human structures, the pyramids, which were nothing else but the burial-places of the Egyptian kings? But this is not all. Not only was embalming and burial the exclusive funeral rite of the empire of the Pharaohs, during all the long series of their dynasties, but in the mind of the Egyptians cremation was regarded as the greatest of dishonours, as the cruellest of punishments that could be inflicted on a human being, a belief closely connected with the tenets of their religion, which taught that the destruction of the body would destroy the possibility of a future resurrection (Ebers, "*Aegypten*," p. 334).

Neither time nor space will allow us to follow our author in his minute and exhaustive study of the various other peoples, civilised and uncivilised, of ancient and modern times. We must content ourselves with a few exceedingly summary remarks and a selection of one or two of the more striking or curious details.

## V.

The most interesting section, I think, is that which treats of the New World. We have already remarked that, as in Europe so in America, man made his appearance as early as the Quarternary epoch. Slight indeed are his traces during the early or Palæolithic age, but when we arrive at the period of polished stone and the introduction of metals (in America copper, not bronze), we find the whole of the New World covered with great structures, analogous to the great stone buildings of the Old World. In America these are called "mounds," and the race who built them are known as the "mound builders." They offer this peculiarity that they are generally constructed in the form of men, quadrupeds, reptiles, or birds. They are more or less rare in South America, but extremely numerous in the North. They occur all along the valley of the Mississippi as far as the Gulf of Mexico, and stretch across from Texas to Florida and South Carolina. Their number diminishes as they approach the Atlantic; they are rare in the Rocky Mountains, and scarcely to be found in British North America. Great numbers of them were certainly burying-places, in some of which the corpses have evidently been flesh-stripped before inhumation. At the time, as in Europe, although in the majority of the mounds the bodies are found entire, yet there are occasional traces of the use of cremation, specially in the island of St. Catherine on the coast of Georgia; but, as we have also seen to be the case in Europe, this cremation appears to have been introduced together with the use of metals. Passing now to historical times we find, at least, five different methods of disposing of the dead which are, and have been, in vogue among the different races of the continent. These are:

(1st) Inhumation, or earth-burial, by far the most common method in all parts of the continent. This burial is carried out either in graves or pits (the commonest of all, *e.g.*, Mohawks, Crees, Seminoles, Comanches, &c.), or in towers (New Mexico, Sioux, Apaches, &c.), in stone coffins (Tennessee, Kentucky, Central America, &c.), in mounds (chiefly in Ohio, Illinois, North Carolina), in wigwams (some tribes of Carolina, Navajos

of New Mexico, Arizona, &c.), or in grottoes (particularly Utah, Colorado, Calaveras in California).

(2nd) Embalming among some tribes of Virginia, Carolina, and Florida, but particularly, of course, among the Incas of ancient Peru, whose mummies have been discovered by thousands during the present century. These Peruvian mummies are generally found in the crouching, knee-to-chin attitude.

(3rd) A method which may be said to be characteristic of America is what we may call "tree-burial" and "platform-burial." Many of the Red Skin races place their dead in hollow trees, others, and especially the great Sioux race, expose them on a kind of platform fastened to the top of trees, where they are slowly dried up or decomposed by the sun and the elements.

(4th) Water-burial, though this is extremely rare, and found only in one or two tribes.

(5th) Cremation: Here and there in North America the practice of cremation is to be found among some tribes of British Columbia and California, the Tolkotins of Oregon, and others. Among the Tolkotins the usage was combined with an extremely peculiar custom, existing also among the Carriers: it is that whilst the ashes of the cremated body were reverently buried, the larger bones were picked out, and placed in a bag which the widow was obliged to carry on her back for some years! \* But the race of cremators *par excellence* of the New World were the great Aztec nation and their kindred tribes of the mighty ancient Mexican Empire. Though here again cremation was reserved for the royal family, and perhaps the nobles, inhumation being the lot of the common people. What distinguishes these Aztec cremation rites from all others is the almost incredible barbarity in which they were carried out. Innumerable human sacrifices accompanied the incineration of the kings. At that of Ahuítzoll in 1487, no less than 80,400 human beings were slaughtered round the funeral pyre, and their skulls employed for the decoration of the temple! But these terrible massacres were only in keeping with the other

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\* This custom (which actually gave their name to the "Carriers") has now long been abolished. See Father Morice, O.M.I., on "Carrier Sociology and Mythology," Transactions Royal Society of Canada, 1892, pp. 111, 112.

barbarous rites of the Aztec religion, which yearly demanded the slaughter, and even the eating, of tens of thousands of human victims.

Passing now from the New World to the Dark Continent, we must repeat what has already been stated for other parts of the world—namely, that the remains of pre-historic man in this part of the world show that inhumation was the primeval custom, and that the use of cremation made its appearance as elsewhere with the introduction of metals. But it has always remained an exceptional usage among the peoples of Africa, and so it is at the present day. Generally speaking, Negroes, Bantus, Kaffirs, Hottentots, Bushmen commit the bodies of their dead to mother earth. It is unfortunately true that in some of the native kingdoms, especially of the West Coast, the funerals of the chieftains are accompanied with atrocities in the form of human slaughter which well-nigh approach those of the ancient Aztecs of Mexico. But it may be laid down as a general result that through the length and breadth of the African continent inhumation as opposed to cremation is practically universal.

Among the Australian tribes almost every conceivable variety of method is employed in disposing of dead bodies, and similar diversities exist among other peoples of Oceania. Here, too, as in many regions of Africa, cannibalism prevails to a terrible extent, and may actually be reckoned as one of the current methods of the disposal of the dead.

With regard to the East Indian Archipelago and the adjoining regions of the Asiatic continent, it may be remarked that wherever Buddhism has spread cremation is in vogue, and as Buddhism is an essentially Aryan form of religion, we have here one more testimony to the Aryan origin of cremation.

## VI.

It will perhaps occur to my readers that, in the foregoing hasty summary of the funeral rites of the principal peoples of the world, I have scarcely noticed many of the customs which almost universally accompany one or the other rites in both ancient and modern times. Some of these customs may be briefly mentioned here.

(1st) The well-nigh universal practice among both civilised and uncivilised peoples of burying with the bodies of the deceased all kinds of weapons, utensils, and ornaments, often those of a most valuable kind ; similarly, the placing beside the corpse various supplies of both food and drink.

(2nd) The extensively practised custom of burying with the deceased, either alive or slain, his favourite horse or hounds.

(3rd) The analogous slaughter at the grave, or burying alive, of the wives or slaves of the deceased, in some instances, as we have already seen, assuming the proportions of a veritable massacre. It may be stated generally that the *raison d'être* of the above usages has been in all ages one and the same—namely, a belief that the disembodied spirit in the next world will require for its happiness all those objects, animals and attendants, to which the living man was accustomed in this world.

(4th) A custom found here and there among races most widely separated, in both time and space, of *eating* portions, or the whole, of their deceased relatives or friends. I will not here shock the reader with details of the disgusting practices to which this curious usage has given rise in certain parts of both the Old and New Worlds ; suffice it to say that it seems to have had its origin, not in any natural cruelty or brutality, but in a widely spread idea that by this means the good qualities of the deceased could be assimilated by the survivors who consumed them.

(5th) I have more than once referred to the strange custom of *flesh-stripping*, either by means of dogs and birds, or by man himself. It may be added here, that in Siam there is a strange combination of this repulsive rite with cremation itself. I have read few more disgusting descriptions than that by the Catholic missionary, Abbé Chevillard, an eye-witness, in his interesting little book, "Siam et les Siamois" (Paris, 1889, pp. 70-72), of the scene at the crematory, near Bangkok, where the *sapareu*, or professional corpse-butcher, is busily employed in slicing the fleshy parts from the corpse for the benefit of the dogs and vultures around. Here, however, as Siam is a Buddhist land, the fleshless bones are afterwards cremated.

One conclusion, indeed, may be drawn from all these



strange, fantastic, repugnant, or even cruel rites—they each and all bear witness in their way to the universal belief of man, even when most degraded, in his own continued existence in a future life.

## VII.

Let us conclude with the following brief statement of the general results of our investigation :

1. The primeval method of disposing of the bodies of the dead was, in all parts of the world, that of inhumation, or earth-burial.

2. The custom of cremation is, relatively speaking, of recent origin, and apparently contemporaneous with the introduction of the use of metals.

3. There is good reason for considering cremation to be characteristic of, if not originated by, the Aryan or Indo-European race, and its extension to other peoples has been chiefly due to Aryan migrations, and particularly to two great Aryan religions—viz., Brahmanism and Buddhism.

4. Although both language and comparative customs show that cremation was very extensively practised by the Aryans, even before their dispersion from their original home, yet their own traditions in most cases assert that inhumation was with them anterior to cremation. Also, that during the classical times of Hindus, Greeks, and Romans, even during the palmy days of cremation, earth-burial was in vogue at one and the same time, and held in equal honour with cremation. In Greece, we have shown historically that cremation gradually died out, and the primitive use of burial once more prevailed.

5. With the great civilised non-Aryan peoples of antiquity, cremation was repugnant to both their national customs and their religious beliefs ; and the same may, on the whole, be fairly asserted of nearly all the non-Aryan peoples, civilised or uncivilised, of the present day.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

## ART. II.—THE ANCIENT OFFICES OF SOME OF ENGLAND'S SAINTS.

TWO fair gardens of equal beauty and almost equal dimensions, whose beds and borders and emerald turf are alike shaped and fashioned after the same pattern! Both are redolent with the same sweet perfumes and lovely with the same rich colours, for nearly all the trees and blossoming plants and shrubs which have found a congenial home in the one, luxuriate also in the other. Such are the liturgical uses of Rome and of Sarum.

Some curious old-world herbs and flowers, it is true, there are, scattered about here and there, which alone are to be found in Salisbury's garden; and it is our intention, in the following pages, to lay a few of them before the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

We have culled them from the offices of four typical English saints—Chad, the missionary, who represents, so to speak, the embryonic period of the Church in England; Dunstan, the great ecclesiastical statesman, whose name is so intimately associated with the last glories of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, and who for more than a hundred and fifty years held the first place in the kalendar of England's saints; Thomas Becket, the hero whose more tragic end at length eclipsed, in some measure, the memory of Dunstan's greatness; and, finally, Osmund, the glorious pontiff, to whom Salisbury owed her liturgy.

### S. CHAD.

If the number and the richness of the offices of S. Chad, contained in the Great Breviary of 1531, be any gauge of his popularity in England at the period when that volume was issued, there can be little doubt that the lapse of nigh on a thousand years\* had been powerless to obliterate from the memory of the English people the noble deeds and blameless life of the simple, lowly monk of Lindisfarne.

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\* Literally 861 years. S. Chad died March 2, A.D. 670.

The whole tenour, indeed, of his special services seems to bear out this conclusion. Lesson, antiphon, respond, and verse tell the same tale—the efficacy of his prayers, the wondrous virtue of his relics, the mighty deeds still performed at Lichfield, both at the Church of St. Mary, where his bones were first laid to rest, and at St. Peter's, where they were afterwards translated.

It is the Venerable Bede who, in the special nocturn lessons of his great festival (March 2nd), spreads out before us, in all its beauty, the life and character of the man. He tells us of his piety, of his mastery over self, of his zeal in missionary labour, and, above all, of his sweetness and his wonderful humility.

When Archbishop Theodore, during his first visitation, pointed out that Chad was not the rightful Bishop of York, to which See he had been appointed during the absence of St. Wilfrid, who, it seems, had received prior consecration, "If," he said, "thou knowest that I have not been duly consecrated, gladly will I yield up this office, for I never thought myself worthy of it, but for the sake of obedience, being ordered thereto, I consented, although unworthy, to undertake this charge."

Such was his love of poverty, that on his frequent mission journeys throughout the vast diocese of Lichfield, over which, later on, Theodore set him to rule, he always went on foot, nor would he consent to ride, until one day the Archbishop, with his own hands, lifted him on to a horse.

In everything, even in the least movement of inanimate nature, he saw the finger of God :

If perchance, while he was reading or busied with some other occupation, a sudden gust of wind arose, he forthwith invoked God's mercy, and besought Him to have pity on the human race. But if he heard a more violent blast, then, closing his book, he straightway fell on his face, and earnestly betook himself to prayer. But if there was a hurricane, either of thunder or of snow, then, going to the church, with mind intent on psalm and supplication, he there remained until the storm had passed. And when his servants asked him why he did these things, "Have ye not read ?" he used to say, "The Lord thundered out of Heaven, and the Most High gave forth His voice ; He shot out His arrows and scattered them ; He multiplied lightnings and discomfited them. For the Lord troubleth the atmosphere, He raiseth up winds, He hurleth His lightning,

He thundereth in the heavens, that He may stir up the inhabitants of the earth to fear Him, that He may recall their hearts to the memory of the last judgment; that He may scatter their pride and discomfort their presumption by calling to mind that dreadful day when heaven and earth shall be burnt, and He Himself shall come in the clouds, with power and majesty, to judge the quick and the dead. And therefore it behoveth us to answer to His heavenly admonition with due fear and love, and as soon as He troubleth the air and stretcheth out His hand, as it were, threatening to strike, immediately to implore His mercy, and having searched the innermost recesses of our hearts, and purged away the dross of iniquity, to be very solicitous not to do anything worthy of punishment."

The legend of his death is simply and most beautifully told. Seven days before the end Chad happened to be alone with a certain monk named Oswyn, in the house which he had built hard by the Cathedral. The Bishop was praying in his oratory, and Oswyn was probably engaged with some household labour, for the rest of the brethren were at church, when suddenly the sound of distant music filled the monk's ears, the voice of singers singing sweetly and rejoicing together seemed to descend from heaven to earth, and to enter the little chapel where Chad was rapt in prayer, and then, after the space of about half an hour, the same joyous canticle seemed with ineffable sweetness to waft its course heavenward by the way which it had come. The Lord had sent a band of angelic spirits to console the aged pontiff, and to warn him that in seven days he should receive that heavenly guerdon which he had ever longed for and ever loved. And so it came to pass as had been foretold, for on the seventh day after the vision, when he had fortified his departure by the reception of the Body and Blood of Christ, he finished his course. Thus died Holy Chad.

The Responsoria recapitulate in verse the same characteristic traits, the same beautiful legends; and so gracefully is the story retold, so skilfully does the artist, as it were, with one touch of his brush lay before us the whole scene, that we cannot withstand the temptation of presenting them to our readers in an English dress:

I.

- R. Raised high in office, low in self-esteem,  
 To all men meek and humble, kind and sweet,  
 And ever gentle, such is Holy Chad.
- Y. Nor doth the smile of fortune puff him up,  
 Nor can the hand of trouble lay him low.

## II.

- R. He willingly obeyed the legate's word,  
Gave up his See to one whom he but now  
Himself had ruled, and quietly went back,  
Without a sigh, to psalm and cloistered cell,  
V. "Unworthy I," quoth he, "to hold so great a charge."

## III.

- R. But God, the Lord of Heaven so ordained,  
That Chad o'er Mercia's sheep should hold his sway,  
And feed, and guide, and rule, and govern them,  
V. And thus, mid work and prayer, he spent his days,  
And taught his flock to know Christ's Holy Name.

## IV.

- R. And when the time drew nigh for him to go,  
He who had kept the law of Christ so well,  
And others too had taught to keep that law,  
And faithfully had served the Heavenly King,  
To him the Lord deemed meet to show his end,  
And thus assured, he passed away in peace.

## V.

- R. And when his light by death's rude hand was hid,  
A thousand tongues proclaimed his mighty deeds.  
Unconquered still, he puts his foes to flight,  
V. Shattered, indeed, the alabaster box,  
But its sweet fragrance fills the universe.

## VI.

- R. To Holy Chad the thronging sick draw nigh,  
The deaf, the blind, the palsied, and the lame.  
V. He who is maimed and scored with leprosy,  
The hunchback and the weary, worn-out slave.  
And all obtain relief, and all are glad,  
Healed by the great physician's mighty aid.

## VII.

- R. Here in the flesh he led an angel's life,  
He walked the earth, but ever lived in Heaven,  
And fully kept the law of Christ his God  
With all his heart, and all his soul and strength.  
Nor could self's shadow dim his sense of right.  
V. And therefore Christ hath raised him up on high,  
And set him on a pinnacle of fame,  
And now no shadow dims his glorious light.

## VIII.

- R. A shout of joy goes up from earth to Heaven,  
 And even scoffers hold their peace abashed;  
 For tongues once silent praise God's Holy name,  
 And eyes once dim behold the light of day,  
 Made whole by touching Cedda's sacred shrine.  
 V̇. Thus all men see how Christ rewards his own.

## IX.

- R. O gentle shepherd, father of thy sheep,  
 And brave protector of the Mercian flock  
 Against the world, the devil, and the flesh,  
 Do thou be with us as our guide and stay.  
 V̇. That when the course of this sad life is o'er,  
 We, too, may wear the victor's laurel crown.

The psalm antiphons again relate the story of Chad's life, and this time the legend is presented to us in rhyming verse. Chad was one of four brethren, all of whom were set apart to God. Two of them were bishops, and two were simple priests, and thus their number equalled the number of the Evangelists. All preached Christ's Gospel, and all rooted out the briars from among His vines, but Chad was deemed the greatest of the four. Trampling under foot the vain glory of this world, he bent his neck to bear the easy yoke of Christ whom he loved, and who thus taught and guided him. And when the holiness of his life displayed itself to all the world, like a bright and shining beacon, he was raised to the See of York.

And there indeed he sprinkled the lintels and the door-posts of his house with the blood of the lamb who was slain, and mindful of the cross of Christ did penance. At length he sought the peace and quietude of a monastic life, but his candle could not for long be hidden under a bushel; the light thereof soon burst forth from his cloistered cell, and he was once more compelled to resume the episcopate. And lovingly and tenderly he fed and guided and ruled the flock entrusted to his care, and faithfully he performed in all things the office of a good shepherd. His whole life was fertile in deeds of wonder: he raised the dead, he healed the sick, he cast out devils, and after that he was called to rest, the miracles wrought at his tomb bore witness to the efficacy of his intercession.

Such, in a few words, is the picture laid before us in these antiphons. Space forbids us to quote them in full ; we give, however, those sung at the second nocturn, which are very typical of the rest :

Postes Agni Sanguine  
Suos tunc linivit  
Crucis memor Domini  
Carnem dum punivit.

Pugnans contra vicia  
Palmam acquisivit.  
Armis nudam ferreis  
Carnem dum vestivit.

Qui sic fontem frigidum  
Orans introivit,  
Et non corpus balneo  
Calido nutritiv.

The remaining antiphons need not long detain us. For the Magnificat at first vespers there is a choice of two. The first is written in a trochaic metre, and is simply a devout invocation, but the second, written in the same metre as the responsaries, most beautifully depicts the love which the faithful pastor bore to his sheep. "When the shepherd is present with the flock, which he cherisheth as a father doth a son, the sheep are filled with joy ; but in his absence who shall console them ? "

Pastor vigil gregis in medio  
Sacri verbi munitur gladio,  
Plantans mores expulso vicio :  
Quo præsente grex est in gaudio.  
Sed absente caret solatio,  
Cui favet ut Pater filio.

The Collect must not be passed by in silence. It is exceedingly beautiful, and does not appear in our own supplement.

*Collect.*

O God Who, by the merits of thy Saints, dost make thy Church, throughout the whole world, to be decked in beauty, grant, we beseech thee, through the intercession of the most blessed Bishop Ceádda, that of thy tender kindness, we also may be reckoned mid the number of the righteous, Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The other offices of St. Chad, viz., that for the feast of the translation of his relics, and for his weekly commemoration, need little comment, those portions which are not taken from the common office of a Confessor-bishop, being drawn from the service we have just described.

The Memorial Collect, however, said on ferial days, deserves attention :—

O God who, by the voice of angels, didst reveal the day of his departure to Blessed Chad, thy Confessor and Bishop : grant to us, we beseech thee, the consolation of the same holy spirits in this life, and in the life to come, their fellowship, Through Jesus Christ Our Lord.

### S. DUNSTAN.

The following hymn to St. Dunstan was probably written during the troubled times when the Danish hordes were devastating England. Dr. Stubbs places the date of its composition about 1020. It must, however, from its tenour, have been rather earlier than later, since the bloody contest between Englishman and Dane was terminated in 1016 by the death of Edmund Ironside, and the pacification of the country under Canute.

The whole tone of the composition bespeaks the spirit of the time. Under Dunstan's government the land had enjoyed prosperity and peace, and he it was who, by his wise counsel, even after Edgar's death, and his own retirement from office, had staved off the evil day, which he only too clearly saw looming in the distance. The memory of those prosperous times was still fresh in the heart of the English people, who recalled with fond regret the peace and glory of Dunstan's rule. It was to Dunstan, then—now, as they believed, a saint in heaven—that they, half hopefully, half despairingly, turned their longing eyes. If he could not help them, who could ? All this is clearly indicated in the poem we have before us, as the following outline shows :—

Hail Holy Dunstan, true light of the English People. Our hope, our consolation, thou who dost bestow a sweet and healing ointment for our wounds.

In thee do we place our trust, in thy sight do we lift up our hands, to thee do we pour forth our prayers.

Trouble encompasseth thy flock, O gentle pastor, we are sore afflicted by the sword of a strange people. Offer, therefore, we beseech thee to Christ for us, the acceptable sacrifice of thy prayers. So shall He loosen



the fetters by which we are bound, and deliver this English land and the sons of His Church from the hostile nation by which they are oppressed.

## HYMNUS DE SANCTO DUNSTANO EPISCOPO.

Ave, Dunstane, præsulum  
Sidus decusque splendidum,  
Lux vera gentis Anglicæ,  
Et ad Deum dux prævie.

Tu spes tuorum maxima,  
Dulcedo necnon intima,  
Spirans odorum balsama  
Vitalium melliflua.

Tibi pater, nos credimus,  
Quibus te nil jocundius,  
Ad te manus expandimus,  
Tibi preces effundimus.

Oves tuas, pastor pie.  
Passim premunt angustiaë,  
Mucrone gentis barbaræ  
Necamur en Christicolæ.

Offer, sacerdos hostias  
Christo precum gratissimas,  
Quibus placatus, criminum  
Solvat catenas ferreas,

Per quas Anglorum terminis  
Ecclesiæque filiis  
Et nationes perfidæ  
Pestesque cedant noxiæ.

Per Te Pater Spes unica,  
Per Te Proles pax unica,  
Et Spiritus Lux unica  
Adsit nobis in sæcula.

AMEN.

The various portions of the Mass with which the Church of Salisbury was wont to celebrate the festival of St. Dunstan, are, for the most part, still to be found scattered up and down the Roman Missal.

Thus, the Introit is the ordinary *Sacerdotes tui Domine* of the second Mass, *de Communi Confessoris pontificis*; the Epistle and Gospel (*Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* and *St. Matthew xxv.*) are identical with those incorporated in the Mass *Statuit ei Dominus. Juravit Dominus, &c.*, also to be met

with in the Mass *Sacerdotes*, forms the Gradual, while the Communion is taken from the Gospel for the day, *Domine quinque talenta*.

The prose is from the Sarum Common Office, but there is a proper Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion, which are still used, the same which are appointed to be said on St. Dunstan's day, in the English Supplement to the Roman Missal.

The most remarkable part of the service is the once celebrated trope *Kyrie Rex splendens* sung, according to the Use of Sarum, on this day and on the feast of St. Michael only, immediately after the Introit. Its composition has been ascribed to Dunstan himself, but it is to be questioned whether there is any solid ground for this assertion.

Dr. Stubbs, who has gone into the whole matter at some length, comes to the conclusion that all that can be said is that the composition may be Dunstan's.

The Kyrie in question is one of very great beauty, and as it is not so widely known as it deserves to be, we venture to give it *in extenso*. We have also added a translation, which, though only approximate, may perhaps serve to give the general reader some idea of the original.

#### CANTUS QUI VOCATUR KYRIE REX SPLENDENS.

1. Kyrie Rex splendens cœli arce salve jugiter, et clemens plebi Tuæ semper eleyson.
2. Hymnidicæ quem turmæ Cherubim laude perenniter proclamant incessanter, nobis eleyson.
3. Insigniter catervæ præcelsæ et quibus Seraphin respondent Te laudantes, nostri eleyson.
4. Christe Rex altithrone, ordines angelorum novem Quem laudant incessanter pulchre, dignare servis Tuis semper eleyson.
5. Christe Quem toto orbe unica ecclesia hymnizat, sol et luna, astra, tellus, mare Cui et famulantur, semper eleyson.
6. Ipsi idem inclitæ patriæ perpetuæ hœredes sancti omnes digno carmine proclamant quem ovanter, nobis eleyson.
7. Virginis piæ Mariæ O alma proles, Rex regum, benedictæ Redemptor, cruore mercatis proprio mortis ex potestate semper eleyson.
8. Insignissime, ingenite, O genite, origine jam expers et fine, virtute excellens omnia, catervæ huic Tuæ clemens eleyson.
9. Limpidissimæ gloriæ Sol, justitiæ Arbiter, omnes gentes districtæ dum judices, turmæ obnixæ precamur tunc astanti clemens eleyson.

## TRANSLATION.

1. All hail, Thou Lord of Heaven, ever throned in rainbow light,  
Great Father of Thy people, always pitiful and kind,  
O hear us when we cry to Thee, Kyrie eléison.
2. Thou Whom the singing band of Cherubim doth celebrate,  
With one accord, in never ceasing canticles of praise,  
Good Lord, have mercy on us, Kyrie eléison.
3. O Thou for Whom Seraphic choirs make sweet melody,  
Uniting their clear voices to the Cherubs' mystic song,  
In Thy great pity hear us, Kyrie eléison.
4. Lord Christ, Thou King enthroned on high, most merciful and sweet,  
To Whom the ninefold choir sings its sweetest hymnody,  
O hear us when we pray to Thee, Christe eléison.
5. Lord Jesu, Whom One Holy Church throughout the world doth hymn,  
Whom sun, and moon and stars and wind and land and sea obey,  
O hear us, even when we cry, Christe eléison.
6. O Thou Whom all Thy blessed saints, inheritors of Heaven,  
With fitting hymns and antiphons, exultingly proclaim,  
Great Lord of mercy, hear our prayer, Christe eléison.
7. Sweet offspring of Thy gentle Mother, Mary maid most pure,  
O Blest Redeemer, Lord of Monarchs, hear our suppliant cry,  
Who with Thy blood did save us, Kyrie eléison.
8. O Unbegotten ! O Begotten ! Most Illustrious,  
O Thou Who knowest no beginning, and art without end,  
Excelling all in might and power, just and merciful,  
Give ear unto our mourning, Kyrie eléison.
9. O Sun of brightest glory, Arbiter of righteousness,  
When Thou shalt judge the whole world justly, spare Thy supplicants.  
With all our hearts we beg Thee, Kyrie eléison.

With the exception of six proper lessons, evidently drawn from Adelard, and the Collect—*deus qui beatum*, as at Mass—the Church of Salisbury directs that the entire Breviary Office for St. Dunstan's Day shall be said from the Common Office of one Confessor Bishop.

## S. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

From the day when Henry II. bestowed the crown of martyrdom on his primate, to the day when a still more ferocious Henry rifled his tomb, and threw his sacred ashes to

the four winds, no more popular name was to be found in the Calendar of English Saints than that of Thomas Becket.

His festivals, therefore, as may well be imagined, were celebrated with especial splendour, and a more than wonted beauty is to be met with in his offices. Of these the Sarum Breviary gives three varieties.

The office for his festival proper, observed on December 29th, the solemn commemoration for the feast of the translation of his relics, and a weekly commemoration, or, as we should say, votive office.

The celebration of the great festival, December 29th, commenced on the day preceding the feast itself with what was called a memorial.

This memorial was made in two ways. In certain churches, probably the more important, immediately after vespers, and without changing their vestments, the clergy and choir proceeded, in solemn procession, nevertheless, without candles in their hands, as the rubric expressly states, to the altar of St. Thomas, and, as they went, they hymned their hero's victory. "The wheaten grain lies prone before the flail," runs the quaintly beautiful sequence with which Sarum honoured the greatest of England's saints. "The righteous man, hewn down by impious swords, thereby exchanging squalid earth for Heaven. The vineyard's keeper falls beside the vine. The captain on the battle-field lies low, the husbandman within his threshing-floor. From squalid earth, Christ's martyr mounts to Heaven."\*

Having reached the altar, this as well as the image of the saint was incensed by the officiating priest, while the rest of the clergy and the choir, grouped around, continued their triumphant canticle :

Sound ye the gladsome trump of victory,  
For this, that God's own vineyard might be free,

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\* B, *Jacet granum oppressum palea,  
Justus cæsus pravorum framea,  
Cælum domo commutans lutea.*  
V. *Cadit custos vitis in vinea,  
Dux in castris, cultor in area,  
Cælum domo commutans lutea.*

Which, clad in human flesh, Himself had freed  
 By dying on the purple blood-stained cross.  
 The savage beast of prey becomes a lamb,  
 The shepherd's cruel death converts his foe,  
 Christ's marble pavement flows all red with blood.  
 Thus Thomas wins the martyr's laurel crown,  
 And like the wheaten grain, from husk set free,  
 Is garnered in the storehouse of the King.\*

Then was intoned the *V. Ora pro nobis Beate Thoma,*  
 &c., with its accompanying *R.*, and afterwards followed the  
 Collect, the same which we still use.

The memorial completed, the clergy returned to the choir;  
 but great was the devotion of the ancient Church of England  
 to the Mother of God. She loved to associate the name of  
 Mary, with all her joys and all her sorrows. *In redeundo,*  
 runs the rubric, *dicitur Responsorium vel Antiphona de Sancta*  
*Maria.*

In those churches in which it was not customary to have a  
 procession on St. Thomas's Eve, the following antiphon was  
 substituted for the above prose:

The watchful pastor, slain amid his flock,  
 Their peace procures, by pouring out his blood.  
 O joyous sorrow! O most mournful joy!  
 The sheep draw breath, the shepherd lyeth low,  
 And weeping Mother Church applauds a son  
 Who, by his death a victor, mounts to Heaven.†

All the antiphons at this office are rhythmical and rhyming.

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\* *Prosa.*

Clangat pastor in tuba cornea.  
 Ut libera sit Christi vinea,  
 Quam, assumptæ sub carnis trabea,  
 Liberavit cruce purpurea,  
 Adversatrix ovis erronea  
 Fit pastoris cæde sanguinea,  
 Pavimenta Christi mamorea  
 Sacro madent cruore rubea.  
 Martir vitæ donatus laurea,  
 Velut granum purgatum palea,  
 In divina transfertur horrea  
 Cælum domo commutans lutea.

† Pastor cæsus in gregis medio  
 Pacem emit cruoris precio.  
 O lætus dolor in tristi gaudio,  
 Grex respirat pastore mortuo.  
 Plangens plaudit mater in filio,  
 Quia vivit victor sub gladio.

Those at Matins form a sort of metrical legend of the Saint's life, the chief characteristic of which is quaintness. Several of them, however, are not without a certain naïve beauty. Take, for example, the ninth, which sings of the happiness of the place and of the church, in which the memory of Thomas dwells, of the country which gave him birth, and of the land which afforded him shelter during his exile :

Ant. 9.—*Felix locus, felix ecclesia :*

*In qua Thomæ viget memoria :*  
*Felix terra quæ dedit præsulem*  
*Felix illa quæ fovit exulem :*  
*Felix pater, succurre miseris :*  
*Ut felices jungamur superis.*

The antiphons at Lauds are written in the same style. That with which the office opens, rich in allegory and poetic feeling, is well worthy of notice, for in the two short verses of which the antiphon is made up, allusion is made to the words of our Lord, "Amen, Amen, I say unto you unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground die, itself remaineth alone, but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit," and the breaking of the alabaster box of precious ointment is made to signify, in a mystical manner, the cruel death by which the faithful Shepherd purchased peace for his flock :

Ant. 1.—*Granum cadit copiam geminat frumenti :*

*Alabastrum frangitur, fragrat vis unguenti.*

The fifth, too, is singularly beautiful. A short prayer to Christ, that by the blood which His Martyr had poured out for him, He would make His supplicants also to ascend whither Thomas had ascended before them :

Ant. 5.—*Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit :*

*Fac nos Christe, scandere quo Thomas ascendit.*

The antiphon to the Benedictus takes the form of an invocation, in which the Saint's devout clients beseech their heavenly patron to stretch out his hand to help them, to rule and govern such as stand upright, to raise up the fallen, to watch over the whole course of their life, and finally to guide them in the way of peace :

Ant.—*Opem nobis, O Thoma porrige,*  
*Rege stantes, jacentes erige,*

Mores, actus, et vitam corrige;  
Et in pacis nos viam dirige.

A single antiphon bears reference to S. Thomas, at the Vespers of his feast, all the others being taken from the office of the Nativity. It was sung at the Magnificat, and is of great beauty. Here the saint is apostrophised as the rod of justice, the light of the world, the strength of the Church, the beloved of the people, and the joy of the priesthood:

Salve, Thoma, virga justiciæ:  
Mundi jubar, robur Ecclesiæ,  
Plebis amor, cleri deliciæ,  
Salva tuæ gaudentes gloriæ.

As the antiphons at Matins epitomise in rhyming verse the story of Thomas's life, so the nine responsories in like manner emphasise his death (4, 5) and passion (1, 3, 6), and the fortitude with which he suffered, (2) tell us of his power and glory, how all things do his will, how the very elements obey him, and how plague, pestilence, death, and even Satan himself, is subservient to his word (7), call to mind the efficacy of his intercession (8), and implore through his merits that Christ would vouchsafe to have mercy on His Church.

All these responsories are written in the same beautiful metre as the *Jacet granum* already quoted, and which indeed forms also the third of this series.

Much as we should like to do so, space forbids us to reproduce the entire set, and we therefore content ourselves with giving two only out of the remaining eight, as examples of the rest, namely the fifth and the ninth, which last was also sung at Vespers:

v.

R. The earth's fair flower by the earth is crushed,  
But hush thee Rachel cease thy sad lament,  
For when the Martyr sealed his faith in death  
A second Abel blossomed in the land.

Ÿ. The shattered casket, and his blood poured out  
Filled Heaven with a mighty voice of prayer  
When Holy Thomas, dying sealed his faith.\*

\* v.

R. Mundi florem a mundo conteri,  
Rachel plorans jam cessa conqueri,  
Thomas cæsus dum datur funeri.  
Novus Abel succedit veteri.

## IX.

- R. Lord Jesus, by the merits of Thy saint  
 Forgive us, we beseech Thee, all our sins.  
 O Thou who bade the sleeping maid arise,  
 Who, at the city gate, called back to life  
 The widow's son, and from the very grave  
 Bade Lazarus come forth and live again,  
 Visit the home, the gateway and the tomb  
 And raise us from the triple death of sin.
- Y. And in Thy wonted pity purify  
 Our souls by thought or word or deed defiled.  
 O raise us from the triple death of sin.  
 So shall we praise and bless the Triune God,  
 Raised from the bitter threefold death of sin.\*

## S. OSMUND.

Few offices have a richer category of antiphons, verses, responds, and so forth, than that with which the Church of Salisbury honoured the reputed founder of her choral books. Indeed, if we except the psalms and hymns, the whole of the service for S. Osmund's Day is proper to his feast, and amid such an *embarras des richesses*, it is no easy matter to decide what portions of it to lay before our readers.

The antiphons at First Vespers are somewhat curious. Each one was evidently composed with special reference to the psalm which it heads, some passage from which, or the general theme of the psalm, forming in every case the theme also of the antiphon, which, however, at the same time, always bears allusion either directly or indirectly to S. Osmund.

Thus we have the fifth, where the opening words of its psalm are, so to speak, interwoven into the antiphon. Here, too, a special reference would seem to be made to the Saint's

- V. Vox cruoris vox sparsi cerebri  
 Cælum replet clamore celebri  
 Thomas cæsus dum datur funeri.

## \* IX.

- R. Jesu bone, per Thomæ merita  
 Nostra nobis demitte debita  
 Domum portam, sepulchrum visita  
 Et a trina nos morte suscita.
- V. Actu mente vel usu perdita,  
 Pietate restaura solita,  
 Et a trina nos morte suscita ;  
 Gloria Patri, et Filio et Spiritui Sancto,  
 Et a trina nos morte suscita.



traditional labour in correcting and reforming the Salisbury choir manuals. "Praise the Lord, O Sion, the Lord of the mighty Confessor, and sing praises to the holy Pontiff, by whose handiwork He hath strengthened thy gates, and now hath made glad thy children."

In some of the antiphons at Lauds too, the same idea is carried out. Take, for instance, the first, or the opening words of the 91st Psalm: *The Lord hath reigned, he is clothed with beauty.* Here we are told how Osmund drew back from the honour of reigning on earth, preferring rather the beauty of the house of God:

Hic Osmundus refugit  
Regnantis honorem  
Dei domus eligens  
Præferre decorem.

The 4th and 5th too are well worthy of notice. There is a certain naïve simplicity, a certain quaint beauty, a certain childlike enthusiasm about them which is indescribably touching:

Ant. 4. Benedicta Neustria  
Tale fundens donum:  
O quam felix Anglia  
Hunc habens patronum,  
Alleluya, alleluya.

Ant. 5. Qui cum sanctis omnibus  
Regnas nunc Osmunde  
Pro nobis orantibus  
Deo preces funde  
Alleluya.

As to the other antiphons, those of Matins contain an abridged metrical account of the Saint's life. In the first of these, a curious play on the word Osmundus is introduced:

Natus mox renascitur  
*Osmundus* fonte lotus  
A cunctis piaculis  
Effectus *mundus* totus.

The antiphon to the Magnificat at first Vespers is made up of four hexameters, and takes the form of an invocation to S. Osmund, that he would vouchsafe, by his prayers, to succour his devout clients, and make them to follow in his footsteps.

That to the Benedictus is also written in hexameter verse. Here we are told that Osmund is the good and faithful servant whom the Lord hath set up to rule His people, that when here on earth he filled the hungry soul with good things, even with the wheaten corn of God's Word, and that now in Heaven he doth not cease to render whole such as are sick, whether of soul or body.

The antiphon to the Magnificat at second Vespers, written in the same metre as the psalm antiphons, is not without beauty :

Ant. Salve celeberrime  
 Pater clericorum,  
 Osmunde sanctissime  
 Lumen confessorum,  
 Dele tuis precibus  
 Perpetrata male  
 Memor in coelestibus  
 Nostri semper, vale.

Several of the responsories at Matins are very beautiful. Take, for example, the ninth :

O gentle Osmund, thou soldier and father, and founder of God's flock,  
 Offer our prayers to Christ, and purge away our offences ;  
 Thus may we also enter the heavenly citadel with thee.

Or the third, which in words such as these apostrophises Osmund :

Yea, it is meet with thee to rejoice, most glorious pontiff,  
 Who having gone from this valley of mourning, rejoicest for ever,  
 Ever made glad by the face of thy Jesus—vision of splendour,  
 And who abidest still our protector, shepherd, and father.

We must not leave this subject without drawing attention to the second responsory which is somewhat curious. The words descriptive of Simon, the high priest, the son of Onias, contained in the first and fourth verses of the 50th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, are here turned into hexameters, and made to apply to S. Osmund :

Ecce sacerdotem cujus prudentia sanctum  
 Suffulsit templum Christi stabilivit et ædem  
 In vita placuit Domino plebem bene rexit.

Another version of this same passage becomes the little chapter at both Vespers, and at Lauds and Tierce :

“Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in vita sua curavit gentem suam, et liberavit eam a perditione: qui suffulsit domum et diebus suis corroboravit templum.” The portions of Scripture appointed to be read at Sext and None are also taken from the 50th of Ecclesiasticus. That which was read at Sext is particularly appropriate: “He shone in his days as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full. And as the sun when it shineth, so did he shine in the temple of God.”

The Collect is very beautiful. It is to be regretted that it does not appear in our own Supplement:

O God, who for the praise and glory of Thy name, and for the honour of Osmund, Thy holy confessor, dost vouchsafe to renew, in these latter days, Thy mighty deeds of old, mercifully grant to us, through the intercession of him whose translation we celebrate, so to glorify Thee in this world that we may be deemed worthy to enjoy Thy presence in the world to come, through Jesus Christ Our Lord.\*

Two other services in honour of St. Osmund are to be found also in the great Breviary of 1531. The first of these follows immediately after the office we have just been considering, and is headed simply, *In Commemoratione Sancti Osmundi*. It contains three lessons, two antiphons—one for the Magnificat and one for the Benedictus—and a collect, all of which are entirely different from the corresponding portions of the preceding office. The antiphons are both rhythmical, and both conceived in that beautiful iambic metre so frequently adopted in mediæval hymnody.

That sung at the Magnificat, after telling of St. Osmund's renown as a Thaumaturgus, calls to mind the exultant joy of Mother Church at the birth of such a son: “When she brought forth Osmund she blossomed as a lily.”

Ant. Pater pius ad gregis gaudium  
Ægris præstat vitæ solatium  
Confractis membris confert subsidium,  
Et visus cæcis præbet refugium,  
Exultans gaudet mater per filium  
Quæ tali partu floret ut lilium.

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\* *Oratio*.—Deus, cujus antiqua miracula etiam nostris temporibus ad tui nominis magnificentiam ac laudem, et honorem sancti confessoris tui Osmundi choruscare sentimus; concede propitius ut cujus translationem colimus, ejus intercessionibus, et in præsentī seculo te glorificemus, et in futuro te perfrui mereamur. Per Dominum.

The antiphon to the Benedictus takes the form of an invocation, and here again a play on the Saint's name is indulged in :

Ant. Bone Jesu *Osmundi* meritis  
 Tu nos *munda mundi* piaculis  
 Et concede ut grex a maculis  
 Peccatorum vivat incolumis.

The Collect is considerably shorter than that in the preceding office. There allusion is made to the Saint's liturgical labours and to his celebrity as a miracle-worker ; these are the two ideas which dominate the entire theme. In the present case, another phase in Osmund's career is made, as it were, the key-stone of the structure—the fact of his once having been a soldier.

*Collect.*

O God, who didst recall Blessed Osmund Thy Bishop from the warfare of this world, to enrol him among the warriors of heaven, grant to us that, casting aside earthly desires, we may lay hold of the good things of the world to come. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.\*

As to the third service, celebrated on the 4th of December, "In depositione Sancti Osmundi Episcopi et Confessoris," with the exception of the Collect, *Deus cujus antiqua miracula*, which we have already given, it is taken entirely from the common office, "In natali unius Con. et Pon. extra tempus paschale."

On a future occasion we hope to be able to present the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW with some account of the Breviary Offices with which the Church of Salisbury celebrated the remaining five great feasts of her liturgical year—viz., Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, and the Ascension.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

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\* *Oratio*.—Deus qui beatum Osmundum pontificem tuum a seculi militia ad cœlestem revocasti : concede nobis, ut mundanis abjectis desideriis bona cœlestia capiamus. Per Dominum nostrum.

## ART. III.—THE SOCIAL DIFFICULTY.

1. *La Population.* Par EDOUARD VAN DER SMISSEN. pp. 561. 8vo. Guillaumin et C<sup>ie</sup>. Paris & Bruxelles. 1893.
2. *Le Pape, les Catholiques et la Question Sociale.* Par LÉON GRÉGOIRE Perrin et C<sup>ie</sup>. Paris. pp. 270. 1893.
3. *La Question Ouvrière.* Par L'ABBÉ P. FERET, D.D. 1893. Lethielleux. Paris. pp. xxxvii.—360.
4. *Abnormal Man.* By A. MACDONALD, Specialist in the Bureau of Education. Washington: 1893. 8vo, unbound, pp. 445, of which 240 form a "Bibliography."

There is nothing more powerful than religion (of which the Church is the interpreter and guardian) to draw rich and poor together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the duties of justice.—P.P. Leo XIII., *Encyclical on Labour*.

THE strikes and lock-outs, and the constantly recurring trade disputes and public altercations between employer and employed, during recent years, have rung a warning blast throughout the length and breadth of Europe which, it is to be hoped, will not fall upon deaf or inattentive ears.

A profound feeling of distrust and discontent reigns throughout the great masses of the people, and the occasional ebullitions of impatience which rise to the surface in the shape of riots, strikes, and other forms of violence, are but indications of a much more widely spread and deeper dissatisfaction.

The labouring populations in Great Britain, as elsewhere, are not only gaining experience, and acquiring a practical knowledge of all those great social and economical questions which most intimately concern themselves, and in which many take the keenest interest, but they are, at the same time, increasing enormously in number. And while their extraordinary multiplication adds greatly to their power and influence in the State, it, at the same time, intensifies the difficulties of their position, and renders the struggle for existence more acute and more intolerable.

That an immense amount of real misery exists upon every

side, and that hundreds of thousands can but with difficulty eke out the absolute necessities of life, seems unquestionable and unquestioned. That in many instances, especially in the overpopulated cities and vast commercial centres, hours are too long and wages too scanty, and work too often degrading and demoralising, are facts that need no proof.

Although there are, of course, rogues and vagabonds, and idle unthrifty wretches to be found everywhere; and though considerable numbers may, through drink and viciousness, bring poverty and misery on themselves, yet the culpable may be said to form but a comparatively insignificant fraction of that enormous section of the nation, which is living, if not in a state of pinching poverty, at least in a condition so perilously approaching it, that any other feeling but one of rooted discontent must be humanly impossible.\*

While in one quarter large sums of money are squandered and scattered, and luxury and extravagance are indulged without stint or hindrance, in another the population starve and pine away for the lack of the most indispensable requisites of life. The country is rich, prosperous, and powerful. The credit of England stands high among the nations of the world, but its wealth is held in the hands of the few, and the golden streams that pour into the coffers of the wealthier classes scarce touch the finger-tips of the poor.

What the hard worked struggling classes—the tram-car conductor, and the omnibus driver, working for fourteen hours a day for a few shillings wage, and the seamstress making up shirts and trousers at one shilling and sixpence the dozen,† and the enfeebled, who can get neither work nor bread, feel most keenly is, that there is enough, and more than enough, for all, if wealth were less capriciously divided, and if lands and territories were not locked up by private indolence from yielding a just return.

While many and bitter complaints are made when any lack of patience or resignation is manifested by the ill-fed and ill-clothed poor, and though cries of virtuous indignation ascend

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\* *Vide* Charles Booth's "Life and Labour, etc." chap. on Poverty.

† "We have learned from the evidence before the Sweating Committee that women are glad to make trousers at eighteenpence per dozen, etc."—"Free Trade in Capital." By A. E. Hake, p. 160. A.D. 1890.

to heaven whenever the prick of pain and misery goads them to acts of lawlessness, and forces them for want of other help, to seek to help themselves, there seems very little disposition on the part of the well-to-do to inquire into the position of their subordinates, and to remove the disabilities under which they suffer so severely.

The world is broad and wide. There is room enough for all, and indeed for many times the actual population, if only the teeming multitudes, now starving in the congested districts and overcrowded centres, where they lower wages and help to ruin each other, could be more equitably distributed over the vast stretches of wholly unpopulated or scantily populated areas. Since, however, this is an assertion that is scarcely realized, and is indeed commonly denied, we had better offer some confirmation of it before proceeding any further. Let us appeal to facts.

Examining the statistics of the various countries of the earth, we find our suspicions abundantly justified. Russia in Europe has but 16·5 inhabitants to a square kilometre, the United States but 6·7.\* North America, considered as a whole, but 4 to the square kilometre, and South America but 2.; while Australia with a land surface almost equal to that of Europe can boast of but *one* person to *three* square kilometres—or to be very exact, ·35 to the kilometre.

Dutch Guiana has but 70,000 inhabitants, yet it could easily nourish 25,000,000. Brazil contains but fourteen or fifteen millions, though it possesses a superficies equal to that of the whole of Europe, and might support between two and three hundred millions. Even countries till lately supposed to be barren and uninhabitable, are now found capable of most profitable cultivation. Thus, *e.g.*, according to the famous explorers Livingston, Cameron, Stanley, and others, the centre of Africa possesses marvellous resources. In Urua, for instance, to the West of Tanganyika, rice yields 100 fold, maize from 150 to 200 fold, and three such harvests may be reaped within eight months. One acre there, if planted with bananas, will support fifty men. In fact, Africa might sustain many times its present population. For while Europe has over

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\* *Vide* "La Population." Par E. van der Smissen. 1893. p. 200-214.

eighty-eight inhabitants to the square mile, Africa has less than eighteen, even *central* Asia could harbour a much larger population than it possesses, since it teems with undeveloped capacities.

In addition to these and other places, which are merely awaiting the advent of a population sufficiently numerous to turn their resources to account, there are many and not inconsiderable areas of land which are gradually being reclaimed and won over to cultivation and the use of man. Thus, in Norway, where in 1886 there were but 1,800 square miles of arable land, the agriculturists reclaim from the sea and the fjords each year more than 25,000 acres. So again, in the State of Florida 1,000,000, acres of marsh and swamp have been drained and rendered so valuable as to be sold at from five dollars to forty dollars per acre.

England itself has not, by any means, been cultivated to the full measure of its capacity. According to the *Statesman's Year Book*, the proportion of productive area is in England but 80 per cent. of the whole; in Wales but 60 per cent.; in Scotland but 28·8 per cent. and in Ireland 74 per cent. The average for the whole United Kingdom is estimated as less than 65 per cent. of the entire area.\* In other words considerably more than a quarter of the land in Great Britain and Ireland is not under cultivation. Though the amount of unprofitable land is diminishing year by year, it is only by slow degrees.

All this tends to prove that there is plenty in the world for all men, even though their number were many times greater than it is. It shows that the miseries and sufferings, and the unsatisfied hunger and thirst that exist, are owing, not to dearth of provisions and the general means of subsistence, but to their absolutely unequal distribution. In fact, to use the words of L. Hobhouse, "the problem of to-day is distribution and not production." (The Labour Movement, p. xi.)

It is easier far, of course, to say what ought to be, than to

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\* *Vide Statesman's Year Book*, 1886. Mr. A. E. Fletcher stated, at the adjourned Jerusalem Chamber Conference, Nov. 1893, that "There are 6,000,000 acres in the United Kingdom lying idle, which ought to be cultivated, and many other acres that might be reclaimed from the sea, all of which work would give employment to thousands of men."



point to means and ways of accomplishing the desired result. Yet a clear perception of what each man may justly expect, and rightfully claim, should precede any actual attempts at readjustment. Unless indeed an intelligent view be taken of man's social status, and unless his rights and privileges be recognised and admitted, there will be little attempted and still less accomplished.

Men in power and authority wax eloquent when dilating upon the necessity of charity to the distressed and sympathy with the sons of toil; they are even ready and anxious to loosen the purse-strings of the philanthropic, and to lessen actual pressure, by timely doles. This is all very well in its way, but it is no solution to the social question. The masses want justice, rather than an intermittent charity; and they will never be satisfied till they get it. They seek, before all things, a generous impartial recognition of their rights. No man who respects himself, cares to remain in the position of a permanent mendicant. Nor can we expect anyone to be overgrateful for the condescending gift of five or ten pounds from a creditor, who in strict equity owes him fifty or a hundred.

If we have any desire to better the position of our less fortunate brethren, we must begin by investigating their claims and examining their title deeds. If we do this fairly and without prejudice, we may possibly discover that what we have hitherto considered the widest charity, has been considerably less than the scantiest justice.

Over and above the privileges that the civil law may confer, every man, by virtue of his birth into this world, and simply because he *is* a man, possesses certain definite and inalienable rights, with which no State nor Government can justly interfere.

He has a right (1) to live—so long as he commits no act by which his life becomes forfeit to the State. And the right to live carries with it a right (2) to all that is requisite to maintain life. Consequently he may justly demand food and clothing and shelter: (not indeed directly, save in exceptional circumstances) but indirectly. In other words he may justly demand work or employment, by which he can obtain the means of supplying his needs.

Further; since the Creator has conferred life, not as a penalty or a punishment, but as a privilege and a boon, it is

evidently His intention that, speaking generally, man should enjoy life, and rejoice in his existence.\* Man may fairly claim, therefore, not merely what is absolutely needed for bare existence, but also (3) what is requisite, in the present condition of society and civilization, for ordinary decency and comfort.† (4) We say under the present conditions of society,‡ because the requirements of ordinary comfort in one age and place may altogether differ from those of another. They are not at all identical, *e.g.*, for the serf of the twelfth century and for the English or French peasant of to-day, nor for the American labourer and the Chinese Coolie. These are elementary propositions, and may readily be deduced from first principles.

Difficulties may often be felt of course in the application of the most incontestible truths. Hence it may not unnaturally be objected, that much as we would wish to see all men freed from actual want, and enjoying a modicum of prosperity and comfort, that we fail to understand how such a consummation is to be brought about. Now the root of the difficulty lies, not in the inability of nature to produce abundance for all; nor in the fact that some possess all that they can reasonably require to the detriment of others; but rather in this, that some grasp and retain, and consequently withhold from the multitudes, a vast deal more than they at all need, or can even possibly use with any real profit to themselves.

Simple justice requires that every one should be in a condition to secure the necessities of life, before any individual be permitted to indulge in extravagant luxuries and superfluities.

\* No less an authority than the Vicar of Christ lays down the principle that "there is a dictate of Nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man—viz., that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage earner in reasonable and frugal *comfort*."—Ency. "On Labour."

As things are at present, millions of men and women are—to quote Bishop Smith's words—"not so much born into this world, as damned into it."

† "It is absolutely necessary to train up, to alleviate and mitigate the work of operatives in such a way that they may lead human lives and have leisure for family relations. . . . The present uncertainty as to wages makes family duties and affections practically an impossibility."—CARD. MANNING.

‡ In similar words Archbishop Ireland also declares that the working-man has "a right to live, not anyhow, but as a Christian, as the father of a family, as an educated man with a home about him, with leisure for religious and social duties, with rest on Sundays, and a reasonable day's task, and the means of providing for old age and sickness."

Setting aside the vicious and the dissolute, and all who have courted disaster by their recklessness and folly, and who may well be left to bear, in some measure at least, the penalty of sin ; we may surely contend, that every member of the human family should have the means of enjoying the *ordinary requisites* of life, according to his state, before any should indulge in its *dainties*, or luxuriate on its delicacies. No member of the body politic should be clothed with silk and broad cloth till shivering nakedness has secured a flannel petticoat.\*

No complaint is made against the general principle of inequality. Inequality does exist, and will exist, and must exist. It is rooted in the very nature of things. It is founded not only in wealth and material possessions, which might admit of a temporary equipartition ; but in a thousand personal and natural gifts and qualifications, which despotically resist all attempts at arbitrary distribution. Such are vigour of health, physical strength, power of endurance, mental endowment, personal ability and character, even length of life, and much else besides. Inequality is not only a necessity. It is also a benefit. It introduces into social life those harmonies and contrasts, relationships and interdependencies ; mutual services and co-operations which go to establish a variety in unity ; distinctly pleasing in itself and undoubtedly beneficial to the commonwealth.

We approve, and cannot but approve, of inequality, for inasmuch as it is indelibly written in nature itself, it manifestly carries with it the sanction of Nature's Lord and Fashioner. But there are limits even to the degree of inequality between man and man ; and beyond these limits we have no right to trespass. Yet, as a matter of history, they have been exceeded again and again. Not alone when the freedom of men's consciences have been outraged, as under Nero and Diocletian and other pagan persecutors : not alone when physical liberty has been cruelly denied, as in the long ages of slavery and serfdom ; but in these days too, when the pitiless heels of the sweater have trampled upon and crushed the defenceless labourer to the dust, unmindful of the cardinal principle, that each possesses positive rights and liberties, limited only by what is due to the defence of the rights of others.

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\* What is superfluous *belongs* to the poor ; St. John Chrysostom calls it "the *patrimony* of the poor."

Liberty is tampered with, and abused in all these cases, and in the last as truly, if not as extensively, as in the others. If a man can do a piece of work for an employer worth five shillings, what right can such an employer have to take advantage of the man's extreme indigence to compel him to do it for half or a third that amount?

There is here no fair contract. The workman is not a free agent. He acts under constraint. He is driven by fear of starvation and death to enter into an iniquitous bargain. When the American slave driver, of a bye-gone day, forced his slave to toil in the sugar plantation by scourging him with a whip, he scarcely exceeded his rights more shamelessly than does the modern sweater. The unjust employer of our day does not indeed handle the actual leather thongs that tore open the naked back of the negro, but he not unfrequently compels his labourers to accept impossible conditions by threatening to leave them to sink under the more deadly lash of hunger, want, and nakedness.

Even where hard and perilous work is undertaken, injurious to health and often destructive of life itself, certain employers hesitate to duly compensate the risk run and the danger encountered by any appreciable increase of wages. They have been known to excuse their selfishness by pointing to the supposed consequences. The men, they urge, will make a bad use of the extra money. They will spend it only in drinking, gambling, and living riotously, &c. Even supposing such an allegation were well founded, the fact might be to us, indeed, a source of regret, but it would by no means justify us in withholding from a single man the remuneration which is his due. He who hires the labour of another must give him its proper value. Should the labourer make a bad use of his hard gotten wage, it is *his* affair, and the master has no more right to curtail the amount on that account, than a Sovereign would have to appropriate an estate because its owner mismanages it, or to confiscate the income of some commercial magnate because he is throwing it away in unprofitable enterprises.

It is the duty of a well ordered government to seek the interests and welfare of the whole community. Its very *raison d'être* is to defend the rights of the weak against the strong, and to enforce the just claims of every class of which the

nation is composed. But its power should be more especially at the service of those (1) whose needs are greatest and (2) who are least of all in a position to defend themselves.\* Can we flatter ourselves that the governments of to-day are, in this respect, fully justifying their existence?

The subject is worth considering. But we must preface our remarks by calling to mind a few facts.

The produce of the earth is intended by God for the support of the entire human race. By virtue of reason and intelligence conferred upon him, man is able to draw from the soil all that is requisite for his maintenance and well being. But the self same Reason that enables man to unlock the treasure-house of nature and to extract rich stores of food and clothing and other requisites, teaches him with equal clearness that the strong and the fortunate have no right to arrogate to themselves such a proportion, as to leave their less favoured brothers to pine and starve.

The whole source of the present mischief, suffering, and discontent, is traceable to the ghastly extremes that exist between affluence and penury, riches and want, which modern civilisation has gradually introduced, and which modern legislation has, shall we say culpably, permitted to continue. Again we repeat, it is not inequality, but the frightful extremes of inequality, that are felt to be an injustice and a national disaster, crying to heaven for redress.

The natural tendency, as things now stand, is to increase the inequality still further—to make the contrast yet more startling. Wealth produces more and more wealth. Poverty sinks to greater and greater depths. It is the law. Physical exertion may produce the necessities of life, but a capital once acquired not only yields a more or less regular and secure income to its owner without effort or care, but if large enough, may leave a residuum after all wants have been supplied, and all inclinations indulged, to put out to compound interest. This will go on increasing and multiplying and doubling and trebling, and quadrupling itself, with hardly

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\* Leo XIII. declares that: "Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers, or is threatened with evils, which can in no other way be met, the Public Authority must step in to meet them."—From the Encyclical "On Labour."

a thought or effort on the part of the owner, merely by the simple process of accumulation alone.\* By this means it may at last attain to quite gigantic dimensions, nor will it then receive any check. On the contrary, it will only augment the more rapidly and the more certainly. A mere farthing, as it has often been observed, put out at compound interest on the first day of the Christian era, would have yielded by now a value equal to that of some thousand millions of globes of solid gold of the volume of our earth. Since money does not produce money of itself, but only indirectly, and by its effects upon labour, this classic example serves to show how many arms and hands may be toiling for a single plutocrat. Thus while some, in spite of all their exertions, are sinking into the lowest slough of indigence, others are mounting, in spite of a life of idleness and inanity, to the dizziest heights of ease and affluence.

Here we witness the workings of the laws of nature. But God has given man reason to modify and to correct nature's waywardness for the general good of the whole community. The *laissez aller* principle of some political economists, and the uncontrolled struggle for existence, pushed to its ultimate limits, are unjust, impracticable, and iniquitous. The principle of non-interference is not only fraught with the most deplorable consequences, but is enforced in defiance of reason. It also forms a shameful exception to an almost universal practice in all other spheres of human activity. Man nowhere leaves any important decision to be settled by unreasoning nature.

The irrational beasts are guided by uncontrolled instinct alone. True. But, as a consequence, they perish in epidemics or starve to death, merely from want of forethought. They succumb to heat or cold, where man, by virtue of his intelligence, may find against both a remedy and a safeguard. In these and countless other cases, he brings his reason to bear upon the problem, and so far from leaving nature to take its own course, he is continually defeating its stratagems and hindering its effects by carefully laid plans, and the exercise of a wisdom and cunning bestowed upon him for that purpose by God. In fact the whole history of man is the history of

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\* We may say of great capitalists what J. S. Mill says of landlords: "They grow richer as it were, in their sleep, without working, risking, or economizing" ("Prin. of Pol. Ec.," p. 547).

his conflict with, and his victory over, unconscious nature. Then why, let us ask, should he not apply his mind as earnestly to modify and control those tendencies by which nature blindly heaps more and more wealth upon the wealthy, whilst it sends the hungry still more empty away?

That the State has the right to interfere in all such matters is abundantly clear. It has more than a right, it has a positive duty. Being set over a nation for the welfare of that nation, it is bound to consider the commonwealth as a whole before considering the privileges of any favoured class or individual whatever. This principle is in practice already conceded. It has been acted upon again and again, though it has never been applied to the subject of wealth in any measure at all commensurate with the exigencies of the case.

Thus, should a railway be needed for the general convenience of the public, the law finds or forces a passage for it, through parks and gardens, plantations and lordly estates, in spite of all the opposition, the resentment, and the complaints of owners and lords of the manor. While acknowledging the rights of private property, it justly refuses to consider those rights as absolute. They melt away, and altogether cease to be rights, so soon as, and in so far as they inflict a grievance or a serious inconvenience on the community at large.

So again there are regulations that limit a man's freedom in dealing even with what is admittedly his own. A city merchant, however great or rich, may not erect a residence so that it projects beyond the building line, nor so as to rob a neighbouring house or villa of its light. A dog-fancier is hindered from keeping his own hounds, even in his own yard, if their yelping disturbs the slumbers of his neighbours. A manufacturer may be compelled, for analogous reasons, "to consume his own smoke," and a soapmaker to place his factory beyond the city gates.

The existence of tolls, customs, taxes, dues, excise duties, wharfage, and all other forms of imposts, may also be cited to prove how conclusively the whole principle of Government control and interference is recognised, wherever the public good, or the welfare of the country, demands it.

The question here suggests itself: Should not something now be done by those who are invested with the Civil Power, to

bring about a fairer distribution of the good things of this world? Life, especially at the present day, is a race for wealth, but unhappily a race in which the runners are most unequally matched. If we abandon the arrangement of this race to fickle Dame Fortune, or blind Dame Nature, we find that they almost invariably handicap the wrong men. Hence the State should step in and see that justice is fairly dealt out to all. It is the duty of the State at all events to try and diminish rather than increase existing inequalities.

When James Watt began to study the mechanism and the practical working of the steam engine, he found that one of its great defects arose from an ever varying distribution of the steam. When the engine's velocity was greatest the pressure of steam kept driving it on at a still more furious speed, and when its velocity was least, the pressure was no greater than before. He determined to correct this, so he invented what engineers call "the governor." This is an ingenious contrivance, applied to the engine, for the purpose of controlling and regulating the supply of steam into the cylinder in such a manner as to render the action of the machine more efficient and economical, by causing it to move at a nearly uniform rate. The more the velocity increases the more the supply of steam is reduced. On the other hand, the more the velocity slackens, the greater is the amount of steam supplied. In this way the action of the governor is always making for equality, and though perfect equality is never attained, all extremes are most effectually avoided,

The body politic, with its many subordinate parts and members, may not inaptly be compared to some such complicated piece of machinery. What we greatly need is some modern Watt to invent a similar contrivance for the better regulation of its various activities, and for a more equitable distribution of wealth, so that those who most need help may get most, and those who need it least may get less. At present precisely the opposite obtains. Instead of power (steam) being applied more abundantly where the necessities are greatest, and being reduced where there is already a plethora of affluence and wealth, it is just the reverse that happens. Wealth and power not only attract more wealth and more power, but to such an extent, as at last to strip



weakness and poverty of their very last rag, and to leave them naked indeed.

Taxation, based in some measure on the principle of Watt's "Governor," would be a totally different and a far fairer thing than it is at present. For argument's sake, let us suppose that all taxation is represented by the income-tax.\* Now it may seem very impartial to demand three per cent. upon all incomes over a couple of hundred pounds per annum, irrespective of persons and positions, but it is fair only in appearance. Such a tax presses far more severely on one whose income is £200 a year than on one whose income is £2000. A man with wife and children and but £200 a year is not rich. He can hardly indulge in luxuries. If you dock his modest fortune of even £6 per year, it is to him a matter of some real consideration. If on the other hand, you reduce a rentage of £10,000 to £9,700, by the same process, the tax is scarcely oppressive. To the modern Croesus whose income is larger still, the tax hardly makes any perceptible difference whatever.

In spite of this, practically the same income tax is levied upon all, however much the income may exceed actual requirements. There are quite a considerable number of persons in receipt of from £50,000 to £100,000 a year. Now the slice that the taxes cut off their golden loaf to throw to the starving poor, still leaves them immeasurably more than they can possibly digest. To many it has seemed that a sense of true equity would require not an arithmetical, but what has often been suggested, a geometrical increase of the rate of taxation or progressive income-tax, as the income swells. If 3 per cent., for instance, be withdrawn from an income of £500, not only for the ordinary purposes of Government, but also to supply the pressing needs of the masses of ill-fed and scantily clothed poor, and to provide regular work and (when requisite) food and shelter, &c., then 6 per cent. should be drawn off an income of £1,000 per annum, and 12 per cent. from an income of £5,000 and so on, in regular proportion.

Thus an arrangement somewhat on the following lines

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\* Merely to simplify the illustration of the principle we are *supposing* all forms of taxation to be resolved into one.

though more nicely graduated is held to harmonise more nearly with the requirements of justice.

Percentage levied.		Present Income.		Gain.		Remaining Income.
3 per cent.	. .	£500	...	£15	...	£485
6 " "	. .	1,000	...	60	...	940
12 " "	. .	5,000	...	600	...	4,400
24 " "	. .	10,000	...	2,400	...	7,600
48 " "	. .	50,000	...	24,000	...	26,000
96 " "	. .	100,000	...	96,000	...	4,000

The above is a mere illustration of a form of taxation which has commended itself to certain minds as much less unfair than what is now in force. If an arrangement were come to somewhat on these lines the effect would be, not to reduce all men to one dead level, which is neither desirable nor possible, but merely to establish a proportionality more equal and just than a purely arithmetical one: and to raise an effective barrier against the hideous extremes of wealth on the one hand, and of prostrate poverty on the other, which are a disgrace to our civilization. It will be noticed (1) that according to the above table, a man might go on accumulating wealth, as heretofore, but with less and less ease, till his income approaches £100,000 a year. But that (2) no one could pass beyond that limit, as the tax upon that amount reaches such a proportion that it would be prohibitive. In a word it would prevent the extremes which are clearly undesirable, if not positively wrong. It would do for Society what the "Governor" does for the steam engine.

There are undoubtedly many difficulties in the way besides the opposition of the powerful class who are so deeply interested. To ascertain precisely the value of a man's income is itself no easy matter. Many will not send in accurate returns, and honest tax-payers have often to pay for the dishonest; so that either a much more searching investigation must be instituted, which would be distressing and disturbing to privacy, or the tax would be unequally subscribed to.

But these and other difficulties should not be allowed to hinder a measure of general importance. It is the business of the State to labour for the welfare of the people, to face difficulties and to find a way out of them.

Another source of very natural complaint is that so much land

is allowed to remain barren and unprofitable. Acres upon acres of cover, and miles upon miles of deer forests,\* and sheep walks exist in the United Kingdom, representing an enormous amount of capital ill-invested, and yielding nothing like what it might do under favourable management. "When an Englishman of title, in order to give himself the proud pleasure of affording grouse-shooting to his guests, turns into game preserves acres upon acres which might have supplied hundreds of human beings with food, we have a right to declare," says Gide, "that wealth has been culpably misused." It is, alas, too true! That, such tracts of land should be more economically employed is imperative,† and the law should make provision for it in the interests of the nation. The rude earth in its virginal state was able to supply enough for all, so long as the sum total of its inhabitants was small. But, the land does not increase with the population.

The superficies of the earth to-day, when fifteen hundred millions are drawing their sustenance from its bosom, is no greater than when there were but as many thousands. The cultivation which sufficed a thousand or even five hundred years ago, will not suffice to-day, still less will it suffice to-morrow. "Other times, other conditions."

It is strongly maintained by those who are authorities on the matter, that even land which is cultivated, might be rendered far more productive than it is at present. "If agricultural science," declares M. Charles Gide, "were as skilled as the science of mechanics in determining the theoretical returns, we might *doubtless* prove that the actual yield is not the hundredth part of what might theoretically be produced." Yet now England, in order to sustain on her limited territory her daily increasing population, is obliged to derive from

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\* In the old Roman Empire, laws were passed which absolutely limited the extent of land that could be retained by any one citizen. Thus, *e.g.*, the famous Licinian laws decreed that: "1. "Aucun citoyen ne pourra posséder plus de 500 jugères (about 300 acres) de l' *ager publicus*. Le surplus lui sera retiré et partagé entre les citoyens pauvres par lots de sept arpents." Similar laws were in force regulating the number of cattle, and of labourers, &c. Historians agree that the grandeur of Rome was due to the Licinian code.—*Vide* "La Population," par E. Van der Smissen, p. 72.

† "The total number of separate instances in which *la petite culture* in one form or another exists in Great Britain, is estimated to be 1,300,000."—*Statesman's Year Book*, 1893, p. 67.

imports more than half of her consumption of cereals, meat, drink, etc.

For a nation of hunters, several square leagues are needed per head ; for pastoral races some square miles, for agricultural peoples a few acres suffice and the limit falls more and more as men pass from cultivating the land far and wide to cultivating it deeply and thoroughly ; *i.e.*, from *extensive* to *intensive* cultivation. In China this latter mode of cultivation enables several men to subsist on the produce of a single lot of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land.\*

In Canada, writes M. Charles Gide, "it has been observed the native races that live by the chase require the enormous area of *fifteen square miles per head*, so that each man may continue to exist. Below this limit they are decimated by famine " Now the same would hold good in England to-day, were the whole country one vast hunting ground, and the people but a race of sportsmen. If it can now, in common with other countries of Western Europe, support between four and five hundred persons on a square mile,† instead of requiring fifteen square miles to support one, it is chiefly owing to the immense proportion of land under cultivation, and the extraordinary advance of agricultural knowledge throughout the civilized portion of the world.

If then, yet vaster multitudes of men are still to be supported by the produce of the same strictly limited territories of the world—and this from the very nature of things is necessarily the case—then agriculture must continue to improve its methods and become more and more scientific, and what is more directly to the point, great landowners must be compelled to bring under cultivation their unprofitable lands, and if necessary, to have recourse to the resources of science and art, in order, little by little, to convert every barren and ungracious spot, so far as it is possible, into a crop-yielding surface.

To pretend that England is populated beyond its capacity‡ is

\* *Vide* Gide, p. 99.

† England's population, per square mile in 1891, was 498 ; but Belgium, where much less misery reigns, and the people are far more thrifty, the population is 539·5 to the square mile.—*Statesman's Year Book*, 1893.

‡ See an interesting letter in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Sept. 22, 1893, signed Wm. Sowerby, and concluding with the following paragraph : "General Cotton thinks that, with proper cultivation of the good land of the country,

to deck out fiction in the garb of truth. There is abundance for all if resources were not withheld or left unemployed. The unproductive land in this country alone is estimated at 20 per cent. of the entire surface.\* That is to say, one-fifth part of the country is failing to contribute its quota to the public market. M. Thiers declares that "the nations of Europe have not cultivated, in some cases, a fourth part, in others a tenth part of their territory; and that there is not a thousandth part of the globe (*la millième partie du globe*) that is really occupied."†

We do not affirm that landed property should belong to the State, in any sense beyond that which already obtains. But on the principle of public utility as opposed to private whim, fancy, or interest, we most emphatically contend that society has a right to claim that it should be turned to account and used for the ultimate benefit of all.

If therefore extensive areas of uncultivated, or but half-cultivated land exist, the people, as represented by the Government, should exercise their authority and insist upon the owners gradually redeeming such land from sterility. If they will not, or cannot, then let the State make provision.

In this way not only would the sum total of comestibles be increased, and their price in consequence lowered, but healthy occupation would be found for a large number of hands, the ranks of the unemployed would be greatly reduced, and men would be happier and more prosperous.‡

Great Britain and Ireland would maintain 150,000,000, and he is no mean authority, but a man of vast experience. One thing is certain, *mankind can live without the fine arts and abstract sciences, but cannot live without food*; and the best thing that can now be done is to set about thoroughly cultivating the land, not in a dilettante fashion, and thus render the country independent of foreign sources of supply, as unfortunately we are not at present. Then, if warlike calamities should overtake us, we would not be unprepared, and not have to rely upon the vigilance of doubtful cruisers and unwieldy ironclads, which the smallest accident renders worse than useless."

\* A. Deconnick, *Le monde économique*, 1886, p. 80, quoted by E. Van der Smissen.

† Thiers, "De la Propriété, 1880," p. 113.

‡ "So dense is the population in some districts (of Switzerland) that in five parishes and two villages on the Lake of Zurich there are only (*i.e.*, A.D. 1850) 10,400 acres under cultivation of every kind, and 8,498 souls, being scarcely an acre and a quarter to each individual. Yet in no part of the world is such general comfort conspicuous among the people—an example among the many others, which history affords, of the great truth that it is vice or oppression (or, we may add, mismanagement and injudicious laws) which induces a

Another measure which the pressing needs of the situation seem to render imperative is State regulation of labour, at all events in such industries as will more readily admit of it. Take for instance labour in mines, pits, and other subterraneous places, where the work is attended with almost every circumstance calculated to render it as hard and as irksome as it well can be. The light is dim and gloomy, the atmosphere impure, oppressive, and injurious, and the men are exposed to serious injury and even death\* itself from escape of gas, from fire-damp, from sudden flooding of the pit, from falling in of the roof, the blocking up of passages, and other accidents of all kinds.† To engage in a life-long toil amid such gloomy depressing surroundings without leisure for any kind of self-culture or education, or proper relaxation, or the amenities of social life, or the practice of religion, is both demoralising and debasing. It is more than that, it is unhuman and unchristian.

Were the hours shortened but regular, several excellent effects would follow. In the first place a larger number of men would be employed. Where at present 600 men are working fourteen hours a day, 700 would be needed to accomplish the same work in twelve hours, and 840 if they worked but ten hours per diem. So that in the first supposition one hundred, and in the second supposition, two hundred and forty additional men would be taken on.

A second result would be an improvement in the condition—mental, physical and religious—of the working man. He would be less exhausted by his day's toil, and in every way healthier and stronger, and could do more effective work in a given time than he could do before. He would have more leisure to devote to family life, self-improvement, and the fulfilment of religious duties, and would be less like the

miserable population, and that *no danger is to be apprehended from the greatest increase in the numbers of mankind if they are justly governed and influenced by virtuous habits.*"—A. Alison's "Hist. of Europe," p. 441.

\* Mr. Burns pointed out that "in thirty years, 31,466 miners had been killed outright, which gave an average of over 1000 per annum; whilst more than 120,000 were injured every year."—*Vide* Speech at Battersea, Nov. 1893.

† "In the United Kingdom there are more than 648,000 persons occupied in the coal industries, and 1,084,631 in the textile factories." *Vide Statesman's Year Book*, 1893. A later estimate puts the number of persons employed in and about coal mines at 663,462.

unconscious wheel in some vast piece of machinery, grinding and wearing itself out in one ceaseless round of toil, till at last, without pity or commiseration, it is cast aside as unfit, to give place to another. We have heard men laugh at the bare notion of miners, mill-hands and others of that class devoting leisure to anything but drink and dissipation. But in so far as the laugh is justified, it is itself the most eloquent testimony to the demoralising nature of such occupations. Give the men opportunity; give them encouragement; put the facilities in their way, and help to undo the mischief done, and they will speedily prove themselves of the same clay as ourselves, and open to the same influences. "It is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by," says Leo XIII., "or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power."

There can be no doubt but that the State has the requisite power, if the will were not wanting, to immeasurably improve the condition of the great masses who are ground down under the weight of adverse circumstances. To introduce any such measures as are here baldly hinted at, would be to make a demand on the *generosity*—would not *justice* be a more correct term?—of the ruling classes, which we can hardly hope they would regard with cordiality.

As long as man's inborn selfishness and natural egotism retains possession of his heart, and as long as self-interest pleads more powerfully than national and common interest, so long will the wealthy and the powerful hesitate, hold back, and refuse to join any really valuable movement inaugurated for the good of the people, if it involve any considerable pecuniary loss to themselves.

The influence of invested interests is too great, and results in the determined opposition of those who, on religious and philanthropic grounds, should be more than anxious to introduce a change in the legislature. The powerful and cultured leisured classes who are generally credited with breadth of view, largeness of heart, and fairness of mind, should be the last of all to take undue advantage of the accidents of birth and the freaks of fortune, and the very first to hail any practical means of ensuring a juster distribution of the good things of this world. If the precepts and maxims

of the Gospel found a more ready entrance into the hearts of our legislators, and if the true religious spirit of charity and brotherly love controlled their deliberations in a more appreciable degree, then their united action would inevitably lead to the establishment of laws and enactments which would gradually alleviate, if they did not actually end, the excessive miseries and sufferings under which so many millions of our fellow-countrymen at present groan without redress.

Thus it is easily seen that religion lies at the root and foundation of any permanent and radical cure. As sentiments of Christian charity become more diffused among the prosperous classes, and the equality of all men receives a more practical recognition, and as the awful responsibility of riches and the dignity of labour become more intimately felt, the national assembly will awaken to a keener sense of its duty, and will proclaim by its united action, as well as by its united voice, the universal brotherhood and fellowship of man.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.



## ART. IV.—THE GIFTS OF A PONTIFF.

EVERY now and again public interest is aroused by announcements in the papers of the Blessing of a Golden Rose by the Holy Father, and its presentation to some person of exalted rank; by reason of the poetic nature of the gift and the venerable character of its donor the news is always attractive, but little is ever told of the history of the custom or attempt made to elucidate its origin. In the following paper we propose to speak of this and other gifts of the Sovereign Pontiff, taking three which appear to have been the most prominent, successively, and in the order of their antiquity, not treating them exhaustively but with sufficient detail to impress upon our readers the intention with which these ceremonies have been instituted, and the appreciation with which these gifts have been received. Although we read occasionally of others, these three stand forth distinguished through the centuries, the gift of (1) a Key of St. Peter, (2) a Rose, (3) a Cap and Sword; the first seems to have entirely fallen into desuetude and the last, although we believe annually blessed, remains in abeyance. They all have a very early origin, but taking them in the rotation of their earliest mention yet known, they range themselves as we have placed them.

Early in the sixth century, Justinian, who was afterwards Emperor, made a request of St. Hormisdas the Pope for a relic of the body of St. Peter (Epp. et Decreta Hormis. Papae. Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," vol. 63, col. 475). This the Pontiff could not grant, but he sent instead a fragment of one of the chains with which the Apostle had been bound in the Mamertine Prison in Rome. These chains, whose commemoration we keep at Lammas (Aug. 1), are preserved in the Basilica built for their reception by the Empress Eudoxia in the fifth century, commonly called St. Peter ad Vincula, and lie in a chest with triple locks, one key being in the possession of the Pope, another in the care of the Cardinal who takes his title from the Church, and the third is with the Abbot General of the Austin Canons of the Lateran Congregation who serve the Basilica.

Whether the fragment of these chains sent to Justinian was enclosed in a key we are not told, but the practice of doing so was evidently in vogue before the close of that century, for St. Gregory the Great gives a very striking instance ("Epp. St. Greg." Epp. vij. 26. Migne edit.): The pagan Autharith, King of the Lombards, sent one back to Pelagius II. at Rome, his dread at retaining it having been aroused by the sudden death of one of his chieftains who had proposed to profane the relic. The great "Apostle of the English" himself sent many of these keys to various notable people, one to the Patriarch of Antioch (Epp. i. 26); another to Rechared, King of the Visigoths (Epp. ix. 122); others to Childebert, King of the Franks (Epp. vi. 6), while not only bishops and princes, but consuls, physicians, the governess of the children of the Emperor Maurice and such like received them at his hands. (Epp. i. 31; vij. 26, 28; viij. 35; xi. 14; xij. 7, &c.)

St. Vitalian in the seventh century presented a key with relics to the wife of Oswy, king of Northumbria, a princess whose piety was very conspicuous, and the Venerable Bede has preserved for us the letter sent to her by the Pope ("Hist. Eccles." iij. 29), telling how her beautiful life was notorious even in far Rome, and how her "*pia opera coram DEO fragrant et vernant.*"

Charles Martel and the Blessed Charlemagne received the same gift from Gregory III., and the last instance we read of took place in 1079, when the great Hildebrand—Gregory VII.—sent one to Alphonsus V., of Castile and speaks of following the custom of the Saints in doing so ("Epp. Greg. VII.," vi. 7. Migne).

These instances are only the more notable that present themselves, not nearly all that might be quoted if a more thorough examination were made. We hasten to describe what these reliquaries were in appearance, for it seems to have quite escaped notice that we have two of them mercifully preserved for us to this day, and they are the only examples known to exist. One is in the rich treasury of the old Collegiate Church of St. Servais at Maestricht, and the other only fifteen miles away in the Church of the Holy Cross at Liège. That at Maestricht is considered by the greatest and most trustworthy authorities to be of the fourth century, and, if so,

provides us with an earlier example than that recorded in the written testimony we have cited above. The Bollandists state that St. Servais received this key from Pope Damasus, probably upon the occasion of his pilgrimage to Rome in A.D. 376, and it was found in the Saint's coffin by St. Hubert when the relics were translated in the eighth century. An account may be seen in the Acts, in a work by Bock and Willemsen on the antiquities of this Church, in a paper by the learned Mr. Weale, of St. Kensington Art Library in *Le Beffroi* for 1864 (vol. ij. Bruges); and engravings of it and that at Liége accompany an able paper by Mr. Egerton Beck in *Archæol. Journ.* xlvij. 334; to the latter gentleman we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of these treasures. The "Key of St. Servais," as it is locally called, is 15 inches long, with a bulbous handle of open work about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, the barrel is octagonal, and the key-bit cruciform pierced with five crosslets, reminding one of the Cross of Jerusalem. Dr. Bock and Willemsen think the material to be gold and silver, and remains of gilding are visible, but Mr. Weale is of opinion that silver and copper are its components; they entirely agree upon its early date, a fact which its workmanship confirms.

The second key we possess is that at Liége, and is thought to have been found in St. Hubert's coffin when his relics were translated in the ninth century. It has suffered damage during its long existence and the handle only is original, the remainder being thought twelfth century work. It is  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, the bulbous reliquary handle 3 inches in diameter, grilled by narrow bands and with the interstices pierced to show the relic that remains within. This is a piece of chain about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch long, and since the Maestricht Key has no fragment, it is probable that in this case filings of the chain were mingled with the metal. The ornamentation is inferior in character to the older key, perhaps occasioned by the degradation that art sustained by the Teutonic inroads, and from which it did not recover until after the eighth century, the date usually attributed to this work.

A "Peter's Key" existed at Laon before the Révolution, and is mentioned in a 1523 inventory, and another is said to be in a church in Corsica, but we can hear nothing about

them. The *Vincula Petri* and the *Claves regni Cœlorum* are still sung of in the Breviary; the relic of them at Maestricht was the theme of a hymn for the chapter at Lauds, and two proses in the old Missal, while it inspired the Limburg layman Henry van Veldeken. The earliest sculpture of St. Servais places his Key in his hand, and it appears not only in the arms of his church but also on the money that came from the imperial mint. And this presence of the key in the heraldry and art of the town may be a suggestive hint for searching further than we do when we meet with this badge, since we often too readily accept it as simply indicative of devotion to Peter and attachment to the Holy See.

St. Gregory in his letters (Epp. i. 30, 31; iij. 33; vi. 6; xi. 14; xij. 7) points out that these reliquary keys should be worn hanging from the neck, but the length of these at Maestricht and Liège would render that inconvenient for any constant habit; they may therefore have been put on for a few moments during prayer in the same manner as we place ourselves when possible in touch with a relic of a saint; and some people have seen a trace of this in the charm commonly used to arrest bleeding at the nose of dropping a key down the back of the patient.

Next we shall consider a gift still in practice and of not infrequent donation, that of the Golden Rose. Some say that it supplanted the gift of the key, and certainly we do not know of any record contradicting this assertion; we have, however, some grounds for the assumption that both customs co-existed. If it were true, as some assert, that the pretty courtesy of presenting a Rose blessed by the Pontiff dates from the fifth or ninth century, then they certainly did, but we know of no satisfactory evidence in favour of that early date. The last instance we read of when a Peter's Key was sent was that cited above in A.D. 1079, and it was in the pontificate of Leo IX. (A.D. 1049-1053) that a rose of gold is made a payment from the Abbey of St. Croix in Alsace; probably previous to this a natural flower had been borne by the Pope and given to favoured persons, and the change was to make it the rent to be rendered by this particular house. The parents and brothers of Leo founded the Abbey at Woppenheim in the neighbourhood of Colmar, and when they died

ship of the district came to His Holiness by right of succession. He bestowed many and great privileges upon the community, making them free of all jurisdiction save that of the Holy See and ordered them to send to Rome as a tenure every Oculi Sunday a Rose made of two Roman ounces of gold to be blessed "in the accustomed manner" (*ut fieri solet*) at Mid-Lent. ("L'histoire de Lorraine," by R. P. Dom Calmet, 1745.) It seems likely, therefore, that the golden gift dates as early as this at least, for the ceremony is evidently older. This bearing a Rose upon Mid-Lent Sunday was simply an expression of rejoicing. The mirth of Mi-Carême is still marked in Catholic countries, and the names that the day bears tell of much we are apt to forget. Laetare is one of its titles from the key-note of its introit, Jerusalem Sunday and Mothering Sunday from the Epistle being upon Jerusalem on high the mother of us all; Refreshment Sunday from the Gospel of the feeding the multitude in the wilderness; Rose Sunday from the ceremony we are considering. It was, moreover, the beginning of the week of the "Great Scrutiny," when for four days those catechumens who had passed the previous week's minor examination were registered for Baptism upon Holy Saturday, and this in early days was a great work. The sight of crowds of Pagans flocking for admission into the arms of the Great Mother is a thrilling scene we in Christian lands can never witness, but it was this which marked the joy of Mid-Lent in the early days of the Church, and of which we retain an echo in the custom once prevalent upon Mothering Sunday of lads and lasses visiting their earthly parents and hearing Mass together in the Church where in all probability they had been baptized.

To mark the joy of the Church on earth and in Heaven at the Redemption having gained for all men this admission into the Kingdom of God, the Pope went in procession bearing a Rose in his hand to the Church of St. Croce in Gerusalemme; very appropriately if we think of the name of the Sunday and of the Abbey whence the flower came. Now-a-days the ceremony takes place in the Sistine Chapel of the Lateran Basilica, where Rose-coloured vestments are employed for the occasion. The prayer for the consecration is little known and hard to find, but is so beautiful that we make a free translation of it from

a work by an Archbishop elect of Corfu (Christopher Marcel, Venice, 1573, "Sacr. Cærem. S. Rom. Eccles.," l. v., p. 155) :

O GOD by Whose Word and power all things were made and by Whose Will the universe is governed, Thou Who art the joy and gladness of all the faithful; we humbly beseech Thy Majesty to vouchsafe of Thy fatherly goodness to Bless ✠ and Sanctify ✠ this Rose—most gracious to sight and smell. We bear it this day in our hands as a token of the spiritual rejoicing of a people dedicated to Thee and delivered from the yoke of Babylonish captivity by the favour of Thy only begotten Son, Who is the glory and exultation of Thy people Israel in that Jerusalem which is above and the Mother of us all. To the honour of Thy name by this emblem Thy Church to-day exults and rejoices, showing forth with pure heart its happiness; do Thou, O Lord, fulfil it with true and perfect joy, accepting its devotion and forgiving its sins, replenish it with faith, nourish it with Thy solicitude, shelter it with Thy tender mercy, destroy all things harmful to it, grant it all things healthful, until it pass by the fruit of good works into the sweetness of the perfume of that Flower which springs from Jesse's root, and is extolled as the Mystical Flower of the Field and the Lily of the Vale, and together with all Thy Saints may it rejoice with Him in glory celestial, Who liveth and reigneth God with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever—Amen.

In old days, when the chosen person was at Rome, the presentation was made at a special audience, the Cardinals and nobles accompanying their honoured guest back to his residence with imposing cavalcade. Now it is usual to send the Rose by a specially commissioned Legate, who delivers it at the Altar to the kneeling recipient. There is no fixed formula of words used, but they are of similar import to the following :

Receive, beloved child, this evidence and lasting token of the earnest love we bear thee, as much for thy signal services towards this Apostolic See as for the high virtues by which thou shinest among men. Accept this mystic rose, bedewed with balm and musk, typifying the sweet odours that should exhale from the good deeds of us all, especially of those in high places. Accept it, well-beloved, who in the temporal order art noble, mighty, and endowed with great power; and may virtue grow in thee ever as a rose planted beside rivers of waters, which grace may He who is Three and One for all eternity vouchsafe to grant you out of His abounding loving kindness.

Popular acclaim throughout all ages has acknowledged the sovereignty of the Rose among flowers; it might well, therefore, have been selected as the badge sent to one whose holy life and labours made them remarkable in that Hortus Sanctorum,

the Church. Pagan and Christian antiquity never dispute the position of this fair flower, and although the superb grace of the Lily may rise up to vie with it, and to some eyes surpass it in loveliness of moulded form, yet she has to retire from the contest when the fruitful store of the rose's virtues in scent and utility is considered; even in the language of symbolism the rose is supreme, for although the lily be the emblem of sweet purity, yet the flower of love again surpasses all and reigns queen among the theological virtues, since "the greatest of these is Charity." If the word "Lilies" in the Gospels had referred to those flowers they might have had the matchless claim of furnishing a theme for their Creator in His lessons among the flowers of the field, but the original word is not so limited; but Roses have been the subject of a long series of sermons by the Popes themselves, and when they left off preaching they took to writing rescripts upon them, so that there must be many volumes of words spoken and written by the Pontiffs in their praise, and the anointing of a Rose every year with the holy Chrism, the Balm of Kings, is like a yearly renewal of the sovereignty of the Queen of Flowers, and these are distinctions no other blossom can claim. In a rare work, "*La Rosa d'Oro Pontificia*" (Rome, 1681), by Carlo Cartari, you may read one of these sermons preached by Pope Innocent III., and a very beautiful "ten minutes" they must have been. He speaks of how our Saviour is mentioned in Holy Writ as the "*Flos Campi*," and that therefore this *Flos florum* Campi is most typical of Him; he tells how He who was "*speciosus forma prae filiis hominum*" finds an emblem in its beauty, and he traces out how that gold, musk, and balm, proclaim the Divinity, soul and body, of the Incarnate God, and that as the balm united the musk to the gold, so did the soul unite the Deity to the humanity in our Lord.

The last time that a Pope preached upon the subject was in 1458, when Pius II. was the speaker, but afterwards their briefs took up the same strain of tender piety. Innocent XI. wrote to Queen Mary Casimir of Poland:

We send you the gift of the Golden Rose, enriched with all Apostolic benedictions, not a fleeting and vanishing blossom like that which fades and decays in this valley of trouble, but one in whose solidity and per-

manency there is a likeness of the lasting felicity that the just enjoy in the eternal beatitude.

Innocent XII. says to Amalia, Queen of Hungary :

We have determined to send you this Golden Rose, grown amidst the very Altars of the Church in the sweet atmosphere of the holy incense which has been bountifully bedewed by showers of heavenly benedictions.

Clement X. reminds Queen Mary of Spain that it is no flower trained by secular culture that he sends to her,

not one culled for the dalliance of the hour, but one gathered by our own hands at the holy altars, and bountifully watered with celestial benedictions. In that most lovely flower, whose perfume is the Faithful, the Church by ancient custom typifies the joy of both Jerusalems.

It is usually thought that the ceremony of blessing this lovely emblem was confined to Rome, but this is incorrect, for in the days when Europe formed one family in fidelity to the Holy Father, and he could move about among his children, the rite was observed wherever he might be upon Mid-Lent. Thus, in 1096, we read that Urban II. being in Turin, consecrated the Rose at the Church of St. Martin, and gave it to Fulke, Count of Anjou, and this so delighted that prince that he ordered it to be borne by himself and his successors every Palm Sunday in gratitude to that Pontiff. He is said also to have been the first who received it outside Rome, the prefect of that city having always had it previously. In 1163 Alexander III. visited Paris in Lent and gave the Rose to the young King Louis VII., and the same Pontiff, when at Venice fourteen years later, consecrated one at the high altar of St. Mark's, and presented it to the Doge. The first lady who received it was Joanna, Queen of Sicily, in 1362, to whom Urban V. awarded it when she was spending her Lent in Rome.

Amongst English-speaking peoples there are several records of this honour being conferred. Pope Eugenius, in 1446, sent one to Henry VI. of England; Innocent VIII. gave one forty years later to James III. of Scotland; Henry VIII. received no less than three, exceeding in this it would seem most other people in number—it was of course in the days of his fervour, while the example of earnest devotion to the faith



shown by his predecessor was fresh, and passion had not dulled religion in his soul. So ardent was he for holy Church that the year succeeding his succession Julius II. gave him the *Rose bénite*, and conferred upon him the title, which fifteen years later he interpreted by his acts into Destructor instead of Defensor Fidei; Leo X. renewed the gift, and the year before his apostacy Clement VII. endeavoured to strengthen him in ways of virtue by a similar display of fatherly affection. In his brief the Pope prettily alludes to the flower being the badge of England. “*Rosam quoque ob praeclaras dotes hujus Floris video esse luculentissimum symbolum Anglici regni.*” Queen Mary had one from Julius III. at her succession in 1555, and the last Catholic Queen of England, Henrietta Maria, wife of the Protestant Charles I., was also chosen for the honour by Pope Urban VIII. This was the last occasion that the *Rosa aurea* came to British lands, and perhaps there is not one in the possession of any noble family of these islands, save it be with the pious Empress of the French, who has so long honoured us by her sojourn.

It is not a gift confined to those of royal birth any more than to that sex which appears now alone to receive it—the instances we have quoted show this latter assertion to be true—and the giving of it to the Baronne Vigier, a Queen of Song in 1874, is a proof of the former. We have, moreover, an early record confirming this latter statement in the interesting history of a member of the ancient family of De Mohun. The great and good Reginald, who died in 1258, wished to found an abbey at Newenham, in Devonshire, and needing the Pope’s consent he set out for Lyons, where a Council of the Church was then sitting. The pious old man so charmed the Pontiff that he desired to give him the Golden Rose, but Reginald said that he was of no rank suited to such an honour, whereupon, according to Davidson’s History of the Abbey (p. 208), the Pope made him an “Apostolic Earl,” and enjoined that a pension of 200 marks should be yearly paid to Reginald out of the Peter’s Pence of the kingdom, upon the high altar of St. Paul’s, London.

Nor is the presentation made only to individuals but capitular bodies and favoured shrines have had the Rose sent to them. Three times has Loretto been thus honoured, viz.,

by Gregory XIII., Clement VIII., and Sixtus V.; the picture of the Saviour in the tabernacle of the chapel at top of Sancta Scala had one from Clement VII.; the Bambino, in the Ara Coeli; the picture of the Virgin at the Liberian Basilica; the Madonna d'Halle in Flanders, all have been similarly honoured, while we believe the present Pope has sent one to Lourdes. The Canons of St. Justus of Lyons, had one from Innocent IV. in the thirteenth century, in recognition of the hospitality they had displayed towards the council that sat there; Pope Urban V., in 1362, sent one from Avignon to the Basilica of St. Peter's, Rome, which being lost in 1527, was replaced by another in 1567 at the hands of Pius V. In 1726 Benedict XIII. gave one to the Cathedral of Capua; in 1833, Gregory XVI., did the same to St. Mark's, Venice; while an interesting precedent for our democratic times is happily to be found in 1564, when Pius IV. sent one to the Republic of Lucca.

A fourteenth century example of the Rosa d'oro is preserved in the interesting Clugny Museum in Paris, being one that was sent to the Prince Bishop of Bâle by Clement V. An engraving of what the usual type is may be seen in Angeli Rocca's "*Thesaurus Pontificiarum Antiquitatum*" (page 207). They are not, however, made to any one model, and have long exceeded the "two Roman ounces of gold" of the original tenure right. Now they are said to cost at least £500; at first it is said to have been a single flower, coloured red, and more like a carnation, but later it became a bush, forged of fine gold and with wrought branches, leaves, buds, and flowers, all of exquisitely delicate craftsmanship. The petals of the highest blossom were formed of the most daintily chased lamina of the precious metal, often enriched with jewels. In the centre is a small receptacle into which the Balsam is dropped and upon which powder of musk is sprinkled. The plant itself stands about 15 inches high, rising gracefully from a bowl or stand bearing the pontifical arms, &c. One sent to Henry VIII., Stow tells us, was set in a pot with 3 feet of an antique fashion, the whole tree being half a yard in height and a foot in breadth, while the uppermost rose bore a fair sapphire, loup pierced, the bigness of an acorn.

It may be from this custom of giving a Rose that we find

that flower assigned to the arms of St. Peter, which are described by some old heralds as “*Argent, six rosettes gules, 2, 2, 2, paleway,*” and Didron tells us of an ancient mosaic in the Church of St. Susanna, Rome, in which Charlemagne is pictured receiving from St. Peter the standard of the Church powdered with these flowers. Another instance is a fresco of our Blessed Lord meeting at the Quo Vadis the Apostle who bears a banner with six roses, and in the east window of Woodmanstone Church, Surrey, the Saint’s robe is *sémé* of the same. About Bologna on St. Peter’s Day it is the practice to wear a Rose Carnation, and probably the presence of this flower in the armorial bearings of cathedral and collegiate bodies, as also in those of ancient noble houses in Europe, might be found to bear a reference to the Saint or the gift of his successor. We certainly have an example of this latter in the case of Reginald de Mohun, of whom we have spoken and of whom we read in the Register of Newenham in British Museum (fol. 38)—“*Reginaldus de Mohun fundator hñ domus portavit de goules les escu ove la manche d’argent ermyne e en la mayn de argent une florete de or.*”

If this presentation of a Rose were not earlier than the eleventh century then it was anticipated in the sixth by St. Medard, Bishop of Noyon, who instituted the pretty custom of La Rosière at Salency, when instead of a Pope and Cardinals selecting the recipient the vote of her village companions determined the wearer of the White Rose crown. This was a counterpart in humble life of the honourable distinction of which we have been speaking, and both sovereign and subject, noble and peasant, were encouraged to aim at lives of virtue by the guerdon of a flower.

We have so far spoken of two forms of Papal favour, one entirely past, and one in practice to this present; our third is in abeyance for reasons which will be apparent, it is the gift of *Lo stocco e il beretto*—the Sword and Cap. In the days when Christendom was united in faith and in attachment to the Pope, there was a very clear meaning in this gift which to us of to-day is well nigh lost.

The gift of the Sword was sent by the Pope to those whom he deemed worthy of knighthood in the cause which he represents on earth; when pagan hordes were assailing Christendom,

when the wolves of heresy were rending the fold, when kings were false to their oaths and forgot their people's needs for their selfish indulgences, then the watchman upon Peter's Rock had to summon his paladins and enforce justice when entreaty failed. Before the Reformation the sense of a whole community at unity in faith acknowledged the wisdom and the rightness of the use of temporal weapons against disturbers of their peace in religion as much as we do now in political affairs, for then it was rebellion against truth, known and certain, and hence wilful sin, but now no longer is that so, since ignorance of the truth has become habit, and hence not wilful in the community.

But we are, perhaps, giving too much the impression that the sword was sent only to those of whom temporal aid was sought to repel the rievvers of the Church's tilth and lea, and that would be untrue. It was a token of friendly reliance, rather than an actual commission. By some its origin is placed in the ninth century, but Cartari says, on the authority of the erudite Contelori, that no mention is found of it before the pontificate of Boniface VIII., elected in 1291, while Urban VI. is stated to have added the blessing of the Cap in 1385. We think, however, we have found an example of both in our own annals earlier than any known to these learned people, and that is in Holinshed's history (304).

"About the year 1202," he says, "the Pope sent a Legate to King William (the Lyon) of Scotland, presenting him with a Sword, with a sheath and hilts of gold, set full of rich precious stones. He presented unto him also a Hat or Bonnet made in manner of a Diadem of purple hue, in token (it should mean) that he was Defender of the Church."

The blessing of the Cap and Sword takes place annually, we believe, at the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, immediately before the Matins that precede the Midnight Mass of the Nativity. The words of Jeremias to Judas Maccabaeus are used at its presentation: "Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with the which thou shalt smite the adversaries" (Macc. II. xv., 12-17), and the allusions to the Sword of the Spirit and the Helmet of Salvation indicate the mystical meanings attached to them. We have fortunately preserved to us an example of the Sword and its Belt, but we are not aware of any of that of the Beretto. At the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, London, on May 19, 1892, was exhibited a handsome baldric, or belt,

which, after many vicissitudes, had been saved from revolutionists, and was the property of an English clergyman, who has lately most generously restored it to be united to the state sword of Scotland to which it had belonged. It had been sent by Pope Julius II. to King James IV., and is woven with the arms, keys, and tiara of the Pontiff, and has a splendid silver buckle ornamented with blue enamel. Mr. Franks, the President of the Society, tells me that he discovered a very fine papal sword in the lumber room of the Museum at Cassel, and that another with part of the belt exists at Zurich. These swords became part of the regalia, and were borne before princes upon state occasions.

The Caps are of velvet, lined and turned up with ermine, set with pearls, bound round with a golden cord and bearing upon the top or centre a dove as emblem of the Spirit of Wisdom. They do not seem to have been of one colour, for we read of purple, grey and crimson examples. The Cap of Estate, commonly called the Cap of Maintenance (meaning held by the hand while the sovereign wore the crown, *tenu par la main*), has been identified by some with this gift of the Holy See. When the sovereign in England opens Parliament in State, this cap is borne before him, by some nobleman, upon a short staff. A claim to the right of bearing this cap was made by a Marquess of Winchester, upon the death of the Duke of Bolton in 1794, and the desired privilege was graciously conceded! Ambitions such as these may be amusing to many minds, but they take us back in thought to early days at the formation of the courts of the Emperors of the West, when to be Master of the Horse, or of the Hawks, Count of the Stable (Constable), or Cup-bearer to the King, were active officials around the throne.

Among other occasions, when *Lo stocco e il beretto* were presented, we find some of general interest, such as in 1385, when Urban VI. gave them to the President of the Luccese Republic. May we hope that one day a similar honour may fall to America? In 1414 the Emperor Sigismund received them after the Mass of Christmas Day, and Edward IV. of England was likewise selected in 1483. Pope Alexander VI., fourteen years later, sent them to Henry VII., who lies in the magnificent Lady Chapel he built at Westminster Abbey, and he received

them with great ceremony. We read in the King's life, by Kennet (i. 521), that the Mayor of London and his brethren were bidden to meet the Pope's ambassador at the city bridge, and that all the streets between Bridge-foot and the "Palace of Paul's," where the King then lay, were garnished with the citizens standing in their liveries. On the morrow after, being Allhallows Day, the King, attended by many of his prelates, nobles, and principal courtiers, went in procession to St. Paul's, the Sword and Cap being borne before him; and after the procession, the King himself remaining seated in the Quire, the Lord Archbishop, upon the grice or step of the Quire, made a long oration, setting forth the greatness and eminency of that honour which the Pope in these ornaments and ensigns of benediction, had done the King; and how rarely, and upon what high deserts, they were bestowed.

James IV. of Scotland's sword we have already mentioned, and James V. had another from Paul III. in 1535, when the Legate addressed him as "Defender of the Faith," and spoke of the manner in which his uncle in England (Henry VIII.) had abused that title. In 1514 Henry VIII. had also received the cap and sword from Leo X., for in those years he was proud of entitling himself Champion of the Holy See. There is an account of the intense joy with which he received the gift, telling how "the maior, the aldermen and the crafts stode in the strets," and at the west end of St. Paul's the protonotary and his attendants were met by the clergy, all "in pontificalibus," and how the "Qwere of Powlys" sang "antiphes," &c. Badoer, the Venetian Ambassador, who was present, made great mirth in the account he sent home of Henry's behaviour, for he seemed beside himself with joy. After being girt with the sword, and having had the cap placed for a moment upon the head, it was usual for them to be borne before the prince, but Henry would have none of this, but kept them on, and made the procession round the church with the great sword getting in his way at every step, and the great cap, a foot long, slipping down over his ears and eyes, however he tilted it. The last occasion of this gift being sent to England was in the reign of Queen Mary, who received the Golden Rose, when her husband, Philip of Spain, had the Sword and Cap from Pope Julius II.

There are other gifts occasionally mentioned as coming from the Holy See, but some do not seem to have been distinctive, and others seldom repeated. The Venerable Bede (H.E., ij. 10, 11) tells us of a *camisia* and golden ornament sent by Boniface V. to King Edwin, and of a gilded ivory comb and silver mirror for his Queen; four rings came to Richard Cœur de Lion in 1189 with typical stones—emerald, sapphire, granatus, and opaz; the Pope's Palm was sent in the ninth century, it is said, and perhaps the "phoenix feather" books speak of as received by Tyrone, King of Ulster, from Clement VIII., was this branch of the *Phoenix dactylifera*, or palm. Sixtus IV. sent an oak branch of gold to the cathedral of his native place, Sienna, with reference to his name. Barrière states that Lances were once blessed "*pour les enfans des rois*"; Blessed Banners also were sometimes given. The title of supreme command of the Papal forces was that of Gonfaloniere, or Standard Bearer, and this is probably what is meant in the mosaic of St. Susanna, to which we have referred, where Charlemagne is being presented with a standard. William of Normandy is said to have received one, and other instances might be found. An engraving of one of these banners may be seen on the cover of the "*Schweizerisches Landes Museum*" printed at Zurich in 1890. It represents one given by Julius II., and consists of the arms of Zurich per bend argent and azure with a panel at one corner of embroidery on which are the Coronation of the Virgin and the arms of the Pope.

A. E. P. RAYMUND DOWLING.

## ART. V.—A VISITATION OF ST. MARY CHURCH IN A.D. 1301.\*

WHEN the Devonshire Association met at St. Mary Church in 1887, I read a paper in which I endeavoured to trace the history of that ancient village in Saxon and Norman times. Since then additional light has been thrown upon the mediæval history of St. Mary Church by the labours of Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph, in his admirable edition of the *Episcopal Registers* of Walter de Stapeldon. It is true that the record to which I propose to call attention does not properly belong to the episcopate of Bishop Stapeldon, for that prelate was not elected until the November of 1307, whereas the record in question gives the result of a Visitation held in 1301, the year before Walter de Stapeldon was appointed canon of Exeter, and when he was simply rector of Aveton-Gifford. The record is, in fact, an extract from the *Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter*. But Prebendary Randolph has done well to publish this interesting episode, and has guarded his readers against mistakes by putting it in brackets. The Latin original will be found at the end of this paper.

As the idea of a Visitation has considerably changed in these times from what it was understood to be in mediæval England, and is still in Catholic countries, it may be well to remind ourselves of what a Visitation properly means.

The Visitation of his diocese has always been considered one of the most essential duties of a bishop. It is, in fact, involved in the very name of his office—*Episcopus*—one who oversees things. He is bound, at certain times, personally to look into every portion of the charge committed to him, with his own eyes to see all his clergy, to examine the churches, chapels, and oratories, the convents, and other ecclesiastical institutions, unless especially exempted from his jurisdiction. He has to examine the schools and other places of education. He has to take account of the property of ecclesiastical foun-

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\* By the Right Rev. Monsignor Brownlow, M.A.—Read before the *Devonshire Association* at Torquay, July, 1893.



dations, and to see that they are rightly administered. Of course, many details he must necessarily leave to his vicars-general, to the archdeacons, rural deans, and other assistants, to whom he may delegate his powers. The Visitation will vary in its procedure, according to whether it is a parish or a convent that has to be visited.

In mediæval times there were frequent disputes as to the power of a Metropolitan to visit the dioceses of his suffragan bishops as well as his own. The Council of Trent finally settled these disputes by laying down: "Metropolitans may not, even after a full Visitation of their own diocese, visit the cathedral churches or the dioceses of their own comprovincials, except for a cause made known and approved in a Provincial Council."\* However, it seems to have been the custom in England in the thirteenth century. Archbishop Peckham writes from Chudleigh, on May 28th, 1282, to Bishop Quivil, telling him that he heard that the bishop had been molesting Master Philip, Archdeacon of Barnstaple, because the archbishop had sent him to Rome on ecclesiastical business, *pro ecclesiæ nostræ negotiis*; and he requests him not to disturb him, but to leave him in peaceful possession of his rights and benefices.† In another letter, dated Slyndon, May 28th, 1282, he says, "In our late Visitation of the diocese of Exeter, we inquired into various charges against the Archdeacon of Cornwall," &c.‡ Pope John XXII., by a Bull, dated Avignon, October 15th, 1326, gave full powers to Walter Raynold, Archbishop of Canterbury, "freely to visit the dioceses of your suffragans, as you shall see fit, once only, any Constitutions notwithstanding."§ But, in 1332, Bishop Grandisson appealed to the apostolic See against the Visitation of his cathedral and diocese by Archbishop Mepham; and issued a solemn inhibition to the dean, forbidding him on pain of the greater excommunication from publishing the Primate's letters. The Archbishop came, but was met at the door of the church by the Bishop of Exeter with a strong guard, and the Metropolitan had to return to London without having effected his Visitation.

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\* Sess. XXIV. *de Ref.* 13.

† *Ibid.* p. 83.

‡ Wilkins' *Conc.* II. 67.

§ *Ibid.* p. 533.

There was a difference in the method of the Visitation, according as it was ordinary or extraordinary. An extraordinary Visitation, on account of some parochial scandal that required investigation, would be made without notice, in order that the evil might be more easily detected.

The ordinary or canonical Visitation was announced some time beforehand, and the parishioners were stirred up to prepare themselves for the visit of the chief pastor. The church would be put in order, the sacred vessels and vestments cleaned and renovated, a list of all the articles used in divine worship prepared, the Missals and other Liturgical books would be examined, the clerks and choir boys admonished to be on their best behaviour. Then the children would be prepared for confirmation; obdurate sinners would be admonished that their case would be made known to the bishop, and if they did not repent, they might be visited with excommunication. There were no heretics in England in the time of Edward II., so that there would be no need for the bishop to inquire after them. But the parish priest would have to look to his own ways. The bishop would not only inspect his church and its ornaments, his house and all its arrangements, his glebe and its accounts, but he would invite the parishioners to state any complaints they might have against their priest. He would inquire how often he preached, whether he said Mass and heard confessions frequently, whether he catechised the children, whether he was diligent in visiting the sick and dying, whether he was often absent from his parish, and whether he was avaricious in exacting his dues. A Visitation was no doubt a safety-valve for letting off a great deal of suppressed ill-feeling, but the complainants were strictly admonished as to the grave sin of false accusations, especially against their pastor, and the bishop would be on his guard against *ex parte* statements.

Bishops in the middle ages travelled with a certain amount of state, and many Councils found it necessary to admonish them to be careful not to become burdensome to their clergy by the number of their attendants, or by requiring or accepting unnecessary sumptuousness in their entertainment. Even seventy years ago there was no carriage road to St. Mary Church, and we may take it for granted that the bishop made

his Visitation on horseback. As soon as his approach was observed, the church bells would ring a joyful peal, the parish priest in surplice and cope, attended by his clerks, would go forth to the entrance of the churchyard, or perhaps of the village, where a carpet would be spread. As soon as the bishop arrived he alighted from his horse, knelt down and kissed the cross presented to him by the priest, and then walked, under a canopy borne by the magistrates or chief men of the place, to the porch of the church, where the priest presented him with the holy water brush, with which he sprinkled himself, the clergy, and the people. He then blessed the incense, and was incensed three times by the parish priest. The bishop then proceeds up the church, adores the blessed Sacrament, which in Exeter Cathedral used to be reserved in a silver vessel shaped like a dove, suspended over the high altar; and, after a short private prayer for the success of his Visitation, the parish priest recites some versicles and prayers. Then the bishop goes up to the altar and gives the people his benediction. He then addresses the people from his throne, or from the pulpit, and explains the object of the Visitation, and the order in which it will take place, and anything that he thinks advisable to say to them. After his sermon a cleric sings the *Confiteor*, the parish priest announces the indulgence of forty days, which the bishop grants, and afterwards gives the benediction. He then puts on an amice and a purple or black stole, and a cope, and goes out to the churchyard, where he says the *De Profundis*, and certain prayers for the faithful departed.

If the bishop does not hold the Visitation himself, the vicar-general, or the priest delegated to hold it must be provided with letters authorising him to act in this capacity, and defining the limits within which he is to confine his inquiries. These letters are to be read out by a notary to the clergy and people as soon as the Visitor enters the church. In this case, of course, all the ceremonial which has reference to the episcopal character is omitted, and there is no indulgence or benediction. Prebendary Randolph gives, on p. 149, a presentment by the dean and chapter to Bishop Stapeldon of the persons to whom they ask him to issue a commission to visit the churches and property belonging to

them in the Archdeaconry of Exeter, dated October 4th, 1319.

We shall get a clearer idea of what was to be expected in this Visitation of St. Mary Church in 1301, if we refer to a Synod held in Exeter, under Bishop Quivil in April, 1287. Its decrees are contained in fifty-five chapters, which occupy thirty-nine folio pages of Wilkins' *Concilia*, and throw more light than any other record that I have ever seen upon the social and religious life of Devonshire in the reign of Edward I. The Roman See was vacant, and Peckham was Archbishop of Canterbury. A comparison of these decrees with the documents preserved in Lyndwood's *Provinciale* shows that one main object of the Synod of Exeter, was to publish the acts of what Lyndwood calls the "Pan-Anglican Council" (*Concilium Pan-Anglicum*), held in St. Paul's, London, under Cardinal Otho, Legate of the Holy See in 1236; and those of another Council held in the same place under Cardinal Othobonus in 1268; together with certain constitutions of Archbishop Peckham issued at Reading in 1279. Hence, the Synod of Exeter orders a copy of its decrees to be written out before the coming Michaelmas, and preserved in every church. The fortieth chapter is "on Archdeacons' Visitations," and the Synod requires the four archdeacons "to visit every year each church within their archdeaconry, and keep an inventory of their vestments, books, vessels, and other ornaments, so that they may see what have been super-added by the diligence of the parish priests since the time of the former visitation, and what have been deteriorated or lost in the meantime by their negligence.\*

It seems that monasteries used sometimes to supply those churches that belonged to them with books that had been cast aside by the monks as worthless, because incorrectly copied, and so the priests were led into erroneous readings, which made the more educated laymen deride them as simpletons. I need not remind you of the old story of *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus*. It also appears that priests of poorly supplied churches used sometimes to borrow sacred ornaments from their richer neighbours, and pass them off as their own, and so

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\* Cap. XL.

escape blame. The Synod forbids this fraud under pain of excommunication.\*

In order to prevent unnecessary expense, the archdeacons are forbidden to invite any of their own friends to accompany them. If the rector chooses to ask some outsiders to meet them, this is not forbidden; but if any one intrudes himself, he is to be suspended if a cleric, if a layman to be quietly set right, and instructed not to intrude again. The archdeacon is not to exact, or allow his men to exact, anything more than the old-established charges; and in poor churches, which on account of their poverty have been hitherto exempt from charge, he is not to exact anything.

The manor, or rather one of the manors of St. Mary Church, had been, since the time of Edward the Confessor, the property of the canons of Exeter; and the bishop required them to visit the church and ecclesiastical institutions, which would not have belonged to them simply in their capacity as lords of the manor, or as patrons of the benefice. The acts and records of the chapter were submitted to the bishop's inspection, and the bishop would then be relieved from the obligation of making a visitation himself. The Visitors appointed by the chapter in 1301 were Robert de Veteri Terra, which may, perhaps, be fairly translated Oldfield, and John of Uphavene, who are called "seneschals of the chapter." The former is mentioned in a will of 1295, as *firmarius* of Topsham Church, and the latter was sub-dean of the cathedral, and canon penitentiary. He was the first who held that office, which Bishop Quivil endowed with the Rectory of Egloshayle in Cornwall. The Penitentiary was, according to the deed of institution, given by Prebendary Randolph in Bishop Quivil's *Registers*,† to spend six months of the year in hearing confessions, especially of sick persons, in all parts of the diocese. Thus he would fitly represent the spiritual authority of the chapter, while Robert Oldfield would represent its temporal authority.

At the beginning of this century, as I have said, there was no carriage road to St. Mary Church, and the Visitors must have ridden over from Exeter, or probably from Staverton, where they had been the day before.‡ In their twofold

\* Cap. XI.

‡ *Bishop Stapeldon's Registers*, p. 378.

[No. 9 of *Fourth Series*.]

† Pages 324, 325.

capacity as lords of the manor, and as representatives of the bishop, they were doubtless received with much respect, and after the customary prayers they commenced their Visitation. They evidently took the Exeter Synod as their guide, and reported accordingly.

To begin with the high altar and its furniture. The Synod lays down,\* "Let there be in every church at least one chalice, pure silver or silver-gilt. A vessel of silver or pewter for the sick, that the priest may have a washing for his fingers in the same after the sick have received the Eucharist. . . . A pyx for

\* SYNOD OF EXETER HELD UNDER BISHOP QUIVIL, A.D. 1287.

Cap. XII. *De ecclesiarum ornamentis, et eorum custodia.*

Sit in qualibet ecclesia saltem unus Calix argenteus, purus vel deauratus: ciphus argenteus vel stanneus pro infirmis, ut postquam eucharistiam assumpserint, loturam digitorum suorum sacerdos sibi præbeat in eodem. Sint duo corporalia munda et integra cum repositoriis: duo paria vestimentorum: quorum unum festivale aliud feriale: quatuor tuellae ad majus altare, quarum saltem duæ sint benedictæ et una illarum cum parura; item ad quodlibet altare, cum contigerit missam inibi celebrari. Sint superpellicea duo et unum rochetum; velum quadragesimale; velum nuptiale; palla mortuorum: frontellum ad quodlibet altare; missale bonum, gradale, troparium, manuale bonum, legenda, antiphonale, psalteria, ordinale, venitare, ympnale, collectare.

Præsens Synodus scripta habeatur in singulis ecclesiis citra festum S. Michaelis. Cista ad libros et vestimenta. Pyxis argentea vel saltem eburnea ad eucharistiam cum serura. Chrismatorium stanneum cum serura. Asser ad pacem. Pyxis ad oblatas. Tres phialæ. Sacramentarium lapideum, et immobile. Thuribulum. Vas ad incensum, vas ad aquam benedictum. Hercia ad tenebras. Candelabrum paschale. Duæ cruces; una fixa, et alia portabilis. Imago Beatæ Virginis, et Sancti loci ejusdem. Cereus paschalis. Duo cerei processionales. Caelatura super altare. Campanella deferenda ad infirmos, et ad elevationem Corporis Christi. Lucerna Boeta. Campanellæ ad mortuos. Feretrum mortuorum. Baptisterium lapidem bene seratum. Fenestræ vitreæ sufficientes in cancello et navi ecclesiæ. . . .

Item audivimus, quod propter sedilia in ecclesia rixantur multoties parochiani, duobus vel pluribus unum sedile vendicantibus; propter quod grave scandalum in ecclesia generatur et divinum sæpius impeditur officium; statuimus, quod nullus de cætero quasi proprium sedile in ecclesia valeat vendicare, nobilibus personis et ecclesiarum patronis duntaxat exceptis; si qui orandi causa primo ecclesiam introerit, juxta propriæ voluntatis arbitrium sibi eligat orandi locum.

Præcipimus insuper, quod de ecclesiarum instauro, ipsius custodes, coram rectoribus vel vicariis ecclesiarum, seu saltem capellanis parochialibus; et quinque vel sex parochianis fide dignis, quos ipsi rectores, vicarii vel capellani de hoc duxerint eligendos, quodlibet anno computum fideliter reddant, et redigatur in scriptis; quam scripturam præcipimus loci archidiacono, cum visitat, præsentari; nec ipsum instaurem in alios usus, quam ecclesiæ, ullatenus convertatur; unde si parochiani pro defectibus ecclesiæ, seu pro aliis demeritis, amerciari contigerit, de proprio satisfaciant, instauro ecclesiæ integre remanente. Et quia nonnunquam certi redditus et instaurem cantariis, altaribus, seu luminaribus assignatur; præcipimus, quod ipsa in alios usus ecclesiæ minime convertantur, nisi necessitas vel saltem æquitas aliter suadeat ordinare, loci archidiaconi, vel saltem rectoris accedente concessu.

the Eucharist of silver or pewter with a lock. A board (*asser*) for the Pax. A pyx for the unconsecrated altar-breads (*oblatus*). Three cruets. An altar-slab (*sacramentarium*) of stone and immovable. A thurible ; a vessel for incense ; a vessel for holy water." Our Commissioners report that at St. Mary Church they found "a chalice sufficiently good, gilt inside. No pyx for the Eucharist ; but there was a pyx for the altar-breads. A chrismatory of wood with a lock." This was for keeping the parochial stock of the holy oils. "No vessel for the visitation of the sick. A decent little Pax-board." This was a metal instrument for giving the kiss of peace with at Mass. The *asser* or board mentioned by the Synod shows that it was of wood, often with a metal plate upon it.\* The Synod said there should be "two corporals, clean and sound, with burses for the same. Two sets of vestments, one for festivals, the other for ordinary days (*aliud feriale*). Four cloths at the high altar, two of which must be blessed, and one of them with a border round it. Let there be two surplices and one rochet. A Lenten veil, a nuptial veil, a pall for the dead. A frontal at each altar." The Visitors report "Three sets of vestments, of which one chasuble is sufficiently good, and two others not so. Only one surplice, old and in holes. A rochet barely fit for use." The rochet differs from the surplice in having the sleeves closely fitting to the arms instead of being loose and flowing. It is now restricted to prelates and canons ; but seems to have been worn in England by serving-boys at Mass, as it is now in France. "Five (altar) cloths blessed, of which one has a border, and a sixth cloth unblessed. Four cruets sufficiently good. The frontal at the high altar is of silk and tolerable." The Synod said there must be "a paschal candlestick, two crosses ; one fixed, the other portable. A paschal candle. Two processional candles." At St. Mary Church, there were "a processional cross in sufficiently good order, two processional candlesticks of pewter."

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\* See under Stoke Canon, *Bishop Stapeldon's Register*, p. 380 : "Asser cum metallo in superficie in quo figuratur Imago Crucifixi. Paxillum cum lapide de viridi marmore."

Mr. Maskell says : "Examples of paxes are to be seen in many public collections of works of mediæval art ; in metal, silver, and ivory : 'iij lyttel pax-bredes of tre' belonged to the parish of St. Mary Chepe in 1431."—*Ancient Liturgy*, p. 172.

The Visitors seem to have first inspected the books which were in the church. The Synod had directed that in every church there should be "a good Missal, a Gradale, a Troparium, a good Manuale, a Legenda, an Antiphonale, Psalters, an Ordinale, a Venitare, a Hymnale, a Collectare."

The *Gradale*, or Gradual, contained the words and music of the introits, graduals, offertory, and communion verses, in fact all that was ordinarily sung by the choir during High Mass. The *Troparium* contained the words and music of the proses, sequences, and other metrical pieces introduced for special feasts. The *Manuale* contained the offices for baptism, extreme unction, marriage, burial, various benedictions, and answered to the *Rituale*. The *Hymnale* contained the hymns sung at processions, and at vespers. The *Ordinale* regulated the ceremonies for different festivals throughout the year.

The *Venitare* contained the invitatories for the *Venite*, at the beginning of matins, which used to be sung publicly in parish churches on Sundays and great feasts. The *Legenda* contained the lections for matins, from Holy Scripture for the first nocturn, from the lives of the Saints for the second nocturn, and a homily from the Fathers on the gospel of the day for the third nocturn. The *Antiphonale* contained the antiphons for vespers; and the Psalter was the book of Psalms, divided as they were used at the seven canonical hours for the different days of the week. The *Capitularium* and *Collectare* contained the little chapters and collects of the hours. The Visitors found at St. Mary Church, "One psalter much worn and unfit for use, with a Manuale bound up with it, another psalter of no value, a good Antiphonale, with a Collectarium, a Capitularium, and Hymnarium bound up with it, a Legenda complete for the whole year in two volumes, with a Capitularium, a Collectarium and Hymnarium, and with the Antiphonarium inserted in its proper place according to the season, an Ordinale unfit for use, a copy of the Synodal Statute fairly good, a Missal, with the musical notes written in a good character, a Gradale with the Troparium, presented by the chapter, not altogether according to the use (of Exeter). And another Gradale, old and decayed. There was no Manuale besides the one in the



psalter mentioned above; the Troparium and the Processionale are both very good."

The Synod lays down that the cost of all these ornaments has hitherto been, and is still to be borne by the parishioners; but the books for matins, one psalter, the glass windows in the chancel, and the canopy over the high altar. (*cœlatura*) are to be provided by the rector or vicar, in whose custody all are to be kept. If any accident happens, or thieves steal or destroy anything, on account of the chancel not being properly kept, the rector will bear the risk. If the nave of the church has been the cause of the damage, the loss falls on the parishioners.\*

There was a little parochial dispute, which was referred to our Visitors. *A propos* of the chalice, they note, "The chalice belonging to the chapel of Collaton, which is now in ruins, the parishioners of that chapelry—of whom some were allotted to St. Mary Church, and some to [Kings] Kerswell—now keep, and refuse to give it up to the mother church. The parishioners of the said mother church claim it, together with the *instaurum* and timber (*meremium*) of the same chapel, for the keeping up of the said mother church. That is but just."

*Meremium* was a corruption of *materiamen*, a mediæval word for timber, and we learn from the Synod what to understand by *instaurum*. The Synod says, "We command, moreover, that with regard to the *instaurum* of churches, the churchwardens (*custodes*) shall every year faithfully render an account of the same before the rectors or vicars of the churches, or at least before the parochial chaplains, and five or six trustworthy parishioners, whom the rectors, vicars, or chaplains shall judge worthy to be chosen, and their accounts shall be committed to writing, and we command that this writing be presented to the archdeacon of the place when he makes his Visitation. And the fund itself shall never be applied to other uses than for the church; so that, if the parishioners be charged for the damage done to the church, or for their own shortcomings, they shall make it good out of their own substance, and the *instaurum* of the church shall remain intact. And because sometimes certain rents and *instaurum* are assigned to chantries, altars, or

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\* *Ibid.* Cap. XII.

lights, we command that these shall by no means be converted to other church uses, unless necessity, or at least equity persuade (the authorities), to order otherwise, supported by the consent of the archdeacon of the place, or at least of the rector."

The *instaurum* thus means a fund similar to that which is called in France *la fabrique*, for keeping in repair the church, the capital of which is not to be touched, and every care is to be taken in its administration. When a chapel, like that of Collaton, had fallen down, and there was no likelihood of its being rebuilt, it was a difficult matter to know what was to be done with the fund. The decision of our Visitors seems according to equity, as indeed they say.

There was a further matter of contention between the vicar of St. Mary Church and his parishioners. "The parishioners say that, until the time of the present vicar, they had been accustomed to keep up the chancel in all respects, and were exempt from the payment of tithes for the fund of the church. But this vicar, although he does not keep up the chancel, yet receives the tithes, and compels them to pay them."

Another complaint was, that "Agnes Bonatrix left five shillings (charged) on a field of barley, for the keeping up of the Church of St. Mary, and the vicar received this, and keeps it for his own use. Also, Master Roger de Rous left a certain sum of money for the same purpose, which the said vicar is reported to have received in part."

The Synod had decreed, "as to cemeteries of churches, both because they are holy places, and also because they are sanctified by the relics of saints buried there, we command that they be kept free from all uncleanness, and especially that they be not defiled by the filth of brute animals." The parishioners tell the Visitors that "the vicar puts his beasts of all kinds into the cemetery, and in consequence it is badly trampled about and abominably defiled." The Synod had enacted, "That if the rectors of churches, or parish priests, to whom the custody of the cemeteries is understood principally to belong, put their own or other people's animals to feed there, or allow them to be fed there, we decree that they be heavily punished by the ordinaries of the place."\*

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\* *Synod. Exon. Cap. XIV.*

The same decree says, "And whereas we have understood that between the rectors of churches and their parishioners disputes often arise about the trees growing in the cemetery, each side maintaining that these belong to them, we deem it better to clear up the question of right by setting forth the written law, than to settle the matter by a special statute of our own. For, since the cemetery, especially when it has been consecrated, is the soil of the church, and whatever is planted on it goes with the soil; it follows necessarily that the same trees ought to be accounted among the goods of the church, of the disposal of which no power is given to laymen. But since those same trees are often planted on account of the violence of the wind, that it may not injure the churches, we forbid the rectors of churches from presuming to cut them down indiscriminately, unless when the chancel of the church requires necessary repair. And they are not to be applied to any other uses whatsoever, except when the nave of the church stands in need of repair, and the rectors, on account of the poverty of their parish, charitably choose to bestow on them some of these trees. We do not command this to be done, but when it has been done, we commend it."

I am afraid the vicar of St. Mary Church could not claim this commendation, for his parishioners complained that "the said vicar appropriates to himself the trees in the cemetery that are blown down by the wind, and uses them for his own buildings."

They also complain "that the said vicar causes his malt to be prepared in the church, and stores up his wheat and other things there. And hence his labourers, coming in and going out, open the door, and the wind, in stormy times, gets into the church, and often blows off portions of the roof." This was a more serious matter than the complaint about the trees, where the vicar seems to have been fairly within his rights. The Visitors report that "one window in the south side of the chancel is badly glazed, and without iron fittings; another with the iron worn thin, and without any glass; a third with iron fittings, but no glass. Moreover, the roof of the chancel is in a feeble state. The font has no lock; the nave of the church, and likewise the tower, want fresh roofing." This dilapidated church was rebuilt in the time of Richard II.

The Visitation went on to investigate the way in which the vicar fulfilled his spiritual duties. His parishioners say "that he preaches well, and exercises himself laudably in all things in his office when he is present. But he very often absents himself, and spends much time at Mortone (Moreton Hampstead), sometimes for fifteen days together, sometimes for eight, so that the villagers have no chaplain, except when Sir Walter, the archdeacon's chaplain, is there, or some one else is found to supply for the occasion."

The parish priest does not seem to have made any complaints against his parishioners, so that it may be assumed that the St. Mary Church people had no cases of flagrant crimes amongst them. The Synod says, "We have heard that parishioners frequently quarrel about the seats in the church, two or more laying claim to the same seat, and on this account grave scandal is caused in the church, and divine service is often interrupted. We lay down that no one from henceforth can claim a seat in the church as his own except noblemen and patrons of churches. Whoever first enters the church for the purpose of praying may choose, according to the judgment of his own will, his place for praying." There does not appear to have been any quarrel of this kind at St. Mary Church.

I suspect that the vicar, whose name does not appear, must have had a bad quarter of an hour the next time he saw the bishop, especially as Thomas de Bodeham, the late Archdeacon of Totnes, was a remarkably good and zealous man, and must have warned him to amend his ways. His successor, Roger de Rous, seems to have sent his chaplain sometimes to supply for the vicar during his frequent visits to Moreton Hampstead, where Robert de Combe was then rector. It may, however, be observed that, although the St. Mary Church people were sufficiently outspoken as to the shortcomings of their vicar, there is no suspicion of any charge against his morals. We may take it as proved that he was a man of blameless life, who acquitted himself of his duties to his flock fairly well, though he was too fond of staying away on the moors. He was not popular, on account of a certain close-fisted way he had about financial matters; but his chief fault seems to have been his want of care for his church and its furniture. Every time that he celebrated Mass he probably said, when he washed his

hands, “*Domine, dilexi decorem domus tue, et locum habitationis gloriæ tue*—Lord, I have loved the beauty of Thy house, and the place of the habitation of Thy glory.”\* How strange those words must have seemed, with his malt on the floor, and his corn littering in the tower, while the wind was blowing through the broken windows, and threatening to carry away the dilapidated roof!

Again, the absence of a pyx for the Blessed Eucharist reveals an habitual irreverence, in direct variance with the most earnest injunctions of the Synod, of which he had a copy in his church. That Synod enjoins, in its fourth chapter, “Let the parish priest always have, for the sake of the sick, consecrated hosts, which we strongly forbid to be kept more than seven days; but on the following Sunday, before the ablution of the Chalice, let them be consumed by the priest celebrating the Mass, or by another, so that it be done worthily and devoutly; and on that day let hosts, according to the number of the parishioners, more or less, be newly consecrated, so as to last through the week.”

The Synod goes on: “When the Eucharist shall be carried to the sick, let the priest put on his surplice and stole, unless the distance of the place and the inclemency of the weather will not admit of it. Let the Lord’s Body be laid up in a most clean burse, and that shut up under a lock in a pyx clean and decent of silver or of ivory, or other fitting material, and let the priest carry it on his breast, with a lantern going before him, because it is ‘the brightness of the everlasting Light’ that is carried. Let also a little bell go in front, that at its sound the faithful may be stirred up to adore the Body of our Lord, by humbly bowing themselves and, if possible, falling on their knees; and that their trouble in this may be held meritorious, we mercifully relax thirteen days of the penance enjoined them, to all those who do this with a pure and devout heart, that no one may think it burdensome to render such service to his Creator.”† It is difficult to see how this injunction could be carried out if there was no pyx.

Besides the articles already mentioned, the Synod had pre-

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\* This *Lavabo* psalm is prescribed in the York Missal. The Hereford has the *Veni Creator*. The Sarum substitutes a Prayer.

† Cap. IV.

scribed for every church "a thurible, a vessel for incense, a vessel for Holy Water. . . . A canopy over the Altar. A bell to be carried to the sick, and for the elevation of the Body of Christ. A *Lucerna Boetta* (which appears from the Statutes of Ottery St. Mary to have been a lantern, to prevent the wind blowing out the light).<sup>\*</sup> Bells for the dead. A bier for the dead." None of these seem to have been in the sacristy of St. Mary Church. It may be urged that a little country village could hardly be expected to be provided with all these utensils. But what if they are found to be in the small chapelries dependent on St. Mary Church? Surely the mother church ought not to have been behind its daughter chapels.

A Visitation at Staverton, made the day before our Visitation, contains a very much fuller inventory than that which we have discussed, both as to books and altar furniture. There was a silk cope there, though not of great value. The parishioners say that "Sir Walter, the Vicar, conducts himself well and honourably, and instructs them exceedingly well in spiritual things. There is no defect in him, as they assert. They know nothing of any mortal sin concealed." The Visitors seem to have been informed of some false reports against him. But a Visitation which Bishop Stapeldon made of the same parish on the 1st of April, 1314, finds a number of deficiencies in the inventory. And the Bishop charges the rectors, that is, the dean and chapter, the vicar, whose name was Adam, and the parishioners, to make good all these deficiencies by Michaelmas, or they will have to pay a fine of £20 towards the building of Exeter Cathedral.

The Visitors proceed to the visitation of "Carswille," or Kingskerswell, and report :

In the said Chapel there is a fairly good Missal, and likewise a Gradale with a Troparium. A tolerably good chalice. Two sets of vestments all complete, and two sets of corporals, with good burses of silk. Six [altar] cloths. Two surplices and one rochet. A Pyx for the Eucharist of wood, without a lock. A pewter vessel for visiting the sick. A processional Cross, old and unfit for use, though its staff is decent. Five cruets. One Psalter, defective. An Antiphonale in poor condition. No Ordinale. No Legenda. The font without a lock. A fairly good thurible, and a lantern. A good banner. The Chapel has the wall in the nave broken,

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<sup>\*</sup> See Oliver, *Monasticon*, pp. 271, 273 ; also Du Cange, *Lucerna Boetta*.

but it is being repaired. The chancel roof is in bad condition. There are two bells for the dead, and one for the Elevation of the Body of Christ. The chancel windows are without glass, and in a disgraceful state.

### Of Coffinswell they report :

In this Chapel is a good Missal, with the musical notes. A Gradale, old and decayed. A good Tropicarium. A good Ordinale. A Legenda with the Psalter fairly good. A monastic Antiphonale, old and badly bound.\* A Manuale with a Hymnale likewise badly bound. A fairly good chalice, gilt inside. Two complete sets of vestments, and besides these two albs distinct. Nine [altar] cloths. A fairly good thurible. A wooden chrismatory. A pyx for the Eucharist of wood, without a lock. Two surplices and one rochet. A lenten veil. A Processional Cross. Two cruets. The canopy over the altar much dilapidated. All the chancel windows are without glass, and they are too small. Two bells for the dead. The nave of the Church is dilapidated in the roof.

On the whole these two chapels, though poorly furnished and out of repair, are better found in some respects than the mother church. On August 10th, 1313, Bishop Stapeldon issued a commission to two of the Canons of Exeter to institute Robert de Maloylsel to the vicarage of St. Mary Church, when we may suppose the vicar under the Visitation we have been following went to give in his last account.

The Visitors held a Court of the Manor, of which they give the returns. Their report is :

The tenants of the Church (*Sanctuarii*) say on their oath that the assessed rents are £6 18s. 4d. with the rents of Carswille (Kingskerswell) and Huwelburghe (? Wolborough).† Of the assessed aid (*auxilium*) first imposed by Walter Fitz-Peter,‡ and hitherto paid, one mark, on which they petition for relief. Also as to the poll-tax (*chevagium*) 12d. And the said tenants on their oath estimate the Church demesne, with the garden and meadow, as worth a hundred shillings. And the tithes of the sheaves of corn of the whole parish, together with its chapels, they value at £46 13s. 4d. The dues (*perquisita*) of the Chapter, 20s. ; of the Hundred, one mark. Also, they reckon as a set off (*defectum*) repairs to be made in the kitchen, 46s. 8d. ; in the cow-house, 20s. ; in enlarging

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\* *Antiphonale Moniale*, an example of the discarded liturgical books of a monastery being given or sold to poor parishes.

† Wolborough is called in the *Exeter Domesday* "Olueberie," in the Exchequer version "Vlveberie," or "Ulueberie." See *Devonshire Domesday*, pp. 548, 549.

‡ Walter Fitz-Peter is mentioned in a deed of 1267 as Treasurer of the Chapter. See Oliver, *Bishops of Exeter*, p. 283.

the grange of Coffinsville, two marks; in rebuilding the grange at Carswille, ten marks."

The term "assessed rent" *redditus assisus*, probably refers to the fact that since the twentieth year of Edward I., 1292, the houses and lands of the clergy were taxed at the same rate as those of laymen.\* The *auxilium assisum* was an addition to the ordinary rent, imposed for some special purpose, *ex. gr.* the ransom of a king; but, according to Bracton,† it had a legal limit, and could not exceed twenty shillings for one knight's fee. The tithes of the parish would amount to about £900 of our money. The *perquisita capituli*, which I have translated "dues of the chapter," would seem to be a kind of offering, partly voluntary, but so customary as to be regularly asked for. Du Cange mentions a charter of Stephen, Archbishop of Paris in 1124, which says "the annual dues (*quaesita*) which the canons have been accustomed to exact and hold from the priests of the said churches, they shall no longer exact from them nor hold." On the whole, after paying the £11 6s. 8d., the amount of the repairs, the sum due to the chapter from St. Mary Church and its chapelries was £35 6s. 8d. This is more than forty-seven times the fifteen shillings at which the manor was valued in *Domesday*.

It does not appear what the income of the vicar of St. Mary Church was at this period. The Synod of Exeter enacted that vicars, assistant priests (or curates, as they are commonly now called) should not receive less than fifteen shillings a year. That vicarages should have certain fixed portions of the tithes assigned to the priest, and in no case less than sixty shillings a year, and more in proportion to the size of the parish. If the rectors of these parishes think this is too great a burthen to put upon them, the Synod slyly observes that they can always be relieved by doing the work themselves, and so dispensing with their vicars.

We may now take leave of St. Mary Church and its vicar, hoping that Prebendary Randolph's researches in the *Registers* of Bishop Grandisson will give us some further details of the history of this ancient parish.

\* Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 162.

† *Lib. ii. cap. 16, sec. 8.*



From Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph's *Registers of Bishop Stapeldon*, page 337 :

[St. Mary Church ("Seynt Marie Church, cum suis Capellis." MS.)

*Visitation*, die Martis proxima sequente (post Festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli—4 July, 1301), *per Magistros Robertum de Veteri Terra et Johannem de Uphavene, Seneschallos Capituli* :

In presenti Visitacione fuerunt in Ecclesia Matrici loci predicti—Unum Psalterim debile et insufficiens, cum Manuali in eodem. Legenda tocus anni plenaria, in duobus voluminibus, cum Capitulario, Collectario, et Ymnario, et cum Antiphonario suo loco interposito de Temporalibus. Ordinale insufficiens. Statutum Synodale sufficiens. Missale, notatum, et bone litere. Gradale cum Tropario, collatum a Capitulo, non de Usu ex toto. Et aliud Gradale, vetus et putrefactum. Nullum Manuale preterquam in Psalterio supradicto. Tria paria Vestimentorum, quorum una Casula sufficiens et alie non sufficientes. Unum superpellicium tantum, vetus et perforatum. Rochetum minus sufficiens. V tuelle benedictę, quarum una cum parura; et sexta non benedicta. Nulla Pixis ad Eucharistiam : Pixis, tamen, ad oblatas. Crismatorium ligneum, seratum. Nullus ciphus ad infirmos visitandos. Crux Processionalis satis conveniens. ij Candelabra Processionalia de stanno. V paria Corporalium cum quatuor repositoriis debilibus. Paxillum decens. Calix sufficiens interioris deauratus —Et memorandum de Calice Capelle de Coleton prostrate cujus quondam Parochiani—nunc, vero, partim apud Seynt Mariechurch et partim apud Carswylle assignati—detinent, et Matrici Ecclesie, reddere contradicunt; quem petunt Parochiani predictę Matricis Ecclesie, una cum instauro et meremio ejusdem Capelle, ad sustentacionem dicte Matricis Ecclesie converti. Id est justum.—Quatuor fiole sufficientes. Frontale ad Majus Altare de serico, tolerandum. Una fenestra in Australi parte Cancelli est male vitreata et sine ferro : secunda, cum debili ferro et sine vitro : tertia cum ferro set sine vitro. Pręterea tectum Cancelli valde debile. Fons sine serura. Navis Ecclesie et similiter Campanile coopertura indigent. Troparium et Processionale simul valde bonum.

Parochiani dicunt quod consueverunt, usque ad tempora presentis Vicarii, sustinere Cancellum in omnibus, et esse immunes a prestacione decime instauri Ecclesie; set iste, licet non sustentet Cancellum, tamen precipit decimam, et compellit eos ut solvant. Item, dicunt quod Agnes Bonatrix legavit vs. ballardorum, ad sustentacionem Ecclesie de Seintemarie, quos Vicarius recepit et detinet. Item, Magister Rogerus le Rous legavit quandam summam peccunie ad idem, quam idem Vicarius dicitur recepissee pro parte. Item, dicunt quod idem Vicarius ponit omnimodas bestias suas in cimiterio, per quod male conculcatur et viliter fedatur. Item, dictus Vicarius arbores cimiterii vento prostratas sibi appropriat, et ad edificationes suas convertit. Item, idem Vicarius facit parare brasium suum in Ecclesia, et bladum suum, et alia ibidem reponit, per quod servientes sui, intrantes et exeuntes, aperiunt ostium, et ventus in tempestatibus intrans Ecclesiam discooperire solet. Dicunt, eciam, quod

bene predicat, et officium suum in omnibus laudabiliter exercet, dum presens est. Set sepius se absentat, et moram facit apud Mortone [*Moreton Hampstead*], aliquando per quindecim dies, aliquando per octo, ita quod non habent Capellanum, nisi quando Dominus Walterus, Capellanus Archidiaconi, præsens est, vel aliunde precario perquiratur.

Item, tenentes Sanctuarii, jurati, dicunt de redditu assiso quod sunt *vjli. xvijjs. iiij<sup>d</sup>.*, cum redditu de Carswille et Huwelburghe De auxilio assiso, per Walterum Filium Petri primitus imposito, et actenus soluto, j marca; super quo petunt remedium. Item, de chevagio *xii<sup>d</sup>.* Et estimant, dicti jurati dominicum cum gardino et prato, valere *Cs.*; et decimam garbarum tocus Parochie cum Capellis, *xlvj<sup>li</sup>. xijjs. iiij<sup>d</sup>.*; perquisita Capituli, *xx<sup>s</sup>.*; Hundredi, j marcam. Item, defectum in coquina corrigenda estimant *xlvj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.*; in boveria *xx<sup>s</sup>.*; in grangia de Coffynswille elonganda ij marcis, et in grangia de Carswille reedificanda x marcis.

*Capella de Carswille.*

In dicta Capella est Missale sufficiens. Et similiter, Gradale, cum Tropario. Calix tollerabilis. ij paria Vestimentorum plenaria et ij paria Corporalium cum ij repositoriis de serico honestis. vj tualle. Duo superpellicia et unum rochetum. Pixis ad Eucharistiam lignea, sine serura. Ciphus stanneus ad infirmos visitandos. Crux Processionalis, vetus et insufficiens; tamen ejus hasta decens. Fiole v. Unum Psalterium defectivum. Antiphonarium debile. Ordinale nullum. Legenda nulla. Baptisterium sine sera. Turribulum sufficiens, et boeta. Vexillum bonum. Capella fracta in Navi; set est in reficiendo. Cancellum male coopertum. Due campanelle ad mortuos, et una ad Elevationem Corporis Christi. Fenestre Cancelli sine vitro et inhoneste.

*Coffynswille.*

In qua Capella est bonum Missale notatum. Gradale vetus et putrefactum. Bonum Troparium. Bonum Ordinale. Legenda cum Psalterio sufficiens, set male ligatum. Antiphonarium Moniale, vetus et male legatum. Manuale, cum Ympmario, similiter male ligatum. Calix sufficiens, interius deauratus. Duo paria Vestimentorum plenaria, et preter hoc, ij Albe per se. Tualle ix. Turribulum sufficiens. Crismatorium ligneum. Pixis ad Eukaristiam lignea, sine sera. Duo superpellicia et unum rochetum. Velum Quadragesimale. Crux Processionalis. Due fiole. Celatura ultra Altare totaliter fracta. Omnes Cancelli fenestre sine vitro et nimis parve. Due campane ad mortuos. Navis Ecclesie debiliter cooperta.

(*Archives of the D. and C., No. 3673, p. 27*).

## ART. VI.—ALEXANDER POPE.

*The Works of Alexander Pope.* New Edition, including several Hundred Unpublished Letters and other new materials, collected in part by the late Right Hon. JOHN WILSON CROKER. With Introductions and Notes by the Rev. WHITWELL ELWIN and WILLIAM JOHN COURTHOPE.\* In ten volumes. London: John Murray.

IF we should form our judgment merely by the Statute Book, we should be led to regard the Revolution of 1688 as peculiarly disastrous to Catholics in this country. The legislation of Elizabeth, of James I. and Charles II., had built up a pretty complete penal code whereby the exercise of the Catholic religion was interdicted, its clergy were branded as traitors and punished accordingly, and its professors were visited with forfeitures and disabilities of every kind. The Revolution of 1688, naturally enough, was accompanied by a certain amount of popular feeling against Catholics, who undeservedly shared in the odium excited by the bad faith, cruelty, and tyranny of James II. And the Statute Book reflects that feeling in various enactments, the object of which is described to be "for a further remedy against the growth of Popery, over and beyond the good laws already made." No doubt "the further growth of Popery" was checked by this legislation. A statistical account taken by Royal Commission in the latter part of William III.'s reign, gives the number of the professors of the old religion left in England as 27,693.† Still it is certain that from the time that William was firmly established on the throne, the Government steadily discountenanced the persecution of Catholics. No doubt, now and then, the hungry zeal of informers, or the dull bigotry of magistrates, set one or another of the penal laws in motion against them. No doubt political considerations occasionally led to the exhibition of severity towards "Papists," as in the anti-Catholic legislation of the first year of George I., and in the anti-Catholic procla-

\* In the notes to the following article, this edition is referred to as Works

† Oliver's "Collections," p. 23.

mations issued on several occasions during his reign and during the reign of his successor. Still, it would appear that, from the Revolution in 1688 to the passing of the first Relief Act in 1778, Catholics in this country were, on the whole, in a much more favourable position than that which unpopular religious minorities occupied in most European lands. The testimony of the Rev. Joseph Berrington on this point is express. "When the popular fury had subsided, on the extinction of the rebellion" of 1745, he writes, "the Catholics gradually returned to their state of tranquillity, and thus they lived peaceable and unoffending subjects, complying with the respective duties of civil life and worshipping God in the very retired and secret manner that the lenity of the Government allowed." \*

This practical toleration was due to several causes. In the first place, William III. personally approved of the full religious liberty existing in Holland, one curious result of which was that some four thousand Catholics were among the troops whom he brought over with him from that country to the rescue of endangered Protestantism in this. Moreover, his weighty political obligations to the Emperor, and even to the Pope, disposed him to the adoption of the mildest policy that circumstances allowed towards those who shared their faith. Anne was no doubt a bigoted Anglican. But still, as Berrington tells us, Catholics were "by no means disagreeable to her. She recollected the loyalty they had always shown to her family, nor did their present attachment to her unfortunate brother give her displeasure. Her throne was too firmly fixed to be shaken by a reed." † The first two Hanoverian sovereigns were latitudinarian in religion. George I. had learnt in Germany, according to Berrington, "a lesson of religious moderation," and "the word Popery conveyed to him no ideas of horror." ‡ Then, again, the Catholics in this country were too few and too insignificant to be a real object of solicitude to the Government. Moreover, the interest of the public at large in theological controversy had much declined. "Enthusiasm in politics had taken the place of enthusiasm in religion." §

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\* Quoted in Butler's "Historical Memoirs of English Catholics," vol. p. 62.      † *Ibid.* p. 57.      ‡ *Ibid.* p. 58.      § *Ibid.* p. 57.

In connection with the subject of the social and political state of Catholics after the Revolution of 1688, the life and career of Alexander Pope are of peculiar interest. Born six months before James II. fled from Whitehall, and dying in 1744, the year before the Young Pretender made the last desperate effort to re-establish the Stuart line on the British throne, Pope lived at a time when the legal situation of Catholics was most depressed. As a matter of fact, he appears to have been quite unmolested on the score of his religion, and, so far as we can judge from his correspondence, it was the same with his Catholic friends. In 1714, just after the death of Queen Anne, he writes: "I was in danger of losing my horse, and stood in some fear of a country justice."\* But he did not lose his horse, nor did any country justice molest him. Even in the next year, the rebellion in the North of England, in favour of the Old Pretender, does not seem to have resulted in any inconvenience to him. Nor, although from the beginning of his literary life to the close, he numbered among his friends persons of great public influence, does he appear to have been indebted to their interposition for his immunity from persecution.† But further, it can hardly be doubted that to Pope must be attributed, in some degree, the ebbing of anti-Catholic prejudice which eventually led, first to the softening and then to the abolition of the Penal Laws. As his reputation increased and gradually became European, and he attained a position in the world of letters hardly inferior to that which Voltaire held a generation later, his countrymen grew justly proud of him, and became more tolerant of the creed to which he adhered. More than this, we may take him to have been directly, although unconsciously, instrumental in bringing about that stricter judicial construction of the Penal Laws which so largely robbed them of their terrors. Conspicuous among his friends was Murray who, as Lord Mansfield, laid down that in order to the conviction of a priest for saying Mass, sufficient evidence must be given of his sacerdotal character, and of the sacrificial nature of the rite in respect of which he was

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\* "Works," vi. 360.

† M. Montégut justly remarks, "Les noms aristocratiques que vous rencontrez dans ses œuvres sont ceux d'amis et presque de confrères, nullement ceux de protecteurs, de patrons et de maîtres" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1888, p. 280).

accused, a ruling which placed almost insuperable difficulties in the way of the whole tribe of informers.\* There can be little doubt that his intercourse with the poet had led that great magistrate to form the sound and liberal views which thus found practical expression.†

But it may be said that Pope was merely a nominal Catholic.

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\* See Holliday's "Life of William, Earl Mansfield," p. 176. Lord Mansfield told the jury: "The material articles of this trial may be reduced to two heads: First, whether or not the defendant [James Webb] is a priest? and secondly, whether or not he has said Mass? For I look upon the Mass as the only material charge in this trial; for that is properly the only act they allege which is peculiar to the Popish clergy. . . . There are no proofs of his ordination, which must be before he can be proved to be a priest; therefore, if it should be proved that he has said Mass, this will not convict him of being a priest, as appears evidently from the example his counsel has brought of a person who had no ordination at all, and yet said Mass; but as that person was not a priest, and could not be condemned by those statutes, so neither can the defendant before there are sufficient proofs of his ordination." The trial took place on the 25th of June, 1768, at Westminster, at the suit of one Paynè, a common informer.

† The following extract from Butler's "Historical Memoirs" may here be fitly inserted:—

"The first approximation of Catholics to the notice of their Sovereign took place in consequence of some attentions which Edward, Duke of Norfolk (to whom the present duke is third in succession), and Mary, the wife of duke Edward, had an opportunity of showing to Frederick, Prince of Wales, during the variance between his royal highness and George II., his father. The present king was born at Norfolk House. It is known that, at this time, George II. and the prince were at variance. The duke and duchess conducted themselves, on this occasion, in a manner highly pleasing both to the parent and the son, and to the consorts of each. It was signified to them that their frequent attendance at court was expected, and Queen Caroline often invited the duchess to her private parties. The duchess was gifted with great talents, was easy, dignified, and, when she pleased, singularly insinuating. Her Grace, Lady Clifford, and the lady of Mr. Philip Howard, were daughters and co-heiresses of Mr. Edward Blount, the early patron and correspondent of Pope. Through Pope, she became acquainted with Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield—in his early life—while he yet lived at No. 5 in King's Bench Walks, where he is described so well by the bard:

To number Five direct your doves:  
There, spread round Murray all your blooming loves;  
Noble and young, who strikes the heart  
With every sprightly, every decent part;  
Equal the injured to defend,  
To charm the mistress, or to fix the friend.

She loved business. Her talents for it, and her high rank, made her the refuge of the Catholics in all their vexations; and she availed herself of her intimacy with Lord Mansfield to render them every service in her power. Her house was the centre of whatever was great and elegant in either communion; and by familiarising them with one another, their prejudices were softened and their mutual goodwill increased.

"Lord Mansfield had the great merit of being the first public character who openly advocated the Catholic cause, and expressed a decided opinion in favour of a relaxation of the penal code. On every occasion he discountenanced the prosecutions of Catholic priests, and took care that the accused should have every advantage that the forms of proceeding, or the letter or spirit of the law, could afford." Vol. i. p. 69.

Indeed this has been said, in every variety of key, from his day to ours, and has been asserted, in a peculiarly nasal tone, by one of his latest critics, Mr. Elwin.\* Upon which I remark, in the first place, that the law and its administrators would draw no distinction between a real and a nominal Catholic, but would certainly qualify as a Popish recusant any one who chose to adhere to the old faith, and declined conformity to the new, without making a special inquisition into his private opinions. But let us go on to see what the truth really is about Pope's religion. Now it is perfectly clear that throughout his life Pope openly and unswervingly professed the Catholic faith, and that any one who knew anything about him knew this. His "Papistry" was a reproach most commonly urged against him by the dunces whom he scourged, and one of them, Oldmixon, expressly satirised him as "The Catholic poet." The three Anglican clergymen with whom he was on terms of most intimate friendship—Swift, Atterbury, and Warburton—vainly essayed, at different times in his life, to win him over to the Established Church. And when, during his visit to Oxford in 1714, Dr. Clarke, of All Souls, endeavoured to draw him into a discussion of the matters in controversy between the two communions, Pope significantly replied: "It is but a little while that I can enjoy your improving company here in Oxford, which we will not so misspend as it would be doing should we let it pass in talking divinity. Neither would there be time for either of us half to explain ourselves, and at last you would be Protestant Clarke and I Papist Pope."† In 1713 he writes to his friend Caryl: "In very truth, sir, I believe they will all find me, at long run, a mere Papist."‡ In 1729 he assures the same correspondent: "You will never see me change my condition any more than my religion."§ And in September, 1742, he emphatically protests to Racine his loyalty to his faith in language which he meant to be made public, declaring that his views were "conformable to those of Pascal and Fénelon, the latter of whom,"

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\* Croker calls him "a political Papist" ("Works," vi. 147), a phrase which I confess seems to me "exceeding good senseless." It is absolutely clear that from the political aspect of Catholicism Pope, from first to last, steadily turned away. As Mr. Courthope justly observes, "his taste was repugnant to politics" ("Works," v. 80).

† "Works," vi. 360, note.

‡ *Ibid.* 197.

§ *Ibid.* 316.

he adds, "I would readily imitate in submitting my opinions to the decision of the Church."\* Such was his language throughout his life. And may we not believe that this good confession in some sort merited for him his edifying death, with the last sacraments about him, "in an open and free acknowledgment of the faith from which he had never swerved"?†

It must then be set down to Pope's credit that, in spite of powerful inducements to abandon his religion—inducements to which many influential Catholics of his generation succumbed—he remained constant in its profession. As the very accomplished critic whom I have just quoted puts it, "he permitted no argument of self-interest to weigh against the dictates of an unaffected piety."‡ It cannot, however, be denied that his hold upon the doctrines of his faith was slight. Throughout his writings expressions constantly occur which show how greatly he misapprehended important articles of it. And competent critics are agreed that all Warburton's impudence and ingenuity have failed to vindicate the orthodoxy of the "Essay on Man," his most ambitious attempt in religious philosophy. Mr. Courthope calls the work "a poem in which the Theism of Leibnitz is combined with the Pantheism of Spinoza, and in which the principle of the Ruling Passion leads directly to the conclusions of blind fatalism."§ And M. Taine's account of its author is: "C'est un Catholique déteint, déiste à peu près, qui ne sait pas bien ce qu'est le déisme."|| The truth is, that Pope was an extremely ill-instructed Catholic. When quite a boy—in his fourteenth year it was, he tells us—he read many works on the controversy between the Catholic and Anglican Churches, the effect being utterly to unsettle him. "I found myself a Papist and a Protestant by turn," he told Atterbury, "according to

\* "Works," ii. 291.

† Ward's "Pope." Introductory Memoir, lxiv.

‡ *Ibid.* xlv. I may be permitted to say that, in my judgment, nothing better has ever been written about Pope than this "Introductory Memoir" of Mr. Ward's. Its distinguished author has compressed into its fifty-one pages an admirably perspicuous narrative of the facts of Pope's life, and a singularly judicious criticism of his works.

§ "Works," v. 251.

|| *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, Book III. c. 7.



the last book I read.”\* It must be remembered, too, that the age into which Pope was born was eminently undogmatic. And he lived chiefly with those who felt most deeply and represented most accurately the dominant tone of thought, and was no doubt largely infected by their spurious Liberalism. Mr. Courthope has summed up the matter very happily and very fairly : “ The exact form of his own religious belief is doubtful, but there is every reason to suppose that his religious *instinct* was deep and sincere. His opinions may have been influenced by isolated speculations in Shaftesbury, Mandeville, and the Deists, but he always manifested abhorrence of their principles, as enemies of the established faith. . . . In his poetry he deals only with the *effects* of religion, which he holds to be virtue, or with the want of it, which he pronounces to be vice.”† Erasmus—“ good Erasmus in an honest mean ”—was for him the typical Catholic. I much doubt, however, whether his acquaintance with the writings of Erasmus was very intimate. Certainly Erasmus, however we are to account of him, would never have subscribed to Pope’s dictum :

For modes of faith let varying zealots fight,  
He can’t be wrong whose life is in the right.

As certain is it, unhappily, that even if judged by this loose canon, Pope must be pronounced grievously wanting. His practice was no more satisfactory than his belief. He was as deficient in the theological virtues as in theological instruction. Of that long catalogue of the works of the flesh which St. Paul gives in his Epistle to the Galatians, only too many are chargeable against him : immodesty, idolatry, contentions, emulations, dissension. It must be owned too that recent investigations have not redounded to his credit. More than forty years ago one of the most competent of his critics, Professor Connington, observed : “ There is probably no English author whose life can be compared with Pope as a succession of petty secrets and third-rate problems.” And he justly adds :

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\* “ Works,” ix. 11.

† “ Works,” v. 358-59. Pope’s own account is : “ I sincerely worship God, believe in His revelations, resign to His dispensations, love all His creatures, am in charity with all denominations of Christians, however violently they treat each other, and detest none so much as that profligate race, who would loosen the bands of morality, either under the pretence of religion or free-thinking ” ( “ Works,” x. 223 ).

“A man whose actions were generally blameless would not have left so many things for his apologists to explain; a man whose character was truthful and simple would not have been the hero of so many enigmatical narratives.”\* Many of the secrets which Connington had in view have since been revealed and many of the problems solved, and in pretty nearly every case the revelation and solution have been unfavourable to Pope. We know now that he was not justified in his breach with Addison; that his account of his share in the translation of the “Odyssey” was utterly unvarnished; that the history of the publication of his letters is a labyrinthine series of unworthy stratagems; and that in preparing them for the press he subjected them to a manipulation far exceeding any fair process of editing. “He can’t be wrong whose life is in the right!” Alas, in too many particulars, Pope’s life was deplorably in the wrong.

Such is the truth about Pope. Still, more than one plea may be urged, and ought to be urged, in extenuation of his besetting sins. His morbid sensitiveness, so unhappily manifested by many passages in his writings, was largely attributable, not only to the overstrung nerves which characterise the *genus irritabile Vatum* but to his chronic ill-health—“this long disease, my life,” he says in one place, with equal pathos and truth. Mr. Ward observes: “Upon Pope’s sensitive nature, every spoken or written word, and every event in which he was interested, operated with thrilling effect. Martha Blount often saw him weep in reading very tender and melancholy passages; he told Sterne that he could never peruse Priam’s lament for Hector without tears. . . . On the other hand, he had, like a child, no judgment of the relative importance of injuries, and with the passionate petulance of childhood he combined the resentfulness of a mind unable to forgive until it forgets.”† Again, there can be no doubt that his love of “by-paths and indirect crook’d ways”—“he can hardly drink tea without a

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\* Oxford Essays, 1858, p. 2.

† Ward’s “Pope”: Introductory Memoir, p. xlv. It may be worth while to point out a slight error into which this generally so accurate writer has fallen, a few lines above the passage cited in the text. He says: “The general fragility of Pope’s constitution made his life, in Dr. Johnson’s phrase, a long disease.” The phrase is not Dr. Johnson’s, but Pope’s own, and occurs in line 132 of the “Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot.”

stratagem," it was said of him—was innate ; that there was a vein of dissimulation and artifice in his natural character. Nor was his desultory education—largely self-acquired—of a kind to correct these blemishes. Mr. Courthope suggests, by way of apology for him, that he was "brought up under the religious guidance of those who, themselves proscribed and persecuted, regarded, with perhaps not unnatural indulgence, the use of equivocation as an instrument of self-defence."\* It appears to me that his "use of equivocation" was rather due to his want of religious guidance, of which he certainly had very little either in his boyhood or in his mature life. "If you have seen a late advertisement," he writes to Teresa Blount, presumably in 1716, "you will know that I have not told a lie, which we both abominate, but equivocated pretty genteelly: you may be confident it was not done without leave from my spiritual director."† We may be sure that the only spiritual director whom Pope consulted in this matter was Pope himself. Casuistry is a noble science, an indispensable "dialectic of conscience," in Kant's phrase. Pope apparently valued himself on his skill in it.‡ But in this province his own caution emphatically applies: "A little learning is a dangerous thing," and Pope was certainly no expert in moral theology. To which we may add that a man who has himself for his confessor is likely to have a fool for his penitent; that a man who is his own guide in cases of conscience, runs a grave risk of misguidance. And the reason is admirably indicated in a passage of one of Sterne's best sermons:

How hard we find it to have an equitable and sound judgment in a matter where our interest is deeply concerned; and even where there is the remotest consideration of SELF connected with the point before us, what a strange bias does it hang upon our minds, and how difficult is it to disengage our judgments entirely from it! With what reluctance are we brought to think evil of a friend whom we have long loved and esteemed! and though there happen to be strong appearances against him, how apt are we to overlook or put favourable constructions upon them, and even sometimes, when our zeal and friendship transport us, to assign the best and kindest motives for the worst and most unjustifiable

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\* "Works," v. 9.

† *Ibid.* ix. 26.

‡ So the initial lines of the "Epistle to Lord Bathurst":

Who shall decide when doctors disagree,  
And soundest casuists doubt, like you and me?

parts of his conduct! We are still worse casuists, and the deceit is proportionately stronger with a man when he is going to judge of himself—the dearest of all parties—so closely connected with him—so much and so long beloved—of whom he has so early conceived the highest opinion and esteem, and with whose merit he has all along, no doubt, found so much reason to be contented. It is not an easy matter to be severe when there is such an impulse to be kind, or to efface at once all the tender impressions in favour of so old a friend, which disable us from thinking of him as he is.\*

We should, however, greatly err if we supposed spleen or unverity to be the foundation of Pope's character. I do not think any one can carefully and impartially study the documents available regarding him without feeling that, in spite of all justly chargeable to his discredit, he was, upon the whole, worthy of admiration and regard, of reverence and affection. Such is the view of him which seems clearly deducible from his own writings and from the writings of those who knew him best. He was, we are told, "a child of a particularly sweet disposition, which exhibited itself in the musical tones of his voice, so that his friends called him the little nightingale."† And the friends of his youth he retained throughout his life, adding to them the greatest and the noblest of his time. How Swift valued him appears over and over again in their correspondence. "You are the best and kindest friend in the world," he writes in one letter. "I know nobody alive to whom I am so much obliged, and if ever you made me angry it was by your too much care about me."‡ In another: "I am daily expecting the end of my life. . . . While I have any ability to hold a converse with you, I will never be silent. . . . I love no man so well. May God always protect you, and preserve you long for a pattern of piety and virtue. Farewell, my dearest, and almost only constant friend."§ In a third: "I am, my dearest friend, yours entirely as long as I can write, or speak, or think."|| This was his language to the end. "In one of his latest letters to me," writes Lord Orrery, "before he was lost to all human comfort, he says, when you see my dearest friend, Pope, tell him I will answer his letter soon: I love him above all the rest of mankind."¶ Arbuthnot

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\* "Sermon on Self-Knowledge."

† "Works," v. 7.

§ *Ibid.* 362.

|| *Ibid.* 359.

‡ *Ibid.* vii. 100.

¶ *Ibid.*

is equally emphatic. "I think," he writes in his last letter to Pope, "since our first acquaintance there has not been any of those little suspicions or jealousies that often affect the sincerest friendships. . . . Living or dying, I shall always be your most faithful friend." \* Gay's language is similar: "I love you as my own soul. . . . There is none like you, living or dead." † When I was telling Lord Bolingbroke, Spence relates, "that Mr. Pope [during his last illness], on every catching and recovering of his mind, was always saying something kindly of his present or absent friends, and that this was so surprising that it seemed to me as if his humanity had outlasted his understanding, Lord Bolingbroke said, 'It was so,' and then added, 'I never in my life knew a man who had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or a more general friendship for mankind. I have known him these thirty years, and value myself on that man's love more than——'" [sinking his head, and losing his voice in tears]. ‡

It is impossible that the man who kindled this warmth of attachment in such men should not have been worthy of it. Thackeray has well observed that in our estimate of his character we must always take into account "that constant tenderness and fidelity of affection [towards his mother] which pervaded and sanctified his life." On June 2, 1730, he writes to Swift of her: "Yesterday was her birthday, now entering on the ninety-first year of her age, her memory much diminished, but her senses very little hurt; her sight and hearing good. She sleeps not ill, eats moderately, drinks water, says her prayers. This is all she does. I have reason to thank God for continuing so long to me a very good and tender parent, and for allowing me to exercise for some years those cares which are now as much necessary to her as they once were to me. An object of this sort daily before one's eyes very much softens the mind." § And the same tenderness and fidelity of affection were manifested in different degrees to all his friends. Johnson speaks quite truly of "the perpetual and unclouded effulgence of general benevolence and particular fondness which prevails

\* "Works," vii. 478.

‡ Spence's "Anecdotes," p. 321.

† *Ibid.* 435-436.

§ "Works," vii. 98.

throughout his letters." Among the most touching of them is one addressed to Martha Blount, in which, speaking of his anticipated death, he says: "I cannot think without tears, of being separated from my friends, when their condition is so doubtful that they may want such assistance as mine."\* But we should greatly err if we suppose benevolence the only virtue with which Pope was endowed. There can be no doubt that a passionate love of truth and justice was the feeling which dominated his soul: that he fully believed and meant what he wrote of himself in the "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot":

Not Fortune's worshipper, not Fashion's fool,  
 Not Lucre's madman, not Ambition's tool,  
 Not proud, nor servile; be one poet's praise,  
 That if he pleased, he pleased by manly ways;  
 That flattery, ev'n to kings, he held a shame,  
 And thought a lie in prose or verse the same;  
 That not in Fancy's maze he wandered long,  
 But stooped to Truth, and moralised his song;  
 That not for Fame, but Virtue's better end,  
 He stood the furious foe, the timid friend,  
 The damning critic, half-approving wit,  
 The coxcomb hit, or fearing to be hit;  
 Laughed at the loss of friends he never had,  
 The dull, the proud, the wicked, and the mad;  
 The distant threats of vengeance on his head,  
 The blow unfelt, the tear he never shed;  
 The tale revived, the lie so oft o'erthrown,  
 The imputed trash, and dulness not his own;  
 The morals blackened, when the writings 'scape,  
 The libelled person, and the pictured shape;  
 Abuse on all he loved, or loved him, spread,  
 A friend in exile, or a father dead;  
 The whisper that, to Greatness still too near,  
 Perhaps yet vibrates in his Sov'reign's ear—  
 Welcome for thee, fair Virtue! all the past:  
 For thee, fair Virtue! welcome e'en the last.

To say that he fell short of the high standard which he set up is merely to say that he was human.† *Video meliora pro-*

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\* "Works," ix. 307.

† "I beg pardon," he writes to Martha Blount, in 1720, "for this very fault of which I taxed others, my vanity, which made me so resenting" ("Works," ix. 294).

*boque, deteriora sequor* " is the true account of us all. But Pope, with his keen poetic vision, discerned the things that are more excellent with a clearness given to few. And in the bitterness of his hostility towards those on whom he made war, he was doubtless largely animated by the feeling of the psalmist: "Do I not hate them that hate Thee?" Thus unquestionably did it seem to those who knew him best, and who were best fitted to judge of him. So Arbuthnot, in that last letter to him from which I quoted just now—a letter written in the consciousness of approaching death—says: "I make it my last request that you will continue that noble disdain and abhorrence of vice which you seem naturally endued with."\* It would be easy to multiply testimony to the same effect. But these words of one of the noblest and best men of the age, well characterised by Johnson as "a wit who in the crowd of life retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal," must here suffice.

After all, however, we are concerned rather with the public work than with the private life of the poet—with the message rather than with the messenger. His undeniable littlenesses, so strongly brought out by the fierce light which beats upon his intellectual throne, must not blind us to his real greatness. It appears to me that in spite of the occasional stains which disfigure his pages—stains attributable rather to the age than to the man—we must regard him as one of the most effective powers for good in English literature. In that great conflict which is waged through the ages between God and the enemies of God, Pope fought strenuously, however ignorantly, on the right side. It is true that his hold upon Christian doctrines was feeble and ill-assured, but it is also true, as one of the most recent and assuredly not one of the least able of his critics has pointed out, that the influence of Catholic teaching may be clearly traced in many of his poems.† And it is quite certain that his sympathies were with the defenders of Christianity,‡ which, however imperfect his apprehension of it,

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\* "Works," vii. 479.

† "Les doctrines Catholiques ont gardé sur Pope une influence plus grande qu'on ne le dit" (M. Montegut in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1888).

‡ Mr. Courthope remarks: "The 'Examen' of Crousay suddenly revealed to him [Pope] that while he supposed himself to have been building a bulwark

he regarded as the complement and perfection of the Theism taught by Nature herself. No one can doubt his earnest sincerity when he proclaims in his magnificent verse the august verities of Natural Religion, the commanding sanctities of Natural Morality. And his exposition is the more penetrative with a certain class of minds—a large class, too—because it is delivered, not by a professed metaphysician, not by an accredited divine, but by a man of the world who, as he himself said of Horace, “without method talks us into sense.” Pope is no idealist, no mystic, no seer oppressed with the abundance of the revelations vouchsafed to him. Only once, perhaps, does he “attain to something of prophetic strain,” in that wonderful passage at the end of the “Dunciad”: “astonishing lines” indeed, in which, as Thackeray judges, he “proves himself the equal of all poets of all times.” But in his own way he, too, also felt “the burden and the mystery of all this unintelligible world.” Still, whatever was doubtful to him, the supremacy of duty was clear. It was enough for him to know that man is made for virtue, and that our true felicity lies in practising virtue. For the rest he was content to “wait the great teacher Death, and God adore.” It seems to me, then, that Herder, one of the soundest of critics, was well warranted in his judgment: “Pope’s *Gedichte für eine gereimte Blüthensammlung aller Moral, und vielen Weltkenntniss und Weltklugheit dienen können.*”<sup>\*</sup> Lord Byron, though neither moral nor religious himself, knew perfectly well what morality and religion are, and I can hardly tax him with more than rhetorical exaggeration when he wrote: “Pope is the great moral poet of all times, of all climes, and of all stages of existence. His poetry is the Book of Life. Without canting, and yet without neglecting religion, he has assembled all that a good and great man can gather together of moral wisdom, clothed in consummate beauty.”<sup>†</sup> Mr. Ruskin is assuredly one of the noblest and most ennobling

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for religion [in the ‘*Essay on Man*’], he had been unconsciously undermining its basis. His relief may therefore be imagined when a champion [Warburton] stepped forward, and undertook to prove that the ‘*Essay*’ was not only philosophic, but orthodox. . . . The distress which he had felt at Crousay’s attack was equalled by his gratitude to his rescuer” (“*Works*,” v. 329–331).

<sup>\*</sup> “*Werke*,” iv. 400.

<sup>†</sup> Moore’s “*Works of Lord Byron*,” v. 169.



teachers of the day, whom we may always hear gladly, whether we assent or not; and this is his counsel to his pupils at Oxford and to his readers throughout the world: "The serene and just benevolence which placed Pope, in his theology, two centuries in advance of his time, enabled him to sum the law of noble life in two lines which, so far as I know, are the most complete, the most concise, and the most lofty expression of moral temper existing in English words:

Never elated while one man's oppress'd,  
Never dejected while another's bless'd.

I wish you also to remember these lines of Pope, and to make yourselves entirely masters of his system of ethics; because, putting Shakespeare aside as rather the world's than ours, I hold Pope to be the most perfect representative we have since Chaucer of the true English mind; and I think the 'Dunciad' is the most absolutely chiselled and monumental work 'exacted' in our country. You will find, as you study Pope, that he has expressed for you, in the strictest language, and within the briefest limits, every law of art, of criticism, of economy, of policy, and finally of a benevolence, humble, rational, and resigned, contented with its allotted share of life, and trusting the problem of its salvation to Him in whose hand lies that of the universe." \*

It remains to speak of the edition of Pope's works published by Mr. Murray—we may call it the definitive edition, for no other is likely to supersede it—the title of which I have prefixed to this article, and which has supplied the immediate occasion for my writing. "Pope's poetry," wrote Professor Connington thirty-five years ago, "has hardly yet received the careful critical examination which it deserves."† One object of Mr. Murray's edition is to supply this desideratum. It was originally projected by Mr. Croker, who collected a considerable mass of material for it, and who, indeed, made a beginning of it. On his death Mr. Peter Cunningham took up the work for a brief time. But he, too, soon dying, Mr. Elwin was selected to continue it. The selection cannot be considered fortunate. Mr. Elwin no doubt

\* "Lectures on Art," p. 89.

† "Oxford Essays," 1838, p. 51.

possesses a large quantity of small information which he freely imparts, as occasion allows, in elucidation of petty problems in Pope's poetry or prose. His dissertation prefixed to the "Essay on Man" manifests that he possesses also an acquaintance with metaphysics and theology sufficient to enable him to show—what indeed all the world already knew—that the poet was neither a philosopher nor a divine. But he is utterly devoid of that first requisite for commenting upon a classic—sympathy with the subject of his criticism. A Protestant clergyman, of a somewhat obsolete type, he judges of everything in heaven and earth from his professional point of view.

The builder of this Universe was wise,  
He planned all souls, all system, planets, particles;  
The plan he shaped the world and æons by  
Was—— Heavens! was thy small Nine-and-thirty Articles!

Such appears to be Mr. Elwin's serious conviction. I am far from blaming him, as an Anglican clergyman, for entertaining it. But manifestly this intellectual standpoint, although appropriate enough for the editor of a parochial magazine or a Sunday-school hymn-book, is inadequate for the editor of a great poet, who was also a steadfast if a lax Catholic, and an accomplished man of the world. Breadth of view, largeness of mind, tolerant indulgence, are essential qualifications for the task which Mr. Elwin undertook:

He only judges right who weighs, compares,  
And in the sternest sentence which his voice  
Pronounces, e'er remembers charity.

But Mr. Elwin writes of Pope in the spirit of a narrow and bitter sectary. His carping criticisms resemble nothing so much as the fretful chidings of anile animosity. Fortunately, after a time—too long a time, indeed—he resigned his editorial functions into the hands of Mr. Courthope. No more competent hands could have been found. "A union of great knowledge of literary history with great power of poetical criticism is necessary for the task," Professor Connington wrote. Such knowledge and power Mr. Courthope manifests on every page. He possesses, in a unique degree, that *τὼν λογῶν κρίσις* which, Longinus justly says, *πολλῆς ἐστὶ πείρας τελευταίου ἐπιγένημα*. He possesses, also, a rare acquaintance

with human nature, and a quite judicial faculty of surveying all sides of a question, of skilfully marshalling facts, and of rightly appreciating their bearing upon an issue. It is not too much to say of him that he realises Pope's own idea of a critic.

But where's the man who counsel can bestow,  
Still pleased to teach and yet not proud to know ?  
Unbiassed, or by favour or by spite ;  
Not dully prepossessed, nor blindly right ;  
Though learn'd, well-bred ; and though well-bred, sincere ;  
Modestly bold, and humanly severe ;  
Who to a friend his faults can freely show,  
And gladly praise the merit of a foe ?  
Blest with a taste exact, yet unconfined ;  
A knowledge both of books and human kind ;  
Generous converse ; a soul exempt from pride ;  
And love to praise with reason on his side ?

Mr. Courthope's *Life of Pope*, which fills the greater part of the fifth volume, presents a clear, candid, and comprehensive account of the poet's career and work. The fifteenth chapter of it, which discusses his place in English literature, is a model of sound and judicious criticism. The following extract from it may fitly serve to conclude this article :

Pope was an ethical and satiric poet, but ethical and satirical poetry was what his age needed, and in that order of poetry he is a classic. His place in English poetry is in fact assured. Taking up the work that Dryden had begun, he saved poetry from the swamp in which it was sinking from a too conservative attachment to an obsolete idea of Nature, and to effete modes of composition. He placed it on a new foundation of Nature, corresponding with the general intelligence of his age, and he furnished it with a new ideal of harmonious and correct expression, the effects of which are still felt in the language. As the poet of the Revolution of 1688, his style is characterised by many of the limitations which the temper of the times rendered almost inevitable. But all his best work was done in a spirit well deserving of the name "classical," by which his style is generally distinguished.

W. S. LILLY.

## ART. VII.—THE EARLY GALLICAN LITURGY.

## PART II.

THE first part of this paper had for its purpose to give some account of the structure of the Early Gallican or Hispano-Gallican Liturgy, and to call attention to some points of contact and correspondence between this Liturgy and the Roman Mass which appeared to have hitherto escaped notice, or at least not to have received adequate recognition. And these coincidences naturally suggested the hypothesis that all the Western rites—Gallican and Spanish, Ambrosian and Roman—are to be referred to a common Western origin. Historical considerations suggest that the cradle of the Western Liturgies is to be sought in Rome, and such positive information on the subject as can be gathered from various sources, instead of going counter to the antecedent historical probability, seems on the contrary rather to confirm it. No one, it may be presumed, would wish to deny that the Gallican and Spanish Churches and those of Northern Italy may at one time or another have borrowed particular usages or liturgical formulæ from the East, independently of Rome; and it would be the height of absurdity to suppose that the Gallican rite could have been derived from that comparatively late form of the Roman Liturgy which the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries set before us. But, so far as it is possible to sum up the probable history of the matter in a single sentence, it would seem that in the interval between the second and the sixth century the primitive Roman Liturgy had undergone a very thorough process of reconstructive development, while the Gallican rite, though partly sharing in the changes initiated at Rome, and partly carrying them to an exaggerated excess, nevertheless continued to retain certain archaic features long after they had been discarded by the Roman Church.\*

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\* Abbot Hilduin, who died A.D. 840, speaks of the Gallican *Ordo Missæ* as "ab initio receptæ fidei usu in hac Occidentali plaga habitus, usque quo tenorem, quo nunc utitur, Romanum suscepit." And of the Roman Liturgy he writes: "Datur intelligi" (as an inference from certain letters of various Roman Pontiffs) "ab annis pluribus hunc missæ tenorem de Gallica consuetudine recessisse" (*Ep. ad Ludovicum Pium*, n. 5, in Migne, P.L. cvi. 17).

It has been already pointed out that the most striking characteristic which distinguishes the Western from the Eastern Liturgies is the use, not merely of Lessons and Antiphons which vary with the season or festival (for this is common to all rites, Eastern and Western), but also of variable prayers. But whereas the Roman Mass in the seventh century admitted daily variations only in (1) the principal Collect, (2) the *Secreta*, (3) the Post-communion, and (4) the Preface, together with (5) occasional changes in the prayers *Communicantes* and *Hanc igitur*, the Gallican Liturgy exhibits no less than eleven or twelve variable elements, apart from the antiphonal portions of the service, in the *Missa Fidelium* alone. And in this multiplication of variables lies the exaggerated excess to which reference was made in the foregoing paragraph.

When, however, it is found—as was pointed out in my previous paper—that six of these Gallican variables fall into pairs, the first member of each pair having been an introductory “bidding prayer,” and when it is further found that these three pairs of prayers answer respectively to the Roman Collect, *Secreta*, and Post-communion, the bidding prayer being represented in the first and third cases by the simple Roman *Oremus*, and in the second case by the *Orate fratres*, it becomes evident that the relation between the two rites is closer than might at first sight appear.\*

As regards the details of the two rites, I have confined myself heretofore to the consideration of those prayers which preceded the Preface or which followed the Communion. In the following pages our concern will be with that central portion of the Mass which extends from the Preface or “Contestation” to the *Embolismus*, by which term the prayer which immediately follows the *Pater Noster* is commonly designated.† And we may begin by considering the two groups which stand respectively at the outset and at the close of this section of the

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\* It is unnecessary to repeat here what was said in the July number of this REVIEW concerning the transference of the principal collect in the Roman Liturgy from its primitive position after the Gospel to its present place before the Epistle. A reminiscence of the older usage is preserved in the *Oremus* (followed by no collect) which is still said at the commencement of the Offertory in the Roman Mass.

† It is so called because the corresponding prayer in the Greek Liturgies is accompanied or followed by the dropping of a particle of the sacred Host into the chalice.

Liturgy. Any one who has assisted at High Mass can hardly fail to have been struck with the analogy between the chant of the Preface which leads up to the *Sanctus* and that of the lesser Preface, the *Præfatiuncula* as it may be fitly called (*Præceptis salutaribus moniti*), by which the *Pater Noster* is introduced.\* But the Gallican Liturgy carries the analogy a step further. For just as the *Embolismus* or *Libera nos* takes up and develops the last petition of the Lord's Prayer, so the Gallican *Post Sanctus* (commencing for the most part with the words *Vere Sanctus, Vere benedictus*) takes up and develops the leading ideas of the *Sanctus*. Moreover, whereas in the Roman Liturgy the greater Preface alone is variable, while the *Præfatiuncula* and *Embolismus* are fixed formulæ, and the *Post Sanctus* (at least in its old form) is wanting, the Gallican rite exhibits the following complete parallelism.

*Preface* (variable).

*SANCTUS.*

*Post Sanctus* (variable).

*Præfatiuncula* (variable).

*PATER NOSTER.*

*Embolismus* (variable).

It may be of interest to give a single example of a Gallican *Præfatiuncula* and *Embolismus*.

(*Præf.*)—Agnosce Domine verba quæ præcepisti, ignosce præsumptioni quam imperasti. Ignorantia est enim non nosse meritum, contumacia non servare præceptum quibus jubemur dicere: PATER, &c.†

(*Embol.*)—Libera nos a malis, auctor bonorum omnium, Deus; libera nos ab omni tentatione, ab omni scandalo, ab omni hæresi, ab omni opere tenebrarum; et constitue nos in omni opere bono, et da pacem in diebus nostris, auctor pacis et veritas Deus. Per.‡

Now it deserves to be noticed—the more so as the point appears to have been hitherto overlooked—that, notwithstanding their variability, these two prayers in the Gallican Liturgy are much more closely allied to the corresponding formulæ in the Roman rite than to their analogues in any of the Eastern Liturgies. These Liturgies, too, have a lesser Preface, and an *Embolismus*. But whereas the Gallican *præfatiuncula* agree without exception in emphasising the idea which is ex-

\* The similarity will have been still more marked when both the *Sanctus* and the *Pater Noster* were chanted or recited aloud by the whole people.

† *Missale Gothicum*, sixth *Missa Dominicalis* (Neale & Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 150).

‡ *Ibid.* third *M. Dom.* (Neale & Forbes, p. 146).

pressed in the Roman formula, "*Præceptis moniti, audemus dicere*," the student will seek in vain for a Greek or Eastern *præfatiuncula* which embodies the same thought; and whereas the Gallican *embolismus* invariably agrees with the Roman in commencing with the phrase *Libera nos*, not a single instance can be found, so far as I am aware, of an Eastern *embolismus*, which begins with the corresponding phrase.\*

Nor is this the only instance occurring in the central portion of the liturgical service in which the Western Liturgies exhibit a closer affinity among themselves than with the Eastern rites. For in the first place, while the Roman, Ambrosian, Gallican, and Spanish Masses agree in introducing the recital of the Institution (*i.e.*, the Consecration) with the words, "*Qui pridie (or Ipse enim pridie) quam pateretur*," the Eastern Liturgies are no less unanimous in the use of the formula "*in quâ nocte tradebatur*," or its equivalent. If we may trust the testimony of the *Liber Pontificalis* and our own interpretation of that testimony, the change from the Eastern to the Western form was introduced in Rome by Pope St. Alexander, whose pontificate fell in the early years of the second century.†

Again, whereas the Eastern Liturgies without exception place the solemn Fraction of the Sacred Host after the *Pater Noster*, in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites this ceremony precedes the *Pater*. And we have the clear though somewhat

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\* "*Rogamus te, Deus Pater omnipotens, ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo*." Thus begins the *Embolismus* in the Liturgy of St. Mark and in the Coptic St. Cyril (Swainson, *Gk. Lit.* pp. 62, 63); and this is the nearest approach to the Western form. In the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, the *Embolismus* is a prayer that God would look down in mercy on the bowed heads of the congregation (*ibid.* pp. 85-86, 96-97). The corresponding prayer in St. James is closely similar to that in St. Mark (*ibid.* pp. 306-309).

† "*Hic passionem Domini miscuit in prædicatione (? precatione) sacerdotum quando missæ celebrantur*" (L.P. ed. Duchesne, p. 127. In the earlier recensions, pp. 54, 55, the last three words are not read). With great respect for M. Duchesne, I venture to think that his note on this passage is misleading: "*L'auteur attribue ici à Alexandre l'insertion dans la liturgie du Qui pridie, c'est à dire des paroles commémoratives de l'institution de l'Eucharistie!*" (Italics mine). But there is question here not of "words commemorative of the institution of the Eucharist," but of inserting in the "words commemorative of the institution" a phrase commemorative of the Passion—that is to say, of substituting "*Qui pridie quam pateretur*" for "*In qua nocte tradebatur*." Altaserra's observation, quoted by D. *ad loc.* is beside the mark: "*Constitutum di memoria passionis Christi in missæ sacrificio celebranda non est proprium Alexandri, sed potius ipsius Christi*."

indirect testimony of St. Gregory the Great that such, down to his own time, was the custom in the Roman Church also. Indeed it can hardly be doubted that the change introduced by St. Gregory was suggested by the Eastern usage.\*

These important points of agreement among the early Western, as against the Eastern rites, should be carefully kept in mind, lest an undue bias should be created by too exclusive a consideration of the points of difference which we shall presently have to consider.

Returning now to the *Sanctus* and its accompaniments, we may notice in the first place that the Gallican *Contestatio* and the Mozarabic *Illatio* are for the most part considerably more elaborate than those shorter Prefaces with which the Reformed Roman Missal has made us all familiar.† This however is a point of detail, and the same character of diffuseness is in some measure shared by the earlier Roman Prefaces which

\* Ep. ix. 12, ad *Joannem Syracusanum* (P.L. lxxvii. 955 sqq.). It had been objected against Gregory that he had introduced Byzantine customs into the Roman Liturgy, and in particular "quia orationem Dominicam *mox post canonem* (i.e., before instead of after the Fraction) dici statuistis." He replies: "Orationem vero Dominicam idcirco *mox post prece[m]* dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo *orationem oblationis* hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconueniens visum est ut *prece[m quam scholasticus composuerat* super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit super ejus corpus et sanguinem non diceremus." This reply has been strangely misunderstood from the Middle Ages down to our own times. St. Gregory was supposed to assert that the *Pater Noster* was the only liturgical formula in use in Apostolic times! But surely the meaning is precisely the reverse of this. In Apostolic times the *Pater Noster* had no place in the central portion of the Mass, and possibly formed no part of the Liturgy (which would explain its absence from from the Clementine rite); the *oratio oblationis* (i.e., the *prex*, afterwards known as the Canon) alone accompanying the Consecration. Dr. Probst was the first to point out that we must join *orationem oblationis* (not *oblationis hostiam*), and that the *oratio oblationis* is not the Lord's Prayer (*oratio Dominica*), but the *prex* or Canon (*Lit. der drei erst. Jahrh.*, pp. 355-6). Cf. Dr. Gasquet's art., "The Early History of the Mass," in this REVIEW (1890, i. 286).

† *E.g.* the *Contestatio* of the Mass for Christmas Day in the *M. Gothicum* runs as follows:—"Dignum et justum est, nos tibi gratias agere, Domine Deus, per Christum Jesum Filium tuum, qui cum Deus esset æternus, homo fieri pro nostra salute dignatus est. O unice singulare, et multiplex salvatoris nostri mysterium! Nam unus idemque et Deus summus et homo perfectus, et pontifex maximus et sacrificium sacratissimum, secundum divinam potentiam creavit omnia, secundum humanam conditionem liberavit hominem; secundum vim sacrificii expiavit commaculatos, secundum jus sacerdotii reconciliavit offensos. O unice redemptionis mysterium singulare! in quo vetusta illa vulnera novâ Dominus medicinâ sanavit, et primi hominis præjudicia salutaris nostri privilegia resciderunt. Ille [i.e. Adam] concupiscentiæ exagitatus stimulis, hic obedientæ confixus est clavus; ille ad arborem manus incontinententer extendit, iste ad crucem patienter aptavit." And so on, through a series of contrasts very aptly expressed.



have been preserved in the Leonine and Gelasian Sacramentaries.

It has been already said that the *Post Sanctus* takes up and develops the leading phrases of the triumphal hymn; but it must now be further noted that this prayer in the Gallican Mass forms a connecting link which brings the *Sanctus* and the words of Institution into immediate and organic connection, since it invariably leads up to and introduces the words *Qui pridie quam pateretur*, or *Ipse enim pridie*, &c. To give only a single instance, the P.S. for the Feast of St. Stephen, in the *M. Gothicum*, runs as follows:

Vere Sanctus vere Benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Unigenitus tuus, qui martyrem tuum Stephanum cœlestis aulæ collegio munerauit, qui corporis nostri infirmitatem suscepit, et priusquam pium sanguinem pro humana salute funderet, mysterium sacrae sollemnitatis instituit. Ipse enim pridie.\*

And as that portion of the Roman Canon which precedes the recital of the words of Institution is represented in the Gallican Liturgy by a single prayer, so also another single prayer, the *Post Secrata*, *Post Mysterium*, or *Post Pridie*, takes the place of the three prayers which in the Roman Mass immediately follow the Consecration. Now herein, it need hardly be said, lies the most marked difference which distinguishes the Gallican and Mozarabic from the Roman rite. And is not this difference, it may be asked, alone sufficient to establish the independent origin of the Hispano-Gallican Liturgy? I think not, and for the following reasons.

In the first place, however venerable may be the antiquity of much of the phraseology which it embodies, it can hardly be maintained that the Gregorian Canon is, as regards the details of its structure, really primitive. The most cautious and conservative of students may well spare himself the pains of defending the Apostolic or sub-Apostolic origin of a Canon which St. Gregory the Great himself describes as "*precem quam scholasticus composuerat*," whatever precise meaning we may attach to the word *scholasticus*. And a careful investigation of all the available evidence will, I think, go far to show that the contrast between the Roman Canon

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\* Neale & Forbes, pp. 39, 40.

and the Gallican *Post Sanctus* and *Post Pridie* is not such as to prevent us from referring the two Liturgies to a common and a Roman source.

And, to begin with the *Post Sanctus*, it is to be noted that among all Liturgies, Eastern and Western, the Roman Canon stands alone in not passing by a continuous transition from the *Sanctus* to the words of Institution; alone in inserting distinct prayers of commemoration (*Memento, Communicantes*) and of oblation (*Hanc igitur, Quam oblationem*) at this point of the Liturgy; alone again in separating the *Memento* for the living from that for the dead. The antecedent probabilities then are distinctly in favour of the hypothesis that the Roman rite in its primitive form had in this place, like all other Liturgies, only a single prayer connecting the *Sanctus* with the words of Institution. But we are not left to mere antecedent probabilities for our information on this point. Tradition combines with internal evidence and with liturgical analogy to show that the Gregorian Canon is, like other portions of the Roman rite, the outcome of a gradual process of liturgical development and reconstruction. The mediæval liturgical writers, Walafrid Strabo, Remy of Auxerre, Berno of Reichenau, and the Micrologus, while fully recognising the impossibility of tracing in detail the history of the formation of the Roman Canon, has no hesitation as regards the fact of its gradual development.\*

And a careful scrutiny of the Canon itself can hardly fail to lead us, as it led Walafrid Strabo, to the same conclusion.† Even had we nothing but the actual structure of the Roman Canon to go upon, it would be impossible not to suspect that the *Memento* for the living and the dead originally stood in closer juxtaposition than they do at present. Their opening words *Memento* and *Memento etiam* (especially when compared with the *Μνήσθητι* and *Μνήσθητι ἔτι* of the Greek rites), sufficiently indicate this. Nor is extraneous evidence wanting, of

\* *P. L.* cxiv. 948; cxlii. 1057; cli. 985; ci. 1246.

† “*Actio vero sive Canon ex eo cognoscitur maxime per partes compositus quod nomina Sanctorum quorum ibi communio et societas flagitatur duobus in locis posita reperiuntur*” (*P. L.* cxiv. 948). This writer has not, perhaps, been altogether happy in his choice of an instance to prove his point; but his instinct has rightly told him that the Roman Canon bears internal marks of growth by accretion or transference.

a character quite distinct from that of the general statements already quoted from mediæval writers. The Canon of the Mass in the single extant MS. of the so-called Gelasian, and in the oldest codices of the Gregorian Sacramentary, has no *Memento* for the dead in its present position. Now since it is impossible to believe that the commemoration of the dead was ever omitted in any Liturgy whatsoever, it is most natural to suppose that previously to the eighth century (roughly speaking) it was inserted in its natural place after the *Communicantes*.\* And this supposition receives a welcome confirmation from the *Codex Rossanensis* of the so-called *Liturgia S. Petri*, which in this very place—viz., after the *Communicantes*—inserts the rubric Ἐνταῦθα ἀναφέρει τοὺς κοιμηθέντας (“Here he prays for the dead”).†

This, however, is not the whole of the case. Assuming the truth of what has just been said, it will be noticed that the first part of the Gregorian Canon in reality contains a fourfold commemoration—viz. (1) Of the Church, Pope, Bishop, and all the faithful;‡ (2) of those for whom the Holy Sacrifice is more specially offered, or for whom the celebrant desires more particularly to pray; (3) of the Saints; and (4) of the dead. Yet although these four commemorations manifestly form a series, I cannot bring myself to believe that this series originally had its place in the first part of the Canon. The position of the corresponding prayers in the Eastern Liturgies suggests that these commemorations were originally made not between the Preface and the words of Institution, but *after* the Consecration. And here again the surmise which is suggested by liturgical analogy receives confirmation from other sources. For in the first place, just as the phrase *Memento etiam* implies a foregoing *Memento*, so also the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* implies an immediately preceding prayer for some

\* I say “in its natural place,” because in other Liturgies the commemoration of the departed *for* whom we pray invariably follows (when, indeed, it is not indistinguishably mingled with) the commemoration of the blessed dead whose intercession we seek.

† The *Liturgia S. Petri* is admittedly nothing more than a Greek translation of the Roman Canon inserted into a Byzantine framework, presumably for the use of some of the churches in S.E. Italy. It is extant in several MSS., of which the oldest is the *Cod. Rossanensis* (sæc. ix. ?), from which it has been printed by Swainson, p. 191 *sqq.*

‡ The analogy of all other early liturgical documents constrains us to believe that the enumeration was originally drawn out in much fuller detail.

class of persons to whom *nos peccatores* are added. The *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* then helps to fix the earlier position of the fourfold commemoration, each member of which, we may be sure, originally commenced with the word *Memento*, just as in the Greek Liturgies all such commemorations are introduced by the word *Μνήσθητι*. And here again the Rossano MS. of the *Liturgia Petri* comes to our assistance. For immediately before the *Nobis . . . peccatoribus* it inserts the beginning of a *Memento* for the living (*ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι Κ. τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου*) and the rubric "here he commemorates (*ἀναφέρει*) the living."\* Similarly the Stowe Missal inserts here, though rather clumsily, a *Memento* for the living. Surely these are reminiscences of the old practice according to which the Roman Liturgy, like the Clementine and those of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. James, commemorated the living and the dead alike after the consecration and the Epiklesis. Of this practice we seem to have still more emphatic evidence in the well-known letter of Innocent I. to Decentius of Gubbio, the purport of which—as regards this point—appears to me to have been overlooked.† The letter is commonly quoted as proving that in the time of Innocent the *Memento* for the living and for the dead formed part of the Canon of the Roman Mass. And so much it certainly does prove beyond all question. But unless I am greatly mistaken it proves more than this—viz., that the Commemoration in question came *after*, and not before, the Consecration. For (1) the question proposed by Decentius was "*De nominibus recitandis antequam preces sacerdos faciat*," the *preces* here referred to being undoubtedly the Canon;‡ and (2) the answer is that "*prius oblationes sunt commendandæ . . . ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur . . . ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus*." Now the phrase "*prius oblationes commendandæ*," might refer to the *Te igitur* or a similar prayer, and the clause "*inter sacra mysteria*" is not decisive. But the concluding words, "*ut ipsis mysteriis*

\* Other MSS. of this liturgy have neither *Memento* nor rubric here.

† I know not on what ground the authenticity of this letter has been called in question by Mr. Venables (*Dict. Chr. Antig.* p. 904 b.). He refers to Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* p. 437, which work I have not been able to consult. Jaffé (*Regesta*, n. 311) suggests no doubt as to the genuineness of the document, and it is referred to by Hilduin in his letter to Louis the Pious.

‡ For the use of *preces* to designate the Canon, see the letter of St. Gregory to John of Syracuse quoted in a previous note.

viam *futuris* precibus aperiamus," surely imply that the Consecration preceded the recital of the names. The half-dozen lines of the *Te igitur* which introduce the prayer for the Church could hardly be referred to as *ipsa mysteria*.

But if, in accordance with what has been said, the *Memento* for the living, and the prayer *Communicantes*, as well as a portion of the *Te igitur*, are to be regarded as having been transferred from their original position before the *Memento pro defunctis* to their present place in the first portion of the Canon, it follows that what originally intervened between the *Sanctus* and the *Pridie* must have been relatively short, or at any rate comparatively simple in structure.

But we can go one step further back. In the treatise *De Sacramentis*, which was erroneously ascribed to St. Ambrose, but which may be probably assigned to the fifth or perhaps the sixth century, a considerable portion of the Romano-Milanese Canon in use at that time, and possibly the whole of it, has been preserved. With the exception of some verbal differences, which are, indeed, of considerable interest, but which it would be beside my purpose to discuss here, it answers to the Roman Canon, from *Quam oblationem* down to the end of the prayer *Supplices*.\* The first prayer, however, apparently had an independent beginning, "Fac nobis [Domine] hanc oblationem," instead of commencing with a relative pronoun ("Quam") as in the Roman Canon. So that it is at least possible that the *Te igitur* and *Hanc igitur* (of which the latter obviously resumes and echoes the former) may be of later introduction. Moreover, in this precious liturgical fragment, the three prayers, *Unde et memores*, *Supra quæ*, and *Supplices*, which in the Roman Mass immediately follow the Consecration, are here represented by a single continuous prayer precisely after the manner of a Gallican *Post Secreta* or Mozarabic *Post Pridie*, a circumstance which at least suggests that the earlier portion of the Canon may likewise have consisted of a single prayer introduced by a variable *Vere Sanctus* clause.†

But this is not all. It is, presumably, well known to

\* The argument is not affected if the *De Sacramentis* be regarded as a Gallican rather than a Milanese tract.

† It is remarkable that the Rogation Masses in the *Missale Gothicum* have a *Post Sanctus* commencing with *Hanc igitur*. So, too, has the first Advent Mass in the *Missale Gallicanum* (Neale & Forbes, pp. 115, 156).

liturgical specialists—though they do not always mention the fact where one might expect them to do so—that the Ambrosian *Canon Missæ* for Holy Saturday combines the Roman and Gallican (or early Western?) pre-consecration formulæ, as follows :

- (1) *Te igitur*, down to “*hæc sancta sacrificia illibata.*”
- (2) *Vere Sanctus*, *vere Benedictus*, &c., a prayer in the form known to us as Gallican, but introducing the names of Pope, Bishop, Emperor, and King, and a special commemoration of the recently baptized.
- (3) The prayers, *Memento*, *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur* (inserting the same clause in relation to the newly baptized) and *Quam oblationem*.

Now no one, I think, can seriously doubt that the oldest part of this conflated Canon is the *Vere Sanctus* ; for it would be contrary to all that we know of the gradual Romanising of the Ambrosian rite to suppose that a distinctively Gallican prayer had been inserted in the Roman Canon ; whereas the retention (on Holy Saturday alone) of the primitive *Post Sanctus* side by side with the reformed Roman Canon is in conformity with other survivals of early liturgical formulæ in the services of the great Paschal Triduum. But if the Ambrosian Mass originally possessed a *Post Sanctus* of the type known to us as Gallican, which prayer it has retained in one Mass alone, what possible difficulty can there be in supposing that the Roman Mass also originally had this same form, even though it has not retained it even in a single Mass? The divergences of the Ambrosian Liturgy from the Roman are so comparatively slight that it is difficult to see how anything but a strong tendency, conscious or unconscious, to minimise the influence of Rome in early times could have led any one to suppose that the origin of the Milanese rite was to be sought elsewhere than in Rome.

Let us now turn to yet another quarter in search of fresh light on the subject. The oldest extant Liturgy is undoubtedly that which is embodied in the Eighth Book of the so-called Apostolical Constitutions. Now in this Liturgy the central portion of the Mass consists of the following parts :

1. A very long historical Preface, in which thanks are given for God's mercies under the Old Testament, down to the entrance of the Israelites into the Promised Land.
2. A *Post Sanctus* commencing with the words, “*Ἄγιος εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς*” (“*Vere enim Sanctus es*”), and continuing the history onwards into the New Dispensation as far as the Ascension.

3. The words of Institution introduced by the phrase 'Εν ἧ γὰρ νυκτὶ παρεδίδωτο ("in quâ nocte tradetatur").

4. The *Anamnesis*, a prayer commencing with the words *Μεμνημένοι οὖν*, and answering more closely to the Roman *Unde et memores* than to any Gallican *Post Secreta*, or Mozarabic *Post Pridie*.

5. The *Epiklesis* or Invocation of the Holy Spirit.

6. (a) The *Memento* for the Church and all its orders.

(b) The Commemoration of the Saints.

(c) The *Memento* for the Dead.

7. The "prayer of humble access" partly answering to our *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*.

Now the general relation of this very early Liturgy to the Gallican rite is easy to see, and all the more so because a link in the chain of devolution is supplied by the collection of fifth century Masses unearthed by Mone in 1851. In the Prefaces which we find in the Gallican Sacramentaries of the seventh century, as also in those of the Mozarabic Missal, the general history of God's dealings with mankind has given place to a commemorative recital of the particular mystery which is being celebrated, or of some facts from the life of the Saint whose festival is being kept. But in the Monian Masses, which go back to a time when the liturgical formulæ had, indeed, become liable to variation, but had apparently not yet been specialised to suit the seasons and festivals of the ecclesiastical year, at least two Prefaces are found of that general historical type which is presented by the Clementine rite. It may be worth while to quote one of them here. It is from the third Mass in the Reichenau Missal:

"Dignum et justum est, vere æquum et justum est, nos tibi gratias agere, omnipotens æternæ Deus, Pater, Unigenite, Spiritus Sancte ex Patre et Filio mysticâ processione subsistens: una eademque in Sancta Trinitate trium personarum substantia, coæterna essentia et non discreta concordia, æqualis potentia, voluntas unita, ipsa apud se permanens ante tempora universa vel sæcula; nihil ultra se habens, nihil intra se nesciens cuncta supereminens et se cunctis infundens, *loca continens et locis excedens*, nullius indigens et omnia complens, sermone ineffabilis, virtute efficax. Et si voce non capax, solo præcepto potentiæ, cælum terram maria cum suis formis in generibus procreasti; sed inter reliquas animantium creaturas, ut peculiariter in tua laude viverent, hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem beatissimæ Trinitatis condidisti, ut collocatus in suavitate paradisi, creatori serviens creaturis reliquis imperaret, et tibi fideliter famulando haberet in aliis generibus dominatum. Sed culpâ

prævaricationis admissâ . . . . successit mors. . . . Tu autem clemens et conditor condolens . . . . ad illum inclinâtâ potentiâ descendisti," &c.\*

But whereas when the theme to be treated embraced the whole history of God's mercies to man, it was easy to divide the material between the Preface and the *Post Sanctus*, there was no obvious motive for doing so when a special mystery was alone to be commemorated. Hence the extreme abruptness of some, and the comparative brevity of all the Gallican and Mozarabic forms of the *Post Sanctus*. Of these the reader has already seen two specimens, to which I here add two more, which from our present point of view are still more striking.

Vere Sanctus vere benedictus D. n. J. C. Filius tuus : Qui pridie.

Vere Sanctus vere benedictus D. n. J. C. . . . . manens in coelis manifestatus in terris. Ipse enim pridie.†

Now it is clear how serious a loss of solemnity, and that too in the most solemn part of the Mass, was involved in the transition from the long Clementine to the short Gallican *Post Sanctus*, involving as it did so sudden and abrupt a passage from the triumphal hymn (as the *Sanctus* is fitly called) to the words of Institution. Nor is it to be wondered at if the "Scholasticus" who set in order the Roman Canon, sought to compensate for this loss of solemnity by transferring to the first part of the Canon certain prayers which originally found their place after the Consecration.

We have already seen that there is some reason for thinking that the prayers *Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem*, and the opening clauses of the *Te igitur*, may probably have grown out of a single continuous formula of oblation, which is in fact represented by a single sentence in the Liturgy of St. Mark. And, indeed, if it were desired to transfer the Commemorations to this part of the Canon, it could hardly have been better done than by enclosing them between two formulæ of oblation which answer to each other so perfectly in thought and language as do the *Te igitur* (down to *hæc s. sacrificia illibata*) and the *Hanc igitur*. Nor, again, could anything be more natural or more in accordance with liturgical analogy than that prayers of commemorative intercession should attach themselves to

\* Neale and Forbes, p. 7.

† From the *M. Aug.* and *M. Goth.* respectively (Neale & Forbes, pp. 4, 33).



prayers of oblation. But a word must yet be said about the phrase *Te igitur*, &c., which has displaced, as we have good reason to believe, the primitive *Vere Sanctus*. And with the *Te igitur* may fitly be conjoined the strictly parallel and resumptive expression *Hanc igitur*, which immediately follows the *Memento* and *Communicantes*. Unless I am greatly mistaken, the occurrence of these words in this place is not unconnected with the circumstance that similar expressions are of such frequent occurrence in early forms of the Preface. The following examples are taken from Gallican Contestations and Mozarabic Illations :

*Te igitur ineffabilem rerum omnium conditorem laudamus, benedicimus, adoramus.\**

*Tibi ergo, summe genitor pura devotione immaculatum munus offerimus et . . . pium sacrificium celebramus.†*

*Unde supplices rogamus clementissime Pater ut . . . inter cœlestium virtutum laudes humilitatis nostræ voces suscipias.‡*

*Te ergo quesumus Domine Deus noster, exaudi, sanctifica plebem tuam, &c.§*

*Tuo igitur nomini offerentes victimam mundam rogamus atque exposcimus, &c.||*

*Per eum te igitur flagitamus omnipotens Pater, &c.¶*

With these formulæ should be compared the similar "illative" clauses which find a place in the very ancient Roman Prefaces which are still in use on Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday. Thus, in the blessing of the Chrism we have, in the body of the Preface,

*Te igitur deprecamur Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne*

\* From the first *Missa Dominicalis* in the *M. Gothicum* (Neale & Forbes, p. 142).

† From the *Missa Clausum Pasche* (sic), in the *M. Goth.* and *M. Gall.* (Neale & Forbes, pp. 110, 201).

‡ From the *Missa in Inventione S. Crucis* in the *M. Goth.* (Neale & Forbes, p. 111.) Compare the Roman "*Te igitur clementissime Pater supplices rogamus . . . uti accepta habeas,*" &c.

§ From the *Missa in Natale Domini* of the *M. Bobbiense* (Neale & Forbes, p. 222). Similar illative clauses may be found on pp. 79, 243 (*Ergo suscipe*), 298 (*Tu ergo*), 299 (*Tuas igitur*), 315 (*Quapropter omnipotentiam*), 347 (*Proinde Domine subnixi deposcimus*), &c.

|| *Missale Mozarabicum*, Dom. i. Quadr. (P.L. lxxxv. 303).

¶ *Ibid.* fer vi. ante Dom. Palm. (*ibid.* p. 388). Other illative formulæ occurring in the body of the Preface will be found in the same Missal on pp. 215 (*In hujus ergo honore*); 225 (*Hunc igitur*); 358 (*Nos igitur*); 490 (*Hic igitur*); 507 (*Vide igitur*); 654 (*Unde quia . . . te quesumus*). Compare also: "*Nunc igitur . . . te Deus Pater exprociemus et rogamus,*" p. 370 (in a *Post Sanctus*); and "*Proinde te Deus Pater rogamus,*" p. 382 (also in a *P.S.*).

Deus . . . . ut hujus creaturæ pinguedinem Sanctificare tua benedictione digneris.

And in the Preface sung at the blessing of the Paschal candle, we find, in the Gelasian Sacramentary, sections commencing with :

Magnum *igitur* mysterium . . . . Ad hujus *ergo* festivitatis reverentiam . . . . Cum *igitur* hujus substantiæ. . . . Talia *igitur* Domine . . . . munera offeruntur.

While in the possibly not less ancient form of the same Preface which the Roman and Ambrosian Missals have in common with the Gallican sacramentaries, we find the following :

Hæc *igitur* nox est . . . . Hujus *igitur* sanctificatio noctis. . . . In hujus *igitur* noctis gratia . . . . Precamur *ergo* Domine. . . .

Now I am very far from saying that the foregoing instances provide an adequate basis for a certain conclusion, but they do, I think, make it at least highly probable that the *Te igitur* and *Hanc igitur* of the Roman Canon are to be regarded as having originated in the transfer of *igitur* clauses from the Preface, and in their promotion, so to speak, to the status of independent prayers.

So much, then, for the first part of the Roman Canon in its relation to the early Gallican Liturgy. A full discussion of the Hispano-Gallican *Post Secreta*, *Post Mysterium*, or *Post Pridie* in relation to the second portion of the Canon is beyond my power. It is a subject which I would venture to hope that Dr. Probst or Father Bæumer or Father Morin may some day take up and elucidate. In the meanwhile, however, this much must be said : Following out the principle that what is common to all the liturgies of the East, Rome must once have had, it can hardly be doubted that the words of consecration in the Roman rite were originally followed by an *Anamnesis* or Commemoration of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord (still faithfully preserved in the prayer *Unde et memores*), and this in turn by an *Epiklesis* or invocation of the Holy Spirit on the consecrated *oblata*.

The latter prayer, however—probably on account of the dogmatic errors which it so readily gave occasion—has been omitted from the Roman Canon, or rather has been so

transformed as to leave but a bare trace of its existence in a single clause of the prayer *Supplices te rogamus*. When then we find that the Gallican *Post Secreta* or *Post Mystrium* and the Mozarabic *Post Pridie* in their fuller forms consist of an *Anamnensis* and *Epiklesis* fused into a single prayer (which is, I believe, nowhere the case in the Eastern Liturgies), so far from finding in this circumstance a proof that the Gallican Liturgy owed its origin directly to the East, and perhaps to Ephesus, we ought rather to recognise here a fresh point of contact with the Roman rite. For the Ambrosian treatise *De Sacramentis* exhibits, as has already been seen, in place of the Roman prayers, *Unde et memores*, *Supra quæ*, and *Supplices*, a single continuous *Post Pridie*.

There yet remains, however, one important difference between the Roman and the Gallican rite which it would be unpardonable to pass over in silence. I refer to the position of the *Pax*, which, as the title of the *Collectio ad Pacem* sufficiently attests, had its place in the Gallican as in the Eastern Liturgies, before the Preface. And this position of the *Pax* is one of the chief grounds on which a distinctively Eastern rather than a Roman origin is claimed for the Hispano-Gallican Liturgy. The argument, however, can hardly be regarded as conclusive, unless it can be shown that the present position of the *Pax* in the Roman Mass has come down from primitive times. Otherwise the presumption will be that in this particular, as in other like cases, the Roman Mass in its original form agreed in the succession of its parts with the common usage of all other Liturgies without exception. But again we have more than *a priori* presumption to guide us here. For, as Dr. Probst has pointed out, herein correcting Mone, the testimony of Tertullian is to the effect that in his time the *Pax* was given immediately after the *Oratio fidelium* and therefore before the Preface.\* And a conjecture may perhaps be hazarded as to the reason of the change. In primitive times the Kiss of Peace was a sign of Christian fellowship, which had its natural place immediately after the dismissal of those who were as yet, or for the time, excluded from that fellowship. But when the solemn dismissal of the catechumens began to fall into disuse, it was

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\* *Liturgie*, p. 373-4.

not unnatural to bring this rite into closer connection with the reception of that all-holy Sacrament which is the strongest bond of Christian unity. This explanation of the matter, however, I put forth only tentatively and with great hesitation, for there are serious difficulties in the way of ascribing the change in the position of the Kiss of Peace to so late a date as this hypothesis would imply.\*

We are at any rate on safer ground when we observe that already in the Clementine Liturgy, we find the salutation. Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν, ("Pax Dei sit cum omnibus vobis"), precisely in the position of the later Roman *Pax*, though of course the Kiss of Peace had been given before the Preface. And if we assume with Archdeacon Venables that "it is not at all probable that in primitive times the usage of the Occidental was different from that of the Oriental Church in this point," and if we further accept Dr. Probst's interpretation of the positive testimony of Tertullian as to the actual fact, then we can hardly regard the transfer of the Kiss of Peace as unconnected with the circumstance that there was already in use before the Communion a form of salutation to which it could naturally attach itself. As in the case of the Commemorations or *Mementos*, so also here, the tendency of early Roman liturgical reform would seem to have been in the direction of shortening all that intervened between the Gospel and the Preface, in order to gather the liturgical service as closely as possible round the central act of Sacrifice, between the *Sanctus* and the Communion.

The intention was expressed in my former paper to give some account of the history of, and reasons for, the final supersession of the Hispano-Gallican rite in Gaul and Spain in the eighth and eleventh centuries respectively. Want of space, however, makes it impossible to do more than merely indicate some few considerations which should be borne in mind by any one who would form a right estimate of the

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\* Innocent I., in his letter to Decentius, defends the position of the *Pax* before the Communion as *necessaria*, which surely implies that it was already old. He died A.D. 416. It would not, perhaps, be safe to rely on the testimony of St. Augustine, Sermon. ccxxvii., for though the words are explicit enough in placing the *Pax* just before the Communion, the Sermon is by some ascribed to St. Cæsarius of Arles, who lived more than a century later (Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 904).

action taken by the Roman Pontiffs in forwarding or urging this liturgical change.

(1) No one who has not carefully examined for himself the early Gallican Sacramentaries can have any adequate idea of the extraordinary want of uniformity which they present. It must be enough to say that out of about 175 Masses which the six Missals (including the Stowe Missal) contain, there are not three which are common to any two of the books. Indeed, it would seem that the only Mass which really had a kind of fixed identity was the *Missa Cottidiana Romensis*, which appears in the Bobbio and in the Stowe Missals, and of which a fragment has survived in the *M. Gothicum*.

(2) Not less remarkable than the want of uniformity among the Gallican books themselves, is the fact that a very large proportion of the variable prayers which they contain are found also in the Roman Sacramentaries, from which even Neale & Forbes admit that they must have been for the most part borrowed. Moreover, with the exception of the fragmentary Reichenau Missal, every one of the other books contains evidence of the occasional use of the Roman Canon, or of portions thereof. Indeed, nothing can be more clear than that long before the time of Pepin and Charlemagne the Roman rite had begun to obtain a firm footing in Gaul.\*

Here then was a state of things in the Gallican Church which frequently clamoured for a reform, and what reform could have been more reasonable than to substitute for the unstable and undeveloped liturgical system of Gaul the fixed and clear-cut Roman rite with its fully developed calendar of seasons and festivals?

(3) Nevertheless, nothing can be more clear than that this reform was not thrust upon the Gallican Church, at the close of the eighth century, by the Roman Pontiffs.† The final substitution of the Roman for the old Gallican rite was effected in

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\* This truth has been recently set forth in the clearest light by Dom S. Bæumer in his excellent tract on the *Sacramentum Gelasianum*, for a copy of which I am indebted to the great kindness of the author. It is a pleasure to find the conclusions at which I had independently arrived entirely confirmed by so learned a writer. It would be impossible here to indicate the fresh evidence by which he proves to demonstration the strong influence of the Roman rite in Gaul in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

† Marchesi, *La Liturgia Gallicana* (Rome, 1867), ii. 205 sqq; Bæumer, *Sacr. Gelas.* pp. 49 sqq.

the Frankish kingdom under Pepin and Charles the Great, with the cordial co-operation, indeed, of the Roman Pontiffs—Paul I., Stephen III., and Hadrian I., but by no means at their urgent instance. It is clear from the letters of yet earlier Popes that the Roman See, as in duty bound, was always on the alert lest liturgical vagaries should impair the purity of the faith, always earnestly desirous to reform abuses. But for any trace of an attempt on the part of the Popes to suppress with a high hand the ancient Gallican Liturgy as a whole, we seek in vain. The change, so far as it was due to the direct action of Popes and Kings, seems to have begun with the introduction of the Gregorian chant into Gaul, Paul I. sending books, and Stephen III. some cantors from the Roman *schola*, both at the request of Pepin. Later on we find Hadrian I. sending the Gregorian Sacramentary to Charles, likewise at the request of that monarch. The capitularies of Charles testify to the substitution of the Roman chant for the Gallican under his predecessor; but they make no direct mention of the adoption of the Roman Liturgy as a whole, though they seem to assume that it has in fact been adopted.

(4) It was not until three centuries later that the same substitution was effected in Spain. The history of the suppression of the Mozarabic is a good deal more complicated than that of the Gallican rite, and was more closely bound up with the authoritative settlement of dogmatic questions. The details of the history cannot be given here, and indeed the available information on the subject is defective as to many particulars.\* But two points stand out clearly when the documents are dispassionately examined—viz. (a) that the Roman See was ready to defend the cause of the Spanish Liturgy when it was unjustly found fault with on dogmatic grounds; (b) that it was not until the Roman rite had gained a footing in Spain and was supported by a strong party in Aragon and Castile, that Gregory VII. authoritatively urged its universal adoption. It is of course easy to ascribe this action of St. Gregory to “that intolerance of other rites” on the part of Rome, which—in the words of a recent writer—“has so incalculably injured ecclesias-

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\* The chief authorities are (1) *Regesta Gregorii VII.* in *P.L.* cxlviii.; (2) Pien (Pinius), *De Liturgia Mozarabica* in the *Bollandist Acta* (t. vi. Julii, pp. 1-112); (3) Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. 441-462.

tical antiquity." It would perhaps be wiser, as well as more modest, if only in view of the moderation of earlier Pontiffs, to give even Pope Hildebrand credit for some other motive than a spirit of narrow-minded exclusiveness or tyrannical intolerance. There were, after all, more important interests at stake than the preservation of interesting liturgical relics for the satisfaction of students in centuries to come. We must not judge of the condition of the Spanish Liturgy solely by the Mozarabic Missal in the form in which it has come down to us from the time of Cardinal Ximenes. Had such a Missal been in universal use in Spain, we may confidently assume that St. Gregory VII. would have left it in undisturbed possession. But liturgical chaos was quite another matter. And were we in possession of all the circumstances we should probably find ourselves compelled to admit that for this state of chaos the adoption of the Roman rite was the only remedy. How far from the mind of the Roman See is the indiscriminating suppression of "other rites" may be gathered from the measures taken by Pius IX. and by Leo XIII. for the preservation of the local liturgical usages of the Basilian monastery of Grotta Ferrata, hardly a dozen miles from Rome.

HERBERT LUCAS, S.J.

## ART. VIII.—TOWN FOGS: THEIR AMELIORATION AND PREVENTION.

**T**HERE can be no doubt that of late the public mind has been considering the subject of town fogs more intently than it has ever done before. And there is reason for discontent. The anticyclonic winter of 1890–91, affording most favourable meteorological conditions for the formation of fog, showed Londoners to what dimensions the smoke evil has attained, and how by yearly increasing the sources of air pollution we have made our great metropolis almost unfit for human habitation when certain states of weather prevail. Added to the memorable winter of 1890–91, there was the notorious fog of December 1891, which enveloped London for the whole week before Christmas Day, without an hour's intermission, stopping both locomotion and business in what generally is the busiest week in the year. This fog culminated on Christmas Day in darkest gloom, accompanied by the phenomenal silver thaw, which rendered it almost impossible to walk a hundred yards without danger to limb. It was then that the pent-up public disgust exploded, and for some weeks afterwards the columns of the daily press were filled with letters of complaint, and suggestions for the remedy for what has become a national evil. The question arises, can our town fogs be prevented or even ameliorated? The object of the present article is the endeavour to offer some suggestions on this question. But, before considering specially the smoke type of fog which envelops our large cities, it will be necessary for a few moments to consider the cause of fogs generally.

Fogs, mists, and clouds are the same phenomenon. A cloud is simply a fog in the air, or, to put it the other way about, a fog is a cloud on the ground. The phenomenon is caused by the condensation of invisible aqueous vapour into visible particles of water. A mist is simply a modified degree of fog. It is sometimes extremely difficult for a meteorological recorder to decide whether he is to describe what he sees as fog or mist. This fact was discussed at a recent meeting of the



Royal Meteorological Society, and attempts were made to define fog and mist without much conclusion being arrived at as to where the border-line exists. As any fixing of the border-line must be arbitrary, it might perhaps be simpler for the purposes of scientific record if the term fog alone was used with epithets of slight, moderate, thick, or so forth. The cause of condensation of moisture is twofold. (1) There must be the presence of floating matter in the air to form nuclei for the precipitation of moisture. This is often in the form of dust in the solid state, but the matter may be liquid, or even gaseous. (2) There must be a sufficiently low temperature. Until comparatively lately it was thought that temperature alone was the determining feature of the precipitation of moisture from a saturated atmosphere, but the brilliant investigations of Mr. Aitkin in 1880 showed conclusively that it is the omnipresent dust particles that are the determining cause, and that without their presence there could be no clouds, no rain, no mists, and no fogs. The latest investigations seem to show that some forms of dust have such an affinity for water that they are able to separate it out of an atmosphere that is not completely saturated. Under ordinary circumstances, the floating matter of the air is invisible, but it is revealed to us under a brilliant beam of light. When a beam of light is cast from an oxyhydrogen or electric lantern in a darkened room, or when a beam of sunlight penetrates through a small opening into a dark place, the path of the beam reveals the floating dust particles, or rather they reveal the light, since without these solid particles to reflect and scatter the light, it would be invisible to us. If we observe the larger particles closely, we see that they are being borne hither and thither by the various air currents; some are rising, others falling. A short while ago the London public had an opportunity of realising the amount of dust which exists in the London atmosphere, even under the best conditions of weather. On the evening of the recent Royal wedding, a favourite method of illumination was the electric search-light, which from the top of large buildings radiated its gigantic beam in all directions. The very brilliancy of the silver tract showed the density of the dust particles in London air. The dust of large cities is rich in its variety: there are particles of

organic matter, such as bits of hair, bits of skin; then there is inorganic matter, bits of iron, bits of coal, bits of the pavements of the streets, and millions of other substances. Mr. Aitkin has recently carried his investigations concerning the dust of the air so far that he has arrived at the possibility of counting the dust particles. In a cubic inch of air in Glasgow, Mr. Aitkin found no fewer than 7,500,000 dust particles, whereas at Lucerne he found only 31,000.

Since the floating dust is at the root of fog, some may think that the ideal to be aimed at is the removal of all dust from the air. But to strive for such an end would be folly. There is an old Aristotelian maxim that excess and defect in anything is wrong, but that the mean is right. We can apply this golden rule to the dust of the air. Modern civilisation has produced a harmful excess of what in moderate proportions is necessary for the welfare of mankind. From millions of chimneys, we so feed the fog with the fuel of its existence that it becomes the yellow and black pall with which we are so familiar. The imperfect combustion of coal in our grates is at the bottom of much of the mischief. The air is loaded with solid particles of unburnt carbon. It is owing to the presence of the carbon particles that fogs sometimes become black, but an all-important factor of our dense town fogs are the sulphur compounds, produced also by the combustion of coal which contains sulphur. A town fog is therefore not only denser than a country fog because there is a quantity of smoke lingering about in the air, but because these products of combustion form excellent nuclei for the condensation of vapour. I was struck with the appearance of fog formation at Brighton on an autumn afternoon. There was a thick fog at sea which penetrated a little way into the town. Wherever there were large buildings belching forth smoke, such as the Métropole Hotel, there was fog of the dusky smoke type localised, quite distinct in appearance from the white sea fog. In London air there is also an excess of ammonia, which is an active fog producer. This comes from the decomposition of organic matters in our dustbins, and from the manure in our streets and stables. But a deficiency of dust in the air would cause as disastrous a condition of things as the excess. Fortunately, nature provides quantities of floating dust in the salt of the

sea which possesses a special affinity for the water particles, and is one of the chief factors of the formation of clouds. Dr. Russell, in his address on town fogs at the recent Hygienic Congress, reminded his audience of Mr. Aitkin's description of a cloudless atmosphere. Having no suspended fogs and no moderated accession of moisture in the form of rain, whenever the air was supersaturated with moisture we should be well-nigh drowned with the condensation on every available object. Another undesirable effect of the removal of all dust from the air would be the alteration of the colour of the sky. Instead of being blue it would be nearly black, as the blue tint of the sky is almost entirely due to minute particles of dust, which on account of their minuteness reflect and scatter the shorter waves of light which produce the violet and blue colours. The golden tints of sunset are also due to the dust of the air. As the sun sets it is viewed through an increasing thickness of air, and becomes yellow, orange, or red, according as the atmospheric dust particles are more or less numerous.

As long as there is any dust in the air, there will always be natural fog in London. The city is so situated in the valley of the Thames that its position is favourable for its production. Dr. Marcet, in a paper read before the Royal Meteorological Society in 1889, points out this fact very aptly. London lying in the Thames valley, is surrounded by hills. To the north there is Highgate, Hampstead, and Harrow. In a westerly direction, Putney and Wimbledon; and in a southerly direction, Clapham and Sydenham. Air on the top of the hills is naturally colder than the air on the plains, therefore, being heavier than the warmer air below, it slides down the slopes of the hills towards the town and river. If the air in London is at the point of saturation, and the cold air from above saturated with vapour, the mixture of the masses of air produces a precipitation, and consequently a fog. If there is a fog on the hill-tops, the fog below will be all the greater. It is not of natural fog we have to complain, for it has its use. To quote the words of Dr. Marcet, "A fog undoubtedly protects the earth from loss of heat. Autumn and winter fogs thus exert a most beneficial effect, being productive of a slow transition from autumn to winter. It is with that type of fog for which man is responsible that we must quarrel. Smoke and other

products of combustion we must eliminate from the atmosphere, if we have any care for the health of our citizens. In 1887-88 some interesting optical observations were taken to test the general thickness and density of London air during the winter months—viz., November, December, January, February, and March. Primrose Hill was selected as an elevated position to measure from. Four lines embracing various measuring points were taken. Three of these were taken over London: the south-west line to St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, the south line to the Clock Tower, Houses of Parliament, the south-east line to St. Paul's Cathedral. The fourth line was taken towards the country as far as St. John's Church, Hampstead. Between the alternate measuring points were various intermediate points, such as church towers and spires. During 152 days of observation, St. Mary Abbots, the Houses of Parliament, and St. Paul's Cathedral were never once seen from Primrose Hill. St. John's Church, Hampstead, was seen several times, though in January that was only seen twice. On nine days it was not possible to see an object at a hundred yards, on four days at five yards. The season 1887-88 in which these observations were taken was fairly free from fog, there being only twenty days of fog registered in that season. In some seasons the number of fogs have much exceeded that number. For instance, in the winter of 1890-91 there were fifty days of fog registered.

It may be well to point out some of the evils attendant upon our town fogs. First, to consider their effects upon health. (1) They produce absence not only of direct sunlight, but even of diffused daylight. The medical profession are now unanimous in their opinion as to the value of the actinic rays for the health of both mind and body. They purify, they destroy organic poison, they stimulate the vitality of the human system. Such being the case, it is quite terrible to contemplate the fact that in December 1890 the amount of direct sunlight that was registered at a station in the heart of the City of London, Bunhill Row, is represented by 0.1. The sanitary importance of light is borne out by recent experiments of Dr. Buchner, which show most conclusively that light is inimical to the propagation of the microbes of disease, its absence favourable. He subjected various kinds of disease

germs, placed in water in flasks, to the action of both direct sunlight and diffused daylight. In one experiment the water in the vessel was literally swarming with germs of a particular kind, but after one hour's exposure to the direct sunlight there was not a trace of germ life left in the vessel. When the vessels were exposed to ordinary diffused daylight there was a decrease of germ life, though not complete destruction. To prove that absence of light favours the growth of microbes, Dr. Buchner in each experiment provided a duplicate flask containing exactly the same kind of germ. This he covered with blackened paper. The microbes in these flasks, instead of disappearing or diminishing, slightly increased in the same period of time. It is not only of sunshine but even of daylight we are largely deprived in our dreary winters. The effect of continued day darkness on the human system approaches to that on the plant kept away from the daylight. The latter rapidly becomes sickly and invigorated, and so does the light-deprived human frame lose its vitality, and when the spring east wind—our national breeze—arrives, it finds its victims out. (2) During town fogs the atmosphere is polluted very much above the normal. As we have seen, the air is charged with solid particles of carbon and the fumes of sulphur. This fact alone is the cause of illness to thousands. Those who suffer from diseases of the respiratory organs are the chief sufferers from these products of combustion, but the effect upon all is irritating and unpleasant. There is also in dense fogs an abnormal quantity of the chlorates as well as the sulphates.

But the greatest evil which accompanies town fogs, and one that must be disastrous to the health of both delicate and strong persons, is an excessive presence of carbonic acid gas, which is a virulent poison when breathed into the system. During dense fogs the process of the diffusion of gases in the air is hindered, and carbonic acid gas accumulates. According to Dr. Russell the normal amount of carbonic acid in the London air is four volumes per 10,000 volumes. During a dense fog he found that it increased to 14.1 volumes. This may be thought a trifling amount, but it is not, considering how virulent a poison carbonic acid gas is. A small excess of prussic acid or strychnine in a medicinal mixture may be

attended with disastrous consequences, so a little more or less of carbonic acid in the air makes all the difference to the health of the population. In dense fogs we suffer from drowsiness, headache, oppression—we are, in fact, partially asphyxiated by the carbonic acid gas.

During town fogs the death-rate increases. Dr. Russell attributes this fact rather to the fall of temperature which accompanies fogs than to the fogs themselves. He says he has noticed cases when fogs have been unaccompanied by a fall of temperature, and under these circumstances the death-rate has been below the average. But it would seem that even if Dr. Russell's opinion is correct, the immediate death-rate is not a test of the mortality produced by fogs. It would be a difficult matter to discover how much of the general death-rate is produced by fogs, but it would not be unreasonable to estimate it at a large figure. It is not only animals that suffer from the effects of town fogs. It is now generally recognised by those who have the care of large conservatories and botanical collections that they exert a destructive action on plant life. After a few days of dense fogs the leaves and blossoms of some plants fall off, the blossoms of others are crimped, others turn black. To pass from the injury to health to other disadvantages produced by town fogs: they cause general inconvenience, paralysing business and locomotion. Until quite lately some trades were entirely at the mercy of fog. The London photographer could only reckon upon a small number of days in December and January on which successful portraits could be taken. It is true that the practicability of the electric light has helped him out of this difficulty, though at considerable cost. The same artificial light has been lately applied to the ferro-prussiate process of copying drawings, which is very extensively employed by architects and engineers. Before the use of electricity this industry depended absolutely on a clear atmosphere. According to statistics furnished by Mr. Hargreaves Raffles, in an article published in *Nature* in December 1890, out of eighteen days in December 1889, there were nine days on which no copy could be taken owing to the darkness of the atmosphere. The heavy cost of foggy weather to the public is borne out by the fact that during the fog that occurred between the 16th and 24th November 1889, the Gas

Light and Coke Company alone sent out 710,251,000 cubic feet of gas. Its production required 71,000 tons of coal. The cost of this amount of gas represents £106,000. During nine days, therefore, the gas company mentioned were making £490 per hour.

Mr. Wyke Bayliss, in an address lately delivered at the Society of Arts, pointed out that the existence of a polluted atmosphere in our great cities is a hindrance to the adornment and beautifying of the public buildings by the works of art. The true artist strives to produce works that will last. What work of art exposed to the London atmosphere will endure for the admiration of posterity? What use is there in adorning architecture with delicate tracery, or in filling niches with statues, if in a few years the work is unrecognisable, being choked with filth? It is foolishness to expose fine paintings or mosaics to a malignant atmosphere that covers everything with greasy slime. Therefore our large cities are doomed to remain ugly and materialistic, mere emblems of the modern routine of money-mongering. Mr. Bayliss, as an example of the ravages of a fog atmosphere on the monuments of ancient art, points to Westminster Abbey. "People pass and repass and know not that the grimy objects that fill the niches of the Abbey are amongst the loveliest of the sculptures that the world has ever seen."

It seems evident that, as far as London is concerned, the fog evil is on the increase. Mr. Brodie has furnished the Royal Meteorological Society with statistics which show that there has been a steady increase in the number of fogs during the last twenty years. He groups the winters of the last twenty years from 1871-90 into periods of five years, and finds that in the first period the mean number of fogs was 19, in the second 24, in the third 26, in the fourth 31.

As regards the possible amelioration of the smoke evil, there are scientists who urge the immediate abolition of coal fires. Such a course is open to considerable objection. A radiating source of heat is surely for the spirits alone a physical need in our island, which is dull and misty during the winter months at the best of times. It is a different matter in southern regions where there is a perennial sun to warm, exhilarate and cheer. But a radiating source of heat has

other advantages besides its brightness. While it warms all objects in the room, our bodies, the walls, the furniture, it does not heat the air of the room, so that while we feel warm we are breathing a cool, well oxygenated, and consequently exhilarating atmosphere. For this reason the other various non-radiating sources of heat cannot be advocated, such as closed stoves and hot-water pipes, which produce exactly the opposite effects, extracting the heat from our bodies and affording a close air with insufficient oxygen, excepting with the aid of elaborate and expensive precautions. A gas fire has many advocates. It is true that when properly regulated it does not supply carbon particles to blacken the fog, though it gives off sulphur compounds, which, as has been stated above, form so good a nuclei for fog formation. But personally I do not urge the merits of the gas fire for general heating purposes. It is said by some that the fumes from gas fires can be conducted away, but it is doubtful whether there is a gas stove in existence that is entirely satisfactory in this respect. The popular practice of cooking food over open gas fires should be strongly deprecated. Take the familiar case of an overdone mutton chop being grilled over one of the open gas fires in a restaurant. Its surface approaches to a state of animal carbon, which has great powers of absorption. During its cooking the chop therefore absorbs the poisonous products of gas combustion. Many persons advocate smokeless coal, but, according to Sir Douglas Galton, smokeless coal is open to objections. In a lecture which he delivered at the Parkes Museum of Hygiene, in 1887, he says :

An open fire of smokeless coal, although it may have a glow, is not generally such a cheerful fire as a fire of bituminous coal, and without care and a rapid draught, which is rarely attainable in the existing open fireplaces, carbonic oxide is liable to be formed and to come into the room. I do not, therefore, believe in the advantages of the use of smokeless coal in an ordinary open fireplace. If we are to use it in our rooms, we must have some form of a close stove.

It seems that the most efficient immediate remedy for diminishing smoke is to apply scientific principles to not only factory furnaces, but also to the domestic open grate. The smoke abatement movement has been a step in the right direction, and if it has not yet done much it is because the



public have not until lately been sufficiently aroused to wish for amelioration. With the desire for improvement, invention would be further stimulated and legislation brought about. We want a more general and strict legal enforcement in factories of the principles embodied with so much success in mechanical stokers. For the private dwelling-house we want legislation. Might it not enforce from a certain date the use of a grate of an approved form in all new buildings? Legislation might perhaps prohibit the future sale of unscientific grates, so that in time the faulty grates would be replaced. Such an enactment would in no way bear hardly on the leaseholder, and the initial expense to the landlord need not be any heavier than it now is. The vital principles in a smoke-consuming grate are the regulation of air and the heating of the utmost of the passing smoke, so as to consume the carbon. The majority of domestic fire-grates in use are conspicuous for the absence of scientific principles in their construction, being merely what will just do to contain a fire, regardless of economy of fuel, heating capacity, and reduction of smoke and soot. And yet nearly 100 years ago Count Rumford laid down the principles upon which a fire-grate should be made. No one has done more than Mr. Pridgin Teale to call the attention of the public to these forgotten injunctions, and the fireplaces of his device are practically the embodiment of Count Rumford's rules which have been violated in the grates in use. One of the most important principles taught by Count Rumford is the reduction of iron to a minimum. This principle is fully carried out in Mr. Pridgin Teale's grates, in which the back and sides of the fireplace are of fire-brick. The only parts where iron is retained is the grid on which the fire rests and the vertical bars. As Mr. Pridgin Teale said in an address delivered to the members of the Architectural Society in 1886, brick retains, stores, and accumulates heat. It radiates it back into the room, and keeps the fuel hot. Iron lets heat slip through it up the chimney, gives very little back to the room, and chills the fuel. Another feature in Mr. Pridgin Teale's grates is that the fire-brick back leans over the fire, not away from it, as is usually the case. This point was also insisted on by Count Rumford. The lean-over enables the fire-brick back to absorb heat from the rising flame, otherwise

lost up the chimney, and the increased temperature accumulated in the fire-brick raises the temperature of the gases to combustion point. These gases would otherwise pass up the chimney and be lost. When the lean-over system is adopted it is necessary that the bottom of the fire, or grid, should be deep from before backwards, probably not less than nine inches for a small room, nor more than eleven inches for a large room. The inclination of the lean-over at the back should be an angle of 70 degrees. In Mr. Pridgin Teale's grates the sides of the fireplace are inclined to one another as the sides of an equilateral triangle, so that the heat from them may be radiated not from one to the other and then up the chimney, as happens if they are parallel to each other, but out into the room. Another important feature of this system is the shield or economiser which closes the chamber beneath the grate. This arrangement keeps up the heat of the chamber beneath the fire, and causes the ashes at the bottom of the fire to retain their combustion-point until reduced to a fine ash. It is claimed that the combustion of the cinders goes on even when they are in contact with the bars of the grate, which are kept hot by the economiser. As regards the advantages of such a grate, besides securing an economy of coal and of labour, the prevention of dust, an increase of warmth, and little need of attention, it undoubtedly yields to the atmosphere much less soot and smoke than the clumsy, unscientific, and wasteful arrangements that are in vogue. It is evident that if such a grate as Count Rumford suggested nearly a century ago was universally used in the metropolis, the intensity of fog would be lessened, and the plague of darkness mitigated.

Some remarkable experiments illustrating the coagulating power of electrical discharges were shown in a paper read before the members of the Royal Institution by Professor Oliver Lodge. The professor filled bell jars with dense smoke, and then discharged electricity into them from a point connected with a Winhurst machine which was connected with the ground. In a second or two aggregation of the smoke particles set in, they formed in masses or flakes along the lines of force, and in an instant the jars were cleared of smoke, it having been all condensed on the sides and floor of the vessels.

The success of this lecture-table demonstration has suggested that it might be interesting to extend the experiments to a real smoke fog in an unconfined space, and there is no reason why such an experiment should not be tried on a large scale; for instance, a captive balloon might be sent up to discharge a large quantity of high-pressure electricity in the air. It is the expense of such experiments which debars certain scientists from putting the matter to a practical test. Even if smoke fog could not be thus deposited in the open, it might be possible to deposite it indoors, and an electric fog broom may perhaps be a future commodity, and one that would be welcome, since fog lurks about our apartments and inside public buildings long after the external atmosphere has cleared. In theatres during a thick fog, and for some hours after, it is well-nigh impossible for the occupants of the gallery to see the stage. Such an apparatus might be invaluable in the case of green-houses and conservatories. The expense of the remedy would not be considered if it should be the means of preserving the life of a rare plant in a public collection.

However perfect we make our smoke-consuming grates, there will still be left those other products of combustion, the sulphur compounds, and our town fogs will after all be only ameliorated, not prevented, as long as the combustion of coal is our source of heat. To what source must we look if we wish to utterly annihilate town fog? It is surely to electricity. It is electric energy produced by such natural sources of energy as water-falls, the ebb and flow of the tide, and even the wind, and applied as a source of heat, that will one day solve the question. As we should then have heat without combustion, we should enjoy a clear and healthy atmosphere in our cities. The employment of electricity would afford us the bright and radiating source of heat so essential to our comfort. As a matter of fact, electric fires would be dark or bright according to requirements.

It may be thought that these suggestions are a mere utopian vision, but if we glance at the past history of practical electricity need they be regarded as such? Where were the large and powerful currents of electricity we now handle in 1879, only fifteen years ago? They were nowhere. At that time the electric light was merely a laboratory experiment,

produced at cost and trouble. Who would then have predicted that to-day almost every new public building sparkles with the incandescent electric lamp? Who would then have supposed that passengers now every day travel in the metropolis in an electric railway, as a matter of course? Who would have dreamt that the Channel would have been already crossed by an electric boat? And at that time should we not have been equally surprised to hear that at the Frankfort Electrical Exhibition of 1891, one thousand of the electric lamps would be fed by the electrically transmitted energy of a stream a hundred miles away from Frankfort, and that at the present moment the long wasted forces of Niagara are being harnessed to the dynamo and motor? In 1879, perhaps, we should have smiled at so extravagant a proposition as the idea of cooking by electricity, yet at the late Crystal Palace Electric Exhibition, one of the chief attractions was the cooking by electricity, when saucepans and other utensils were exhibited in which the source of heat was self-contained, and in which pancakes and other eatables were cooked in a manner which seemed magical to the uninitiated. Such was the perfection of the electric heating apparatus that a public dinner was served in which everything was cooked by the subtle agent.

With such a picture of rapid progress before us, it is not folly to have confidence in the ultimate development of electrical resources. With such hopes in view, let us sit no longer indifferent in darkness, but rather let us add our approving voices to every effort that may hasten the advance into those electrical regions wherein we shall find the talisman that will dispel the gloom.

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## ART. IX.—MASHUNALAND AND ITS NEIGHBOURS.

1. *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa.* By F. C. SELOUS, C.M.Z.S. London : Rowland, Ward & Co. 1893.
2. *Report on the Railway Route from Beira to Mashunaland.* By W. P. HUSSEY-WALSH, Foreign Office. 1893.

THE recent crisis in South African history was one of those moments when events, suddenly become plastic under the white heat of some outburst of national excitement, may be so bent and moulded as to determine their future development. The strong hand that can seize and master destiny in these, her passing phases of irresolution, may shape her to its ends and touch the springs that set the order of the coming time.

The British Colonies grouped round the Cape of Good Hope have, until the last decade, shown little of the expansive and assimilative energy that form the national dowry of the English race. Capetown itself has, indeed, the stamp of an Anglo-Saxon metropolis, rendering the voyage thither a unique experience. From the Thames to Table Bay the traveller carries all his English surroundings in the great steamer which is like a moving fragment of his home, to land in what is practically another England, growing in the image of the mother country across six thousand miles of sea. But this process of transformation has hitherto stopped at the slopes of Table Mountain, and the city at its foot has only within the last decade been roused to consciousness of her opportunity as the future capital of a vast dominion. Now, with her dream,

Of Empire to the northward,  
All one land, from Lion's Head to Line,

has come to her at last the vivifying force which makes the pulses of her citizens throb to the heart-beats of a nation.

This sudden stirring of a larger life emanated, as is usual in the case of such movements of popular sentiment, from a single brain. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, sprung from the ranks of private

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citizenship to the leadership of the powerful southern colony, is making history faster than any man of his generation, and is great with the greatness of those who can breathe a living purpose into the uninformed clay of the human masses. From his masterful nature came the impulse which has welded the heterogeneous population of the South African dependencies into a living organism, and carried the British flag at one stride across a thousand miles of desert from the Limpopo to the Zambesi.

There a splendid territory, cleared of its inhabitants by the fiery surges of Zulu conquest, was awaiting occupation and development. No rights were violated by the British advance, save the right of unrestrained rapine and massacre claimed by the savage exterminators of the former population. Thus the white man has here a territory as large as France, and with further possibilities of extension, thrown open to him free from all existing rights of occupancy.

A glance at the map accompanying Mr. Selous's volume will explain its capabilities, though lying within the southern tropic, as a field for European colonisation. For here the continent, rising in a series of abrupt slopes from the torrid lowlands skirting the Indian Ocean, forms an extensive system of elevation. Of very irregular outline, with its longer axis running from south-west to north-east, this topmost terrace of South Africa lies at its lowest parts, higher than the summit of Helvellyn, and rises at its highest to nearly double that altitude. Hence it has a climate that may be fairly called temperate, refreshed by constant breezes from the Indian Ocean, and varied by nights always cool, and sometimes bitterly cold. The thermometer rarely rises above  $84^{\circ}$  or falls below  $40^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit, and the extreme range hitherto registered at Fort Salisbury is from  $93^{\circ}$  to  $34^{\circ}$ . Thus, while tobacco, cotton, and rice are grown by the natives in the valleys, European fruits and vegetables flourish on the higher ground to within  $18^{\circ}$  of the Line.

From this central watershed the streams run north, south, east, and west to the Zambesi and its tributaries on one side, and to the rivers flowing into the Indian Ocean on the other.

To all its other capabilities this great new southern dominion adds, like the older Australia, the possession of that mineral

wealth which is the main incentive to rapid white colonisation. Already 400 miles of auriferous reef have been pegged out by enterprising settlers, and when the mines of the Mazoe River, the Hartley Drift, and other as yet unexplored centres, are once fairly rendered accessible by improved transport, we may perhaps see such a talismanic transformation as raised Melbourne and Sydney in a single generation from the raw townships of a remote colony to the foremost rank among great cities.

The history of Mashunaland from the earliest ages has always been determined by its possession of gold in conspicuous quantities, and the massive ruins that stud its surface, with their monuments of the worship of a forgotten people, are but the fortified mining camps of its prehistoric diggers. Mr. Selous, not alone the Nimrod of the veldt, but the pioneer of empire over the plains where he tracked the eland and the elephant, differs from Mr. Bent and other theorists in his view of this race of stone-builders in a land of beehive huts. While accepting the conclusion that they were probably Semites from Southern Arabia, who derived hence the main supply of gold for the ancient world, he believes they were much less highly civilised than has been hitherto assumed, basing his contention on the rudeness of their architecture and the absence of any evidence of their knowledge of letters. Neither does he admit the conjecture of their ultimate expulsion from the country, but rather holds them to have been gradually absorbed in the native stock after generations of intermarriage, thus introducing that higher type of feature and lighter tinge of colour still so frequently met with among the Kafirs south of the Zambesi. In support of this contention, he adduces the fact that the practice among the latter of enclosing their kraals with walls of masonry has only died out within a generation or two, in fact, contemporaneously with the Zulu conquest, and that gold mining, the traditional industry of the prehistoric builders, was actively carried on by them at even a later date. The comparative freshness of the timber props in some of the shafts, the presence of a bark bucket and rope, though of perishable material, at the bottom of one 120 feet deep, and the unweathered aspect of the heaps of rubbish thrown up, are almost convincing on this point. We have, moreover, the

evidence of Mr. Baines, who found the Mashunas extracting gold from quartz by crushing and roasting as late as 1870, the metal being melted in crucibles exactly as it was by the inhabitants of Zimbabwe thousands of years ago, and as copper is by some of the industrious natives at the present day. The persistence of Arab rule down to the sixteenth century is attested by Portuguese records, as the first travellers of that nation described the interior as inhabited by native tribes governed by Moors or Arabs, who called their subjects Kafirs, or unbelievers. Such a State was doubtless the half-legendary kingdom of Monomotapa, rich in gold, powerful in arms, and comprising all the region lying between the Sabi and the Zambesi. Here on Passion Sunday, March 18, 1560, was martyred Father Gonzalez Silveira, a Portuguese Jesuit, after a temporary success in converting the king and numbers of the inhabitants. The blood of this precursor of Christianity may be said to have consecrated the land in which he perished to his Order, who have now entered on his inheritance in the enterprise of its evangelisation.

The history of the ruins was in his time utterly obliterated, and the worship to which they were dedicated abandoned. The tradition of sanctity, however, still clung to them, for we learn from an interesting article by Captain Haynes, R.E., in Vol. 3 of the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, that the king of Quiteve had a residence at Zimboe or Zimbabwe, to which he and his court repaired at the new moon of November, to propitiate the Muzimos or spirits of departed kings buried there, a ghostly impersonation of whom was supposed to appear and confer with him at the close of the ceremonies.

The Portuguese attempts to seize and work the gold-fields resulted in failure, despite the despatch by General Francisco de Barreto, appointed in 1569 Governor of Eastern Ethiopia, with the title of Conqueror of the Mines, of several costly expeditions for the purpose. Using camels for the transport of guns and machinery, they succeeded in reaching the mines only to find that the gold, which they had been told grew on trees, was obtained with great toil and labour by digging. The enterprise was finally abandoned, and they contented themselves thenceforward with trading with the natives for the



precious metal at the established markets, where beads and cotton goods were given in exchange for it. A Resident was appointed to Massapa, now known as Manica, but with the decadence of Portugal her hold on the interior gradually slackened, and all intercourse between it and Europe was broken off for many generations.

The next phase in its history was the Zulu conquest, that sanguinary chapter in the epic of barbarism. This race rose to predominance when Chaka, in the early part of the century, welded his savage horde into an organisation of ferocity. His authority was, however, resisted by a rival captain, Umseli-gazi, or Moselikatse, who escaping northwards from his power, fell upon the Bechuana tribes then peopling the Transvaal, massacred, it is computed, 150,000 of them, incorporated some in his nation as slaves or prisoners, and drove the rest into the Kalahari Desert to lead a miserable existence as starveling nomads of that great Thirst Land. The migration of the Dutch Boers, in 1834, into the country thus cleared of its former inhabitants, brought them into collision with the previous invaders, whom after a prolonged struggle they defeated and drove northward across the Limpopo, or Crocodile River. The peaceful Mashunas and Makalakas were their next victims, and, after an attempt to occupy the Zambesi Valley, thwarted by the ravages of the tsetse fly among their cattle, they finally settled down for organisation on the high veldt in what is now known as Matabeleland. Umseligazi, dying in 1870, handed on his blood-stained sceptre to his son Lobengula, the present ruler, in theory an autocrat, but in fact the slave of custom, stronger than law.

Two other outlying Zulu States were formed in similar fashion by secessions from the horde of Chaka. The rebel chiefs, after devastating northern Mashunaland, encountered each other near the head waters of the Sabi, and the result of a three days' battle was the defeat and flight across the Zambesi of one, who finally settled with his people, the Angoni, on the plateau near Lake Nyassa, to be the scourge down to the present day of the natives of that country. His conqueror, Manicos, seized on the rich lowlands behind the Portuguese littoral, where the State of Gazaland, stretching from the Sabi to the Zambesi, was ruled in succession by his son and grand-

son, Umzila and Gungunyan. Their treatment of the eastern Mashunas has been identical with that of the western tribes by their Matabele kinsfolk, causing the depopulation of large tracts of country where the ruins of deserted kraals and of strongly walled and fortified villages testify to the former presence of a dense and prosperous population. The few and scattered inhabitants that remain have retrograded in every way, and some of the tribes under the immediate shadow of the Gaza impis, have ceased growing corn and raising cattle, substituting a heavily seeding grass for the one and dogs for the other, in order to afford less temptation to the cupidity of their lords.

Gold mining has been abandoned from the same cause, and the Tati district, where a considerable industry had been carried on, as was shown by shafts in the quartz thirty feet deep, was, when visited by Hartley in 1865, inhabited only by a few bushmen. The remnant of the former population now live in villages perched in the most inaccessible positions among the clefts and crags of the granite koppies that stud the veldt, some of them reached only by ladders laid against the face of the cliff. Their diminutive cattle, about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  hands high, are stabled in caverns among the rocks, but their crops on the plain are often burned before they can be gathered, by the ruthless destroyers, who play in this part of Africa the same part as the Arab slave hunters north of the Equator.

The Zulus owe their position as an imperial race to the military organisation which they alone of African peoples have perfected, rendering their nation, in the words of a celebrated Prussian statesman, "all sting." The system, based on the scientific culture of ferocity, eliminates all sense of kindness and pity, transforming the Zulus into a highly dangerous breed of human tigers. Lest the softening influences of domestic ties should mitigate their savagery, the warriors are forbidden to marry till past the fighting age, and the display on the part of one of them of even common humanity to a woman, is known to have been punished by death at the hands of his chief. The desired end is thoroughly attained, for the blood fury that seizes on them when on the war-path resembles a demoniac possession, and the Zulu impi, with its cadenced movements, brandished spears, and barbaric bravery of feathers

and fringes, suggests to the imagination rather an army of fiends let loose from the abyss, than a merely human machine of destruction. Nor is it restricted to "washing its spears" in the blood of foreign victims alone, its rage is occasionally whetted by domestic carnage as well. The inhabitants of whole villages are then slaughtered without cause, proscribed families hunted down and put to death *en masse*, or wholesale executions ordered under the plea of witchcraft or some other real or imaginary offence.

"Within the last week or two [says a correspondent, writing in the *Times* of October 14, 1893], several villages of men known as Mapole, or 'the drawers,' have been wiped out of existence by Matabele impis, and that within a day's journey of Buluwayo."

The organisation which enables the small fighting caste of the Matabele Zulus thus to terrorize and enslave their neighbours rests on a territorial basis. The country, as we learn from a report by Lieutenant Maund, published in a Blue-Book in February 1886, is divided into four military districts. The only towns in the kingdom are the military kraals, occupied by and named after the different regiments, each living under the command of its own induna, on the lands and herds assigned to it. As these regimental kraals are moved to fresh localities as soon as the available wood supply or pasture near the old sites is exhausted, which in the case of a large one takes place in about ten years, discrepancies between various geographers as to the position of these so-called towns are easily accounted for. Thus the headquarters of the Inyati regiment is now fifty miles south-east of its former site, and the new Buluwayo eighteen north of the place it occupied in 1882.

The training and discipline to which the Matjaka, or "young braves," are subjected is very strict, until such time as having seen sufficient service they are given their head-rings by the king, when they are termed Madoda, or men, and allowed to marry. Of the ten or twelve regiments formed by the present ruler since his accession in 1870, only three, the Imbizo, Ingubo, and Sugamini, are of pure Zulu blood, the remainder being recruited from the subject races. The former of these is now reduced, by deaths and desertions, from its

original strength of 1000 men to about 700, a ratio which probably prevails through the entire army.

The Matabele nation is itself insignificant in numbers. Even of the country actually occupied by its kraals, a strip about 100 miles long with a breadth of 50, two out of every three inhabitants are slaves, who cultivate the lands and herd the cattle of the dominant race. Many of the serfs escape into the territory of the Chartered Company, and find a safe asylum there, this very fact being one of the main grievances which have brought their owners into collision with the white man. The sentiments with which the latter are regarded by the subject tribes were openly expressed by an old Mashuna, who, according to the *Times* correspondent just quoted, held forth on the question in passing through a mission station in Matabeleland.

The white men [said this Nestor of the veldt] came into our country and bought our corn and cattle, and gave us presents besides of blankets and guns. When you [turning to the Matabele present] come into our country, you drive off our cattle and kill our men and make slaves of our women and children. We will not belong to you any longer. We will belong to the white men now. For years we have had to build our villages on the rockiest hill-tops, hardly daring to come down into the plain for fear of you. Now that the white man has come into our country we have come down to build our villages in the plain, and we mean to stay there.

Mr. Selous was acquainted with the history of one of the raids of which the aged sufferer from them spoke thus feelingly. This impi, sent out in 1883 to destroy a tribe near the Mazoe River, and thwarted of its prey by the timely flight of its victims, was returning in savage mood with its blood-thirst unslaked, when it passed the kraals of a Mashuna tribe, long before taken under the protection of Lobengula's father, and tributary to the Matabele for years. They wore the dress of their conquerors, spoke their language, and were at the time in charge of large herds of their cattle. There was thus no provocation whatever for the ruthless massacre of these poor slaves, described as follows by the author on the authority of an English-speaking native who had been forced to accompany the Zulu column as a waggon-driver :

When the impi came to Musigaguva, they camped close to the

Mashuna kraals, the inhabitants of which brought down food and beer for the Matabele soldiers, who seemed on very friendly terms with them, they on their side suspecting nothing. On the day of their arrival everything remained quiet, but the following morning the Matabele, acting on the orders of their indunas, suddenly surrounded the different small kraals, and then at once fell on the unsuspecting inhabitants. None were spared, but men, women, and children were ruthlessly slaughtered, many of the infants having been seized by the ankle and their brains dashed out against stones. It was in April 1883 that this cruel massacre took place, and towards the end of the following November, on my way back to Matabeleland, I passed through the country, and, camping out one night among the ruins of the deserted kraals, saw with my own eyes the devastation that had been wrought.

Zulu raids to more distant quarters occasionally end in disaster, as happened in the same year 1883, in the case of two expeditions despatched by Lobengula against the Batauwani of the Lake Ngami district. The enterprise was an unusually daring one, as 400 miles of desert had to be traversed, where game was scarce, water found only in scattered pools, and humanity represented but by some wandering Bushmen. The first party, sent out early in the year, were reduced to sating their inhuman rage on a good many of these unoffending savages, as the people against whom their operations were primarily directed, managed to defend themselves and escape with their wives and children, leaving their town to be burned by the invaders. The second attack on them resulted in a still more crushing disaster to the assailants. The Batauwani, having transported their women, children, and cattle, in canoes across the Zougga River, lay in ambush among the reeds fringing its bank, and from this cover opened a deadly fire on the Matabele, killing the king's brother and several of their leaders. Many more were drowned in trying to cross the stream on a bed of aquatic plants, which gave way under the weight of their numbers, and precipitated them into the water. They were now obliged to undertake a retreat across the desert separating them from home, without supplies of food, as they had captured no cattle, and had brought with them only enough for their consumption on the outward march.

The horrors of that journey [says Mr. Selous] have often been described to me by survivors. A few head of game were shot, and a few

Bushman encampments were looted, but many hundreds of Lobengula's fiercest warriors died from starvation, thirst, and exhaustion on their return from this disastrous expedition. Towards the end of the journey ever-increasing numbers died daily round every pool of water on the line of march. Parched with thirst, and exhausted with starvation and fatigue, they would lie flat down and drink their fill, and day after day numbers, I have been told, died in this position. Only the remnant of the army got back to Matabeleland, and of the fine regiment of the "Intembi," but few survived to tell the tale of their unsuccessful raid to Lake Ngami.

The Matabele forays in another direction have been checked by the consolidation of the Bamangwato kingdom under its great ruler, Khama. This remarkable man, a Wesleyan Christian, has in the eighteen years of his reign abolished polygamy and witch-hunting, established trial by jury, and introduced the use of European clothing, while rigidly excluding spirituous liquors from his dominions. "I fear strong drink more than I do the assegais of the Matabele," he says, with that clear perception of moral evil which is the basis of his strong character. Within the last few years he has moved his capital, Shoshong, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, to Palapye, about fifty miles distant, where a more abundant water supply exists, and better sanitary regulations can be enforced.

Although the Matabele claim over his realm the same rights of sovereignty so ruthlessly exercised in Mashunaland, they no longer venture to assert them in practice, and the Bamangwato have for the last twenty years been exempt from their forays.

Their ancient foeman, Lobengula, who still bears on his neck the mark of Khama's spear, from a wound inflicted in one of their battles, is a monarch of a very opposite type. Although perhaps of a less ferocious disposition than the bulk of his subjects, he is the personification of the system in which their ferocity finds vent. Nor can he be acquitted, even on the plea of State necessity, of more immediate responsibility for many acts of cruelty and oppression committed by his direct orders. Such was the massacre perpetrated on the return of his indunas from a mission to this country, to certify to the existence of the White Queen, and ascertain the view taken here of his concessions to the Chartered Company. On the report by the envoys of interviews with Lord Knutsford and the Aborigines'

Protection Society, the conversation at which was construed as a disavowal of interest in the Company, the Zulu king ordered the execution of the Minister responsible for the step, together with seventy of his following. The butchery, on another occasion, of one of his uncles and all the inhabitants of his kraal, some forty in number, was without even nominal justification. Charges of witchcraft are a fertile source of bloodshed, and the population of entire villages is sometimes exterminated under suspicion of counteracting the royal rain spells during prolonged and obstinate droughts.

White men, on the other hand, he has generally protected, and travellers report his firmness in refusing to sanction the destruction of those settled in his dominions, even when his savage regiments shrieked in chorus for their blood, while performing their frenzied war dances before his kraal.

But circumstances have been too strong for Lobengula, and the inevitable conflict which his sagacity made him shrink from as a disaster, has been forced on him by the passions of his people. In truth, the continuance of the system he represents is no less incompatible with the contiguity of a European community, than that of the slave trade in Equatorial Africa, and the English advent heralded the doom of the Zulu power of destruction.

The incorporation in October 1889 of the British South African Company, and its rapidly executed advance to the basin of the Zambesi, were the means of securing to British rule a territory, which the Portuguese from one quarter and the Boers from another were already preparing to appropriate. The English colonies, hemmed in on the north, would have been deprived of their natural outlet for future expansion, and some immediate step towards securing them from this danger was imperative in their interests. Effective occupation was necessary to give a valid title, and there was not at this time a single resident Englishman in the whole of Mashunaland. Hence the urgency of the Company's immediate advance to the farthest point of the region covered by its Charter, in order to secure the right of pre-emption over the entire area.

A serious obstacle to its northward march lay in the fact that the only road in this direction passed through Lobengula's kraal, and communications would thus be liable to interruption

at his caprice. This difficulty was surmounted by a plan suggested by Mr. Selous, familiar with the country from ten years of adventurous travel, and executed under his personal guidance and supervision. It was to carry the proposed expedition round by a flank march to the east, cutting its own road as it went along, and leaving far on its left not only Buluwayo, but every chief and village owing allegiance to Lobengula. The latter, who had refused to treat for its passage through his territory, declaring that there was but one road to Mashunaland, the one passing through Buluwayo, and that he would not have another made, was in this way completely checkmated.

The preparations went on despite his prohibition, and Mr. Selous was sent, in March 1890, to Khama's capital to survey the road and obtain men for cutting it.

At this time [he tells us] there was not a yard of road made beyond the Macloutsie, the border of British Bechuanaland, and no one but myself had any idea what route the expedition was to take when it did at last make a move. It appears to me that some of the authorities at Capetown did not realise that between Macloutsie camp and Mount Hampden there lay a trackless wilderness of 460 miles in extent, over which a road would have to be found and prepared in advance of the expedition. The idea seemed to be that when everything was ready a trumpet would be blown, and the advance would then be made along known roads, as had been the case from Mafeking to Macloutsie. However, after a conference between Dr. Jameson and Colonel Pennefather, at which I expressed my views, I got leave to at once set about cutting the first piece of new road from Macloutsie camp to the Tuli, a distance of fifty miles. Khama, with his usual courtesy and kindness, gave me twenty picked men to open up the track, and sent with them one of his most trusted headmen, an old friend of mine, named Makamana. By June 10th we had opened up a waggon track to the Tuli, and the first section of the new road to Mashunaland lay ready, waiting for the advance of the expedition.

At the end of the same month, the pioneers, with four troops of the British South Africa Company's Police, advanced along the new track to the Tuli River, while Lobengula, whose ill-defined frontiers the expedition was now approaching, sent envoys to repeat his dictum, that there was no road round his country, and that he would not have one made, intimating at the same time that the white impi might get into difficulties should it cross the Tuli. The white impi disregarded his threats and continued its march, but nearly all its black drivers



and herdsmen deserted through terror of the Matabele king, and without the aid of Khama it would have been sorely crippled in its movements.

From the 200 men despatched by him as auxiliaries under the command of his favourite brother, Mr. Selous organised five sets of scouts which circled round the expedition at regular intervals so as to give notice of any hostile movement along a radius of twenty miles from its route. The advance party, meantime, hurried on the cutting of the track ahead, the road-makers attended each by a mounted man, leading his horse ready saddled and bridled, that he might be able to mount and ride for his life at a moment's notice. This was the most critical part of the march, as it lay here through the low, thickly wooded country, where the small column, some 400 strong, might easily have been destroyed by a determined enemy. Eighty waggons, straggling along a line two miles in length, presented a very vulnerable flank, and their capture would in itself have necessitated the abandonment of the movement.

At this time Matabeleland was thrilling with warlike excitement, but doubt and hesitation paralysed its counsels. The presence of the Bechuanaland Police on its southern border intimidated Lobengula with the idea of a possible invasion from that quarter, while the rapidity with which the column was pushed forward, left him in doubt as to its whereabouts. In a word, he lost his opportunity and allowed it to execute its difficult and dangerous flank march unmolested. The country through which it passed was so complete a wilderness that herds of elephants drank at the fords where it crossed the spruits, and hyenas howled and shrieked round the camp at night. Once the slopes of the Mashuna plateau were scaled all danger of attack would be over, but there was still some doubt as to whether a pass practicable for waggons existed on the line of route. Mr. Selous, exploring some marches ahead, succeeded in discovering one so easy of ascent that it seemed to have been engineered expressly for them, and comparing it with the difficulties presented by the broken country on either side, he called it Providence Pass. On August 13th, the whole expedition encamped close to its head, and on the following day trekked on to the open country where Fort Victoria now stands. Its march thenceforward across the grassy downs

of Mashunaland was an uneventful one, and on September 11th, 1890, the Union Jack was hoisted on Fort Salisbury, and the English frontier staked out right up to the watershed of the Zambesi.

During the following three months the Company's officers were busy making treaties with native chiefs, by which mineral and other concessions were secured. Especial importance was attached to the inclusion within the British zone of the Manica country, as it is geographically an outlying section of the Mashuna plateau, with similar prospects and capabilities. The Portuguese claim to it, founded on the pretension that its ruler Umtasi was a vassal of Gungunyan, who was in his turn a vassal of theirs, has been since abandoned, as both these chiefs repudiate all dependence on Portugal.

While the Company's domain was thus extended and consolidated, the infant settlement of Salisbury passed through a serious crisis in its history within a year of its foundation. All its stores had nearly run out, and the rainy season, when its communications would be cut off, was fast approaching, when the long expected train of 400 waggons, promised by the Company, arrived just in time to save it from imminent starvation. This Ultima Thule of British dominion consists of three separate quarters, the trading centre, with bars, restaurants, a hotel and newspaper office, housed either in daub huts or in more substantial brick structures, the military establishment, where the English flag flies over the fort and Government stores, and the headquarters of the civil administration, near which are the hospital huts in charge of a community of Dominican nuns and a Jesuit Father. The open veldt, variegated at some seasons with lovely flowers, surrounds it on all sides, spreading to the low hills that bound the horizon. Forts Charter and Victoria were subsequently founded, each on the broken zone of stratified rocks which diversifies the prevailing granite formation, and contains the reefs of auriferous quartz.

A mail service was immediately established to Fort Salisbury, despite difficulties illustrated by an adventure which occurred to one of its bearers. It was carried by post riders, who rode day and night between stations from twenty-five to forty miles apart, and by this means a letter was once delivered to Colonel Pennefather within eighty-four hours of its

despatch from Fort Tuli, 400 miles away. On the occasion in question a lad of the name of Thomas started with the bags from Matipi's station to ride through the bush to the north-east of Fort Tuli, on the evening of Christmas Day 1890. Mounted on one horse, and leading a second which carried the mail on a pack-saddle, he went forward through drizzling rain in a night of impenetrable darkness.

Suddenly [says Mr. Selous], both the horse he was riding and the pack-animal he was leading commenced to snort and plunge, and then galloped forward in the darkness along the waggon track, and Mr. Thomas immediately became aware that a lion was close behind them, as every stride was accompanied by a hoarse grating growl, that heard at close quarters on a dark night is not a reassuring sound. In this weird chase the darkness no doubt favoured the lion, and probably the horses never got fairly into their stride. In any case it was but a matter of a second or two before the lion sprang up and seized the horse Thomas was riding, claspng it from each side with its massive legs, and digging its cruel claws deep into either quarter. The horse was checked, and the jerk threw Thomas from the saddle, but the sharpness of the lion's claws, aided by the pace at which the horse was going, made them cut through skin and flesh like so many knives, so that the grim beast lost its hold, and fell to the ground, while the horse rushed madly forward along the road. The lion took up the chase again, neglecting to notice Thomas, who ran to the nearest tree, which he climbed without any unnecessary dawdling. Before long the lion, not having been able to overtake either of the horses, came back to where he had made his first spring, and then lay down at the foot of the tree. Here he spent the entire night, sometimes lying down, and sometimes walking round the tree.

It was broad daylight next morning when Thomas heard the crack of a whip, and presently was rejoiced to see a waggon train coming along the road. Then the lion got up and walked sulkily into the bush, and Thomas came down the tree and told his strange story to the people with the waggons, with whom he returned to Matipi's. Both horses turned up early in the night at the next post-station. The flanks of the one that had been attacked were badly lacerated by the lion, but it eventually recovered. The horse which carried the mail-bag seems to have left the road and dashed away into the bush when its companion was seized by the lion, and eventually turned up at the post-station minus the mail-bag, which had been doubtless torn off by the bushes through which the terrified animal rushed.

In a few years the lion will be as extinct in Mashunaland as the sabre-toothed tiger of the Drift in Western Europe, and the tale of a man having been treed by one while riding with the mail, will seem like a legend of the Dark Ages. But a

still more formidable obstacle to communication than the monarch of the veldt, is the tsetse fly, the winged plague of the tropical lowlands. To its ravages was due the failure of the Pungwe River route to Mashunaland, which was to reduce the land transport to Fort Salisbury from 1200, via Capetown, to 300 via Beira Bay and the navigable stream flowing into it. The premature attempt to force a passage by this road has left it strewn with the wreckage of traffic, and abandoned waggons, stores, and even mail coaches, with the skeletons of the animals sacrificed in the experiment, may still be seen along the track like so many sign-posts of disaster. Mr. Theodore Bent, alone among recent travellers, contrived to get through here in a light waggon drawn by eight asses, as those animals, though not impervious to tsetse bite, survive it long enough to complete the journey.

As, however, the fly belt is only from fifty to seventy miles across, the expedient of constructing a railway through it, and thus bridging the gap in the communications, naturally suggested itself. The works have been rapidly pushed on, and Mr. F. Hussey-Walsh's interesting report to the Foreign Office gives a very satisfactory account of their progress. The first section of forty-five miles, from Fontesvilla, at the head of navigation on the Pungwe, was in actual working order at the end of July, and another length of thirty miles was so nearly finished that a month from that time would suffice to render it available. Material had been accumulated for its prolongation to Chimoia's kraal, a further stretch of thirty-five miles, which it was anticipated might possibly be ready in January, and a survey was being made preparatory to its continuation at the other end, from Fontesvilla to Beira itself. A company has since been formed for improving the landing accommodation and anchorage at the latter place, which it is said will render the harbour one of the best in South Africa. Mr. Rhodes, in a speech at Fort Salisbury on October 15th, declared that the Beira route was then open, that the river transport was excellent, and that he had seen no fly in the neighbourhood of the railway terminus. The waggon road thence to Salisbury would, he added, shortly be one of the best in South Africa, as the Company were actively engaged in improving it. The cost of transport by this route was £23 5s. per ton, which Mr.

Hussey-Walsh calculates will be reduced to £15 as soon as the entire railway line is completed, while by the overland route from Capetown it amounts to £45 per ton. The effect of this reduction on the mining industry will be practically to revolutionise its conditions, as the freight on the heavy machinery required for quartz crushing has hitherto been so high as to be almost prohibitive. Should its productiveness in gold realise its immemorial reputation, this re-discovered land of Ophir will shortly be occupied by a large European population drawn thither by that great magnet of humanity.

The English occupation of the territories south of the Zambesi promises to open up a great extension of the Jesuit Mission to the basin of that river, undertaken long previous to the entry on the field of the Chartered Company. As early as 1877 was founded St. Aidan's College, Grahamstown, as its base of operations, and, in January 1879, Father Depelchin sailed from England with ten companions, including Father Law, to undertake the evangelisation of a tract of 900,000 miles of almost unknown country extending from the banks of the Limpopo to the tenth parallel of south latitude. The first station established in the interior was at Buluwayo, and the Fathers who reached it in September 1879 were well received by Lobengula and assigned a farm about eighteen miles from his residence. As, however, the minds of the Zulus, darkened by cruelty and superstition, proved impervious to Christian truth, while Lobengula would not sanction the establishment of a mission in Mashunaland, lest the tributary people should be more instructed than his own, it was thought necessary to explore for a more favourably circumstanced field for the apostolate in other regions. Hence the heroic but disastrous effort of Father Law, with Father Wehl, and Brothers Hedley and Sadeleer, to reach Umzila's kraal by a journey of 340 miles through an untravelled country.

Their misfortunes began with the abandonment of their waggon after crossing the Sabi, the difficulties of cutting a road for it through the bush being found insuperable in the face of the hostility of the natives. The hardships of the three weeks' march that followed, combined with the effects of climate and want of nourishing food, to lay the seeds of the fatal disease to which Father Law succumbed

at Umzila's, on November 25, 1880, while Father Wehl, accidentally separated from his companions, and mourned by them as dead, was eventually rescued only to die at Sofala a little later, leaving the two lay Brothers the only survivors of the expedition. An attempt in the same year to found a station on the Zambesi itself resulted in equally deplorable failure, as the climate of this river and its immediate valley is the most deadly in South Africa, not only to Europeans, but to natives from other districts. On reaching this hotbed of malaria, at the village of a chief called Mwemba, the party all fell ill with such violent symptoms that they believed themselves poisoned. Their Superior, Father Teroede, died, and the remainder, after having been robbed of all their goods by their host, escaped on foot to the camp of the nearest white man. At Tete, the Portuguese settlement, which stands 500 feet above the river, there is a church with a resident priest, Father Courtois, S.J., and one of his coadjutors has, as Mr. Selous tells us, opened a school at Baroma, a place about twelve miles distant.

The enterprise of the British South Africa Company has now opened up a new field for missionary work, and the Order charged with its religious administration was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity thus presented to it. In April 1892 a party, consisting of five Jesuit Fathers, as many lay Brothers, and an equal number of Dominican nuns, started for Fort Salisbury to reinforce the missionaries already in occupation. Reaching it on July 29th, they pushed on next day to their final destination, where Father Prestage was in charge of the headquarters of the Mission, at a farm called Shishawasha. The Sisters were established at the hospital, where their ministrations are invaluable to the settlers. From this central point of administrative and social life in Mashunaland, missions are being sent out to more remote districts, and one has been established by Father Hartmann at the chief Matoko's, 100 miles to the north-east. Umtali, the most easterly township in the colony, has been visited by one of the Fathers, whose mass was attended by a congregation of seven persons, the largest on record. Fort Victoria, the first halting-place on the high veldt, and the centre of a mining district, contains the largest Catholic community in Mashunaland, and

here also a hospital has been erected and placed in charge of the Sisters, with accommodation for twenty white men, in addition to two huts for native patients. At Macloutsie, too, there is a little congregation composed of the Catholic members of the Bechuanaland Police stationed there, and the appreciation of the Sisters and their work in the hospital was practically shown by the collection of £40 for them during the Easter of 1893.

Priests and nuns have everywhere met with the greatest kindness and hospitality from the officers of the Company, and an interesting letter from one of the former, published in the *South African Catholic Magazine*, pays the following tribute to the authorities at Salisbury :

The kindness of the administration to the Sisters is extreme. Not only were the new Sisters rationed on arrival, but accommodation was provided for them. Indeed, so general is the esteem in which they are held for their work in the past, that Mother Patrick's wishes and words are supreme. But it would be a great mistake did I lead you to suppose that the kindness of Dr. Jameson and his able second, Mr. Duncan, was confined to the hospital. I have travelled in many parts, and seen many official circles, but never met with a tithe of the genuine considerate charity and attention I have witnessed in Mashunaland. I do not speak of the wide question of administrative government, but rather of passing daily acts, and I will make bold to say that there is no one in distress who has applied and not been helped—some with rations, some with means, some with farms or implements, some with appointments, some with protection, all with encouragement. No one has had an interview with the Doctor who does not leave the better for it. He has a wonderful power of imparting confidence and consolation. Though still in his thirties, he has the reputation of the first physician and surgeon in South Africa, and all the tact and talents required for such a position he throws into his present work. He is Governor, Commissioner, Judge of High Court and Appeal, and often magistrate, and now that Mr. Duncan is away holds all the portfolios—is in fact, “all hands.”

These qualities have been still more conspicuously shown in the recent crisis in the destiny of Mashunaland. That its occurrence was inevitable, must have been long obvious to him, as to any one familiar with course of events attendant on European colonisation among savage populations. The co-existence on equal terms of powers representing the opposite poles of the social scale is an absolute impossibility, and the institutions of savagery are shattered no less inevitably than through the action

of a law of nature by the mere impact of the forces of civilisation. The only thing to hope, when such a consummation arrives, is that the struggle may be a brief and decisive one, resulting in the reconciliation of the conquered people to the new order of things.

The very qualities which render the Zulus formidable foes and aggressive neighbours, are but the earnest of their higher capabilities. The martial spirit which they conspicuously display is the backbone of national character, forming the basis of strength required to give stability to all other virtues. Enslaved under their native rulers to an iniquitous system which perverts courage to cruelty, and makes heroism the handmaid of ferocity, they prove, when reclaimed, capable of rising to a proportionally high level of morality. The Zulus in Natal make the best servants, faithful, devoted, absolutely trustworthy, and generally showing by their conduct an example which might be profitably followed by Europeans of the same class.

But in order to develop their natural virtues, they must be delivered from the cruel yoke which presses on them scarcely less heavily than on those whom they oppress in their turn. Lobengula, though devoid of all personal taste for carnage, is driven to maintain his authority by the methods traditional among his people. Family affection is no safeguard against his capricious tyranny, as was shown by the execution of his favourite sister on an accusation of witchcraft, and every Zulu holds his life at the discretion of the truculent despot whose rule has found a bulwark in English humanitarianism.

Superstition, on which the whole organisation of native society is based, promotes acquiescence in defeat as evidence of the supernatural, rather than material superiority of the victor. The Zulu king, hitherto revered as the chief wizard and rainmaker of his nation, will be discredited in the eyes of his people by the proved inferiority of his spells to those of the white man. The native view of the achievements of the latter is illustrated by the phraseology of the Kafir, who reported after a sight of the electric railway at Kimberley, that "the English had inspanned the devil." To the same infernal agency will be ascribed the action of the machine



guns and other implements of modern warfare. The oracles of the Matabele Delphi, where the underground rumblings heard from a chasm in the floor of a mountain cavern are interpreted as the utterances of the god Makalaka, will be distrusted, if, falsified by events, they no longer furnish reliable omens of victory. The humanising influences of civilisation and Christianity can only be exerted here, when the ground has been cleared of the wreck of these debasing beliefs and the cruel customs from which they are inseparable.

The presentation to the eyes of these poor savages of a new ideal, that of power based not on tyranny, but on justice, is the first step towards their reclamation, and the English colonists, whatever ulterior aims they individually may have in view, are doing good work in laying this moral foundation of empire. A correspondent writing in the *Times* of October 7th, declares that it is impossible to give a better idea of the estimation in which the English are held by all South African races than by a glance at the labour markets of the diamond mines and gold-fields in Kimberley and the Transvaal.

To supply the immense labour now required by these industries [he goes on] native races throng from every corner of South and South-Central Africa. Hundreds, nay thousands, of these labourers start from their kraals knowing nothing more of the English than by the reports brought by their fellow-tribesmen, who have returned rich from work in the mines. In the remotest kraals and villages the belief in the honour and good faith of the British paymaster is so strong among people naturally suspicious, that month after month, year by year, raw, untutored natives from the wildest districts set forth on the long journey southward. I have met many parties of natives on the Zambesi road thus marching southward; men and boys from the far Barotse valley, some of whom had never set eyes on the white man before. The journey is long indeed, and the passage through remote and waterless deserts, very trying before their El Dorado is reached. Yet hunger, thirst, not seldom death itself, are braved by these poor South Africans that they may reach the Englishman's mines and touch his gold. Of all South African sights, and they are strange and many, none is more pathetic or more striking than the sublime confidence of these starving Zambesi wayfarers in British honesty and British truth.

It is to this pacific conquest of English character rather than to the victories of arms that we look forward, when we

rejoice in the incorporation of the fair and fertile regions depopulated by Lobengula in the great oversea dominion of Britain. Only under the rule of the white man can these benighted and degraded nations be educated and disciplined to take their part in the common inheritance of humanity, and the highest and noblest qualities of the English race are put to the highest and noblest use in helping forward the reclamation and redemption of savage Africa.

E. M. CLERKE.

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## Science Notices.

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**The Electrical Congress at the Chicago Exhibition.**—It is satisfactory, for the interests of practical electricity, that the Electrical Congress at Chicago has secured the ratification of the results of the labours of the Board of Trade Electrical Standards Committee and the Edinburgh Conference, and that there can now be said to be international agreement concerning the fundamental electrical units. The inner chamber at the Chicago Congress, whose duty it was to pass resolutions on these matters of international importance, was composed of twenty-eight delegates, Great Britain and each of the principal foreign Powers having five representatives. Those chosen to represent Great Britain were Professors Ayrton and Silvanus Thompson, Major-General C. E. Webber, Mr. W. H. Preece, and Mr. Alexander Siemens. One of the principal points of discussion was the standard of resistance, which is now finally agreed to be a mercury column 106·3 centimetres in length. This decision must be particularly welcome to the leading American electricians, since at the Paris Congress of 1884, when the mercury column was decided to be 106 centimetres in length, the American representatives were in disagreement, considering that this figure was not large enough. Another important point settled by the Congress was the adoption of the term “Henry” to represent the unit of self-induction, in honour of its discoverer, Joseph Henry, instead of the name quadrant. Amongst the other questions discussed was how an adequate definition of the candle power of high candle power electric lights could be obtained. Owing to the difficulties in the way of measuring the candle power of the lights, the description of their candle power is often greatly exaggerated—in fact, being anything the exhibitor likes to call them, from thousands to millions. It was suggested that lamps should be defined in terms of watts, not of candle power, but no conclusion was arrived at. Another point discussed, but which was also left open, was the unit of light. It was urged that the Von Hefner lamp should be adopted as the standard, as though it has a reddish flame it excels every other form of lamp in equal constancy. Besides the work of the chamber of delegates, the Congress afforded an opportunity for the reading of various papers on electrical subjects of the day, and some discussion took place, notwithstanding the fact that the room provided for the meeting opened upon the uproarious station

of the Illinois Central Railroad. Amongst the most remarkable of these papers was the one read by Professor Silvanus Thompson, on "Ocean Telephony," and that of Mr. Preece on "The Transmission of Electrical Signals Through Space."

It is certainly surprising that while the transmission of messages in land telegraphy has been of recent years accelerated till it is possible to transmit 500 words a minute, we are content with the slow speed of eight words a minute in our Atlantic cables. It seems as if we have regarded the retardation of the signals as an insuperable obstacle instead of an engineering difficulty. The desire for progress in telephony is probably about to accomplish what has hitherto been denied to telegraphy. The present Atlantic cables are useless for the purpose of telephony, and before we can hope to speak from the Old World to the New or *vice versa*, the cables must be provided with means of counterbalancing the retarding influences caused by the electro-static charge of the cable. Professor Thompson's paper offered suggestions for carrying out this object, and though in it he does not pose as an engineer with a specification of a new cable, still he has so much faith in the theory he proposes, that he calls upon the practical engineer to embody it in a cable designed for practice. He maintains that the key to the solution of the difficulty is to provide compensating arrangements throughout the whole length of the cable, not only at each end, as has been hitherto done. He considers that the antidote to the retarding effects of electro-static capacity will be found to be in electro-magnetic induction.

It is well known that the effects of electro-magnetic induction are in a sense reciprocal to those of capacity. The most familiar modern example is that of the opposite operation of self-induction and of capacity in the phase of an alternate current, the one tending to produce a lag, the other a lead, in the phase of a current relatively to the electro-motive force. It is obvious that if electro-static capacity can be used to correct the effects of electro-magnetic induction, conversely it will be possible to use electro-magnetic induction to correct the retarding effects of electro-static capacity.

He thinks that the end can be accomplished either by self-induction coils or mutual induction coils distributed at intervals throughout the cable, and is of opinion that a practical cable might be devised in which the retarding effects would be so completely annulled that telephonic speech and automatic telegraphy would be possible.

Mr. Preece's paper dealt with some experiments he recently conducted between Flathom, on the coast of South Wales, in telegraphing without wires. At Lavernock Point, near Cardiff, he suspended on poles, for a distance of 1267 yards, two thick copper wires with

the ends earthed. Through the circuit he sent a current up to a maximum of 15 ampères by means of an alternator. In the circuit was a suitable key for producing Morse signals. A secondary circuit of insulated wire was laid for a length of 600 yards on Flat-hom, 3.1 miles away. A telephone was included in the circuit. It was found possible to transmit signals through the intervening space from the primary to the secondary circuit. Experiments were also tried to send the signals to another circuit at the island of Steepholm 5.35 miles distant. In this case the signals were distinguishable, but speech could not be reproduced by the telephone. By means of a small steam launch, Mr. Preece moved backwards or forwards half a mile of gutta-percha covered wire between the primary circuit and the island, the ends of the cable being attached to a buoy. When the wire was near the surface the signals were heard, but when it was deeply immersed there was no effect. Mr. Preece regards this experiment as an exaggeration of the phenomena of the induction coil, being the propagation of electro-magnetic waves through ether from the primary to the secondary circuit. This opinion has, however, been met with some criticism, some thinking the effects are due to earth currents. For instance, Mr. Willoughby S. Smith maintains that Mr. Preece's experiments are simply the reproduction on a larger scale of the experiments that have been already done on a small scale at the Needles lighthouse. In this case the transmission of signals was accomplished without connecting wires through a distance of some sixty yards, and the effect has never been considered to be due to anything but earth currents. The object of the experiment at the Needles was to discover whether it was necessary to provide a continuous cable, as when a cable is carried from the sea-bed to the side of a rock, it is difficult to prevent it being damaged by the waves beating against the rock. In 1882 an ordinary submarine cable was laid from Alum Bay to within sixty yards of the rock on which the Needles lighthouse is built. At this point the conductor was attached to a specially devised anchor. An earth plate was provided near the pier, so that a circuit could be made through the water. On the lighthouse rock two copper conductors were placed, one on each side, so that they were immersed at low water, thus providing another circuit through the water near the rock. Telegraphic signals were successfully transmitted through the gap, only a Leclanche cell being necessary to produce the current. Mr. Willoughby Smith considers that Mr. Preece's experiments only differed from those at the Needles by the substitution of the powerful electric currents produced by an alternator for the feeble currents derived from

Leclanche cell, and in the fact that the distance in the former case was over three miles, while in the latter it was only sixty yards. Considering this difference of opinion it seems important that further experiments should be conducted in this fascinating departure of the telegraphic art, to decide whether the results obtained in the Flathom experiments were really due to induction or conduction. But to whichever influence they were due there still remains the fact that a distance of a few miles has been bridged invisibly for a useful purpose. Even if it should not be possible to extend telegraphy without wires to enormous distances, there are many cases when it would be useful to thus bridge short distances. As Mr. Willoughby Smith suggests, if a cable is laid from the shore out to sea with its end anchored in a known position, it would be easy for any ship knowing the position of the submerged end to communicate with the shore. As Mr. Preece suggests, the system may afford a means of signalling in fogs. Possibly Mr. Preece will throw more light on the subject, and answer criticism as to the cause in the paper which he has promised to read before the Society of Arts during the coming session.

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**The Wasp Plague.**—It is a pity that the mass of journalistic correspondence of this summer on wasps did not all emanate from skilled observers, for then we should have had an accession of valuable data to the known history of these unpopular insects. For instance, it might have been ascertained whether or no the hornet, *V. crabro*, is now extinct in these islands. But an untrained observer will rarely be able to discriminate between a hornet and a large female wasp. Mr. Oswald H. Latter is of opinion that the hornet is a disappearing species. The popular observations point to the presence in great numbers of five of the seven British species of *Vespa*, thus representing both the "ground" and "tree" wasps. There seems to be no hesitation amongst authorities, such as Miss Ormerod, that this summer's increased insect life of some kinds—for all forms of insect life were not increased—was owing to the meteorological conditions, in so far as they influenced first the development of the insects themselves, and secondly, the state of their crop-food plants. The food of wasps can be at need so varied that in considering their condition this summer we need not attach great importance to the weather influence on the vegetable world. But the almost entire cessation of frost after March 23, and the prolonged drought, no doubt preserved the lives of numerous queens and countless nests. These queens, the

foundresses of future colonies, when tempted from their hibernating quarters by a deceptive warm spring day, often perish with the return of snow or frost, while the shape and situation of a ground nest favour its easy flooding by heavy rains; then, again, the grubs must perish if the queens, tempted out by fickle fairness of weather, are prevented by storms from returning to feed them. For in the highly developed social organisation of the "social wasps," the young family are fed by the foundress, and it is this custom that, according to Herr Verhoeff, has developed family affection amongst wasps, and brought about their social communities, in spite of their being, to a great extent, insect feeders, and therefore more likely to be of warlike and unpeaceable dispositions than the bees who are vegetable feeders.

The study of the various wasps' nests is exceedingly interesting, throwing much light on the progress of the insect social communities. The paper structures of the "social wasps," with the waxen cells of the bees, are the highest forms of nest. One of these wasps' nests is a delicate structure, in form like an umbrella, with the cells clustering round the handle, so that they are exposed to moisture from below. In an underground nest the shaft and the curved passage from beneath to the cells can easily be flooded, and in wet springs this must be the fate of many of them.

Mr. Latter suggests that the drought not only saved the nests, but also benefited the wasps by the increase of alphides, while at the same time it was slightly disadvantageous in depriving the growing grubs of moisture.

It is to be hoped that the public interest aroused in the wasps may result in a more skilled observation of this family who, with the other sting-bearing *Hymenoptera*, are accorded by zoologists the highest place amongst insects.

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**The Correction of Photographic Perspective.**—The distortion of certain parts of the human figure in photographs has long been regarded as an inevitable fault. Often has an excellent likeness and a graceful attitude been marred by the arms and hands having come out in gigantic disproportion to the rest of the figure. The amount of the distortion is according as the arms and hands are extended towards the camera, and the distortion is not confined to these portions of the body, but is shared by every part that is out of one plane. It has thus become the rule of the photographer to arrange the sitter as far as possible in one plane. This confinement of the limbs of the sitter limits the artistic value of photography, and so

often gives the subjects a cramped and unnatural appearance. Mr. H. Van der Weyde's invention for the modification of photographic perspective is certainly ingenious, and although, when he recently brought forward his experiments at a meeting of the Society of Arts, he was met with some criticism, all interested in the extremely popular art of photography will watch with interest the working of his method. Mr. Van der Weyde states that the modification of photographic perspection was beset with five difficult problems, all of which have been solved. 1. It is necessary to reduce locally the size of the special part of the body in question, whether it be the head, hands, or feet. This must be done symmetrically, so as not to change the character or symmetry of a head or the expression of a face. It may be also necessary to reduce the width only of a hand or waist, and thus give a slender instead of a diminutive effect. 2. It may be necessary to make a number of corrections in one negative at the same time, and with such simplicity and rapidity as not to call for special skill and to add to the time taken in focussing. 3. It may be desirable to shorten or lengthen a portion of the whole negative right across without distorting the rest; for example, in the case of a landscape, the photographer may wish to vertically enlarge the middle distance, while reducing the depth of foreground and sky. 4. It is necessary to obtain with each lens a variable degree of the modification of the dimensions of the parts corrected so as to avoid the use of a great number of lenses. 5. It is important to obtain a readily fashioned refracting medium, so as to be able to make eccentric alterations. The first of these problems was solved by placing a supplementary lens in front of the sensitive plate; an ordinary lens would not answer the purpose, for the abrupt ending of the curve would throw a shadow on the negative, and the abruptly broken off lines would not correspond with those on the inside. Mr. Van der Weyde has got over the difficulty in the manner which he describes as follows:

I continually vary the curvature of my lens until it reaches the plane—in other words, where the circumference of a plano-convex lens would otherwise stop—it flows or graduates into the reverse or concave curve or, if plano-concave, *vice versâ*, and thus gradually merges by a wave-like line into the plane, with the result that the dark zone before referred to, consequent on the use of an ordinary lens, is replaced by a perfectly natural gradation, leaving no evidence whatever of the correction having been made.

To meet the second difficulty he uses a number of small lenses made on the above-mentioned principle, and he provides the means of invisibly and adjustably supporting them in the pencil of rays. The third problem is solved by interposing a plate of glass, a portion



only of which is of a cylindrical form, flowing gradually into a plane. The fourth difficulty is surmounted by arranging the lenses in the camera so that they can be easily moved backwards or forwards. Mr. Van der Weyde estimates that about twelve corrector lenses would be sufficient for the ordinary purposes of portraiture. As regards the last essential—the refracting medium—Mr. Van der Weyde says that he has found one that is “readily fashioned,” but from prudent reasons keeps it a secret.

That such a process may be of use to photographers there can be no doubt. But it seems capable of much misuse. To use it delicately would require the artistic temperament to distinguish between a laudable idealism and a mere pandering to the wishes of the sitter, who, having by nature hands or feet of a certain size, may desire to see their dimensions considerably reduced in the photograph. The inventor himself urges that a merit of the system is to enable photographers to please their sitters. As it is too much to expect that the majority of photographers are artists in the higher sense of the word, it seems probable that the invention will in some cases lend itself to a too flattering likeness, and in others to a painful caricature.

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**The Telautograph.**—At the present time there is a dearth of scientific inventions of the scale and startling properties to which with the growth of the latter half of the century we have become accustomed. It is pleasant, therefore, to find at the Chicago Exhibition at least one invention that has about it the air of startling novelty which we now rightly or wrongly expect. The telautograph of Dr. Elisha Gray, whose inmost workings are still wrapt in mystery, suits the popular appetite for wonders, while it seems practical and valuable. It is an instrument for writing at a distance. In the transmitting office is a lead pencil, to which, near the point, are attached two fine silk cords; these lengthen and shorten according to the movements of the pencil, and work the mechanism of the transmitter; the transmitter regulates the current impulses in the intervening wire which work a pen at the receiving station. This pen is a tube of hair-like fineness at one end, held at right angles to the plane of the paper by two aluminium arms, through one of which the ink enters by means of an inner rubber tube in connection with the ink reservoir. The movements of the pencil govern those of the pen minutely and completely. The recorded message, writing, drawing, diagram, or what not, is exactly reproduced, the receiving pen moving in perfect synchronism with the transmitting pencil.

The details of the mechanism are not yet made known, but we are told they are as simple as effective.

The telautograph requires a battery such as is used in telegraphy, and has the advantage over the telephone in being unaffected in its action by "parasitic" currents. Likewise it is silent in its working, excepting for the minute sound of the friction between pen, pencil, and paper. It delivers two copies of the message and cannot easily be "tapped" *en route* by a third person, owing to the difficulty of carrying about such a piece of apparatus. These advantages are great and seem to promise the instrument a wide practical use.

A telautograph is now in daily use in America between Highland Park and Wankegan, a distance of fourteen miles.

Dr. Gray, an electrician already known to us by his musical telephone and the harmonic telegraph transmitter, has now successfully realised in his telautograph the hopes of the earlier specialists, Bain, Caselli, &c., and, above all, of Cowper, the inventor of a writing instrument which, though ingenious, had not a practical career.

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**The late Professor Tyndall.**—Perhaps few scientists have commanded a wider obituary notice than the late Professor Tyndall. It is within the scope of these notices merely to refer to a few features of his scientific work. As an exponent of natural science Tyndall may be fairly said to have stood without an equal. It is true that the work of the popularisation of the great truths of nature was commenced by Faraday, who in his lectures at the Royal Institution was the first to show that the delights of observation and experiment was not only the portion of a few savants in their laboratories, but could be shared by all. Faraday's time was, however, largely absorbed in originating those great discoveries which have earned for him the title of the father of electricity. After Faraday's death his mantle of scientific demonstration fell upon Tyndall, and he may truly be said, in his brilliant discourses and lucid writings, to have reflected the scientific spirit and work of the age as no man had ever done. Perhaps he showed his greatest strength in his lectures, in which not only was the ear impressed with eloquent but withal exact utterance, but the eye was ever fascinated with the fertility and variety of experiment which he thought so necessary for fixing the facts he handled in the minds of his hearers. Perhaps the greatest charm in his lectures was his own enthusiasm in the revelations of nature evoked by his experiments, which by force of character he transmitted to his audience.

As a writer, his works were marked with that lucidity so necessary

to a popular treatise, but unfortunately absent in the majority of scientific writings. The difficulties of the most abstruse subject melted away in his happily chosen language, and became clear to the most unscientific reader. Many a student has turned in despair from the obscure sentence of the text-book to find the solution of his difficulties in the Professor's works. This lucidity of expression by attracting so many unscientific readers to peruse his works, has been a powerful instrument in extending scientific knowledge in this country. Amongst the most useful of his writings has been his work on "*The Floating Matter of the Air*," in which he made widely known the researches of Pasteur and others concerning the microbes of disease, and impressed the public with the importance of that branch of science called preventative medicine. Amongst the literary efforts which have perhaps given most pleasure is his work on "*The Forms of Water*," which embody his researches in Alpine regions, where on the Bel Alp he partly made his home. The description in this work of the ways of nature in cloud, river, ice, and glacier, have doubtless afforded hours of enjoyment to those who from reasons of health or pleasure have turned their travels towards the playground of Europe. As regards the discoveries of Tyndall, it cannot be said that he was the revealer of one of those greater truths which revolutionise the world's thoughts or ways; such a truth, for instance, as Faraday laid bare in magneto-electric induction: or that he was the framer of any such far-reaching theory as Young's hypothesis of the ether of space. His original researches have, however, been of undoubted value. Amongst them were his researches on dia-magnetism, on the propagation of sound in the atmosphere, on ice, on radiant heat, the results of the latter investigations being published in his work entitled "*Heat a Mode of Motion*." In this treatise in a few words he shows how he was ever reflective of the scientific spirit of the age. Speaking of the ether of space at the commencement of lecture xiv. he says, "The natural philosophy of the future will in great part consist of inquiries into the relations subsisting between ordinary matter, and the luminiferous ether." How true was that prophecy! The scientific tendency of to-day is to reduce all natural energy to some manifestation of the invisible ether. Since those words were written Dr. Hertz has identified electricity with the all-pervading medium.

## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Indians of New Mexico.**—Mr. Lummis\* has given a most interesting study of a curious phase of society handed down from pre-historic times, and still subsisting in the little explored south-western territories of the United States. The Pueblo Indians in the remote parts of New Mexico are still in the same stage of primitive semi-civilisation as when reached by the Spanish conqueror, Coronado, in 1540, a level to which modern American historians seek, with an exaggeration of depreciative criticism, to reduce the vaunted glories of the Empire of Montezuma. The first explorer of this territory was the Franciscan Friar, Marcos of Nizza, who reached it in his lonely apostolic wanderings in 1539. The author, omitting the extraneous American element which is no more than ten per cent., classifies the population of New Mexico under three heads: first, the nine thousand Pueblo Indians, the gentle villagers whose manners are the main subject of the book; next, ten thousand of the nomad Navajo Indians of whom an equal number are denizens of Arizona; and thirdly, the Mexican Spaniards, who form the bulk of the European or semi-European inhabitants. The first-named live in nineteen little cities, of a type unmatched in any other quarter of the globe; the second in the Navajo Reservation, a picturesque tract with broad plains hemmed in by giant mesas, or table-topped mountains, cloven by yawning cañons; and the third in several hundred villages scattered through an area measuring 300 by 400 miles. The typical Pueblo consists of a solid block of building forming three sides of a quadrangle, enclosing a court or square. While the external wall is perpendicular, the internal frontage rises in a series of stages or terraces receding from the base towards the summit, so that the flat roof of each successive story forms a sort of esplanade to the one immediately above it. The fourth side of the square consists of a solid block of one story high, pierced by one or two narrow gates giving access to the internal enclosure. There are no doors to the ground-floor rooms, which are reached by ladders and trap-doors in the roof, the upper levels and topmost roof being scaled by irregular steps on the walls. The doors are very small and the windows, formed of sheets of translucent gypsum, admit little light to

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\* "The Land of Poco Tiempo." By C. F. Lummis. London: Sampson Low. 1893.

the interior. This common building is partitioned off internally into separate family dwellings, while there are usually several detached structures called "estufas," used as council-houses and places for the transaction of public business. In these estufas the whole male population—men and boys—slept, ate and lived, down to the Spanish conquest, which first conferred on the inhabitants the boon of family life. Three tiers of terraces was the prevailing form of structure, but one of the New Mexican Pueblos consists of two pyramidal blocks, six stories high. The living-rooms of these strange dwellings are not devoid of comfort and even ornament. The walls are hung with pious pictures and images, and lined with benches covered with handsome, and sometimes costly, Navajo blankets, concealing the wool mattresses, which are spread on the floor at night. A little stove, an array of curiously painted water jugs, and a set of slabs for pounding corn, make up the rest of the domestic furniture. Other treasures, such as buckskins, handsomely woven shawls, and silver and coral necklaces, are suspended from the walls, beside strips of dried gourd, and jerked mutton or venison, parched chiles, dried peaches, and similar stores.

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**Rural Industry in New Mexico.**—The Pueblos, which before the conquest changed their sites so frequently as to have given by their ruins the false idea that the ancient population was much more numerous than that of the present day, became fixtures under Spanish rule, on the ample domains then secured to them, in the possession of which they were subsequently confirmed by grants from the United States Government. The aggregate area of land owned by them is 893,130 acres, the bulk of which is devoted to grazing, the amount under tillage being but  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres per head of population. They have been from time immemorial masters of the art of irrigation, and by threading their fields with tiny water-courses, raise wheat and maize, brown beans, chiles, peaches and melons, in sufficient quantity for their simple necessities. All domestic animals were introduced by the Spaniards, but were rapidly assimilated, and now almost every family owns, in addition to its extensive flocks of sheep, a good farm waggon, one or more horses, and several asses. The attempt to plant cattle ranches in New Mexico proved an utter failure, and the sheep remains the foundation of rural economy. One proprietor at the beginning of the century owned two million head, with 2700 peons as shepherds, in addition to many thousand more dependent on him in other ways. The last of the great sheep-king, who died some years ago, left flocks numbering 200,000, but the

largest now existing are about half that, while there are over a dozen owners of 50,000 and upwards. The system by which labour was pledged as security for debt, was equivalent to a form of slavery, which to all intents and purposes still subsists.

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**Flagellants of the West.**—The Pueblo Indians, converted wholesale by the early Franciscan missionaries, have reared vast churches in their cliff-bound hamlets as monuments of their simple faith. A typical apostolate was that of Fray Juan Ramirez, who in 1629 walked from Santa Fé to Acoma, and was received by his future flock with a shower of arrows, legend even averring that he was thrown from a precipice, and miraculously buoyed up by his robe. He finally won the hearts of his persecutors, lived alone among them for twenty years, baptized them, and taught them to read and write. To heroism of this stamp was due the conversion of the Pueblos into Christian communities, among which was introduced, with other Spanish devotions, the order of the Hermanos Penitentes or Penitent Brothers, founded 300 years ago for religious study and contemplation. The craze for self-torture displayed in many of the native Indian observances has led to its perversion into a monstrous machinery of fanaticism whose excesses are condemned alike by Church and State. The Order, which ten years ago numbered thousands, and had a branch in every village, has now dwindled down to a handful of associates, and its public processions were in 1888 held in only three towns of the territory. Of these the principal is San Mateo, where the ghastly celebration was witnessed, and even photographed, by the author. The identity of the Brothers, from fear of the condemnation of the ecclesiastical authorities, is kept a profound secret, and their heads and faces are shrouded in a hood or sack. Their flagellations, privately administered every Friday in Lent, and publicly in the processions in Holy Week, culminate on Good Friday in a representation of the Crucifixion, carried out with such realism that the death of the victim is by no means rare. This ceremony in addition to other cruel forms of torture has been witnessed in San Mateo in 1889, 1890, and 1891. These deluded fanatics, so far from being men of good lives, are principally habitual criminals, who think by these Lenten exercises to expiate the sins of the whole year. The Brotherhood, though outlawed, holds the balance of political power, and is courted on that account. A tribal penance, consisting of a four days' fast, sometimes by the whole population, but generally by some four or six representatives, has been practised by the Pueblo Indians from remote antiquity, and the

cacique, whose title has that signification, was originally the professional penitent of his tribe.

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**Cave Villages and Rock Sculpture.**—Many remnants of cave dwellings still exist in New Mexico, but are all deserted by the communities that occupied them. The largest, situated on the side of a gorge some 2000 feet deep, and less than a quarter of a mile across, accommodated from 1500 to 2000 inhabitants, extending along the face of the cliff for a couple of miles in tiers of one, two, and three stories.

The inhabitants of this excavated city are supposed to have been the sculptors of the only high relief carvings found in the country. These are the images of four stone pumas or American lions of life-size, grouped in pairs and in very good preservation. The most perfect of these monuments occupies the centre of an enclosure about thirty feet in diameter, fenced with slabs of tufa set on edge, and approached by a sort of avenue or alley, five feet wide by twenty long, similarly walled. The puma, the most powerful of the American quadrupeds, was evidently adopted as the divinity of the chase, and worshipped accordingly by this tribe.

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**Chinese Ornaments.**—Seekers after novelty in personal adornment might get many hints from the hair jewellery of Chinese women. The United States Consul at Amoy embodies the results of his studies on this and kindred subjects in a special report on Chinese curios, and describes in detail the varieties of pins which embellish the female *coiffure*. The finest are of gold and silver, and the brass substitutes used by the poor emulate these in having their tips formed of the precious metals. The wife of a famous Canton banker wore one with a large diamond for its head, and the wife of the Viceroy of Fokien, one terminating in a large ruby. Other precious stones are used in the same way, and for a few dollars a silver pin with an inferior stone may be bought, while a brass one with a head of imitation jade, may be had for as many cents. Some pins terminate in clusters of fanciful design, such as seven jade stars suspended from fine wires, blue cats'-eyes representing a bunch of grapes, turquoises carved into violets, buttercups in gold-leaf, or minute flowers and fruits in porcelain. Even ordinary hairpins six to eight inches long are of gold and silver mixed with an alloy, which makes them capable of being bent in any direction in securing the hair. They last a lifetime, as they are unbreakable and not easily lost. They are worn night and day, and are only removed in the

morning for the process of washing and drying the hair. Thumb rings are a favourite style of ornament for men, as are also jade belt clasps. The present Governor of Amoy has one of these representing two interlaced dragons valued at £200, and said to be four hundred years old.

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**Socialist Colony in Mexico.**—An article in *Frank Leslie's Monthly* describes the experiment of a colony on the harbour of Topolobampo on the Pacific coast of Mexico, founded some seven years ago on strictly Socialist principles. A company was then formed which took up a quarter of a million acres in that locality, chosen for its remoteness from legislative interference or the example of differently constituted communities. Ten-dollar shares were issued to the number of 100,000, each representing a town lot in the future city. No shares can be sold except to the company itself, which holds the land in perpetuity, selling to its settlers only the right of occupancy. Company scrip exchangeable for perpetual leases of blocks of land forms the currency of the colony. All produce is pooled, each receiving a share proportioned to his labour and original investment, and workmen are paid in scrip representing three dollars a day. The first 400 colonists fared badly. Arriving at the end of a long drought, they could barely extract a livelihood from the soil, while the subsequent rainy season found them imperfectly sheltered in ill-roofed houses. About half returned to their former homes, while the remainder, reinforced from time to time by occasional arrivals, struggled on. Their ranks were increased in 1890 by a fresh contingent of 200, raising their number to 500, to which a large increase was expected in 1893. Women and children are in the ascendant, the men forming only 40 per cent. of the population. No golden dream of prosperity has been realised by the settlers, whose life continues to be a hard one. The regulations of the company, which were at first very strict, have been relaxed since the first colonisation, and the community now formulates its own rules on democratic principles. Churches and public worship are forbidden, but families and individuals are allowed to practise their own forms of religion privately. Marriages receive the sanction of the director, and are recognised without further ceremony, and it may be presumed that divorce is equally easy of attainment. The qualifications of the teacher in the school for the rising generation may be measured by the fact that he receives the same wages as the hedgers and ditchers. Families live apart, but the unmarried men are housed in a large building where cooking is done for all on the co-operative system. The result is summed up in the statement that "the lack of religious feeling, the



endless grind for material things, and the years of demand for hopefulness upon the spirit of each colonist, have been productive of discouragement for many."

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**British Mission to Kabul.**—The route of Sir Mortimer Durand on his mission to the Ameer lay through the valley of the Kabul River, described as fertile and luxuriant with continuous cultivation and many trees. Reaching Jellalabad on September 23rd, the Mission halted there for Sunday in a palace approached by a good carriage-road from the western gate of the city. The building, planned by the Ameer himself, rests on a basement floor of taikhanas or underground rooms, and is surrounded by a verandah giving access to the central hall surmounted by a dome, from which long rooms open on three sides by arches. The gardens, enclosed by a high wall, are diversified by fountains and sheets of ornamental water. The town is traversed by a long bazaar mainly roofed in, but has no other feature of interest. At Jellalabad the route left the Kabul River to follow one of its tributaries, the Surkhab, or "red water." At Nimla they halted in a beautiful garden of plane and cypress trees, said to have been made by the grandson of Jehangir (1605–28). The central avenue ascends by four terraces with tanks 10 feet wide running along their entire length, and connected by waterfalls 8 to 10 feet high. This camp was 3600 feet above the sea, and commanded a view of the Safed Koh rising to 14,000. The next stage was Surkhpul (red bridge), so called from a bridge, built by Dost Mahomed, over the Surkhab. Here an elevation of 4200 feet was attained, and the country consisted of low undulating hills separated by deep ravines. Fruit was wonderfully abundant, and grapes and pomegranates are exported to India. The former are of especially fine quality, but are only grown for eating, as no wine is made from them. The road, after leaving Surkhab, passed through a hilly and rugged country with little or no vegetation. Two or three marches, ending in an ascent of 3000 feet in seven miles, brought the party to the top of a height whence Kabul was mistily visible, some twenty miles away. Sheep were met in large flocks being driven down from their pasturages to the lower grounds, some of them on their way even to Peshawur. Kabul, when more nearly approached, was seen nestling amid its trees and gardens, flanked on the left by its celebrated fort, the Bala Hissar, and backed by the rugged Paghman range 15,000 feet high, while the Hindu Khush closed the view to the north. Sherpur was passed with its walls almost hidden by willows and orchards, the grey dome

of the "Ark," or fortified palace of the Ameer, showing above its moated walls. A gap immediately behind the city of Kabul leads into the Chardeh Valley, which is a mass of vegetation. Like that of Kabul proper, it is a basin so closely enfolded by the surrounding hills that the gorges leading out of it are only seen on close approach. The Mission was quartered in the country palace of Indaki, commanding beautiful views and surrounded by gardens, and hospitably entertained until its departure.

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**The French Congo.**—M. Dybowski, in his book "*La Route du Tchad*," published in 1893, gives an exhaustive account of the countries he passed through in an expedition intended to co-operate with the ill-fated Crampel Mission. Communications on the north, or French bank of the Congo, from the coast to Stanley Pool, are much more backward than on the south bank, and the journey takes from thirty to forty days, according to the season. Part of the route lies, too, through a dense and matted forest, recalling, on a smaller scale, that traversed by Stanley on his march through Central Africa. Brazzaville, the French port on the Pool, is evidently very much behind the other settlements in the same region, in commerce and enterprise. Thus, while a good deal of the soil has been cleared near the station, there has been no persistent attempt to cultivate it, although fresh vegetables and milk would contribute much to the health of Europeans by varying their insufficient diet. The Catholic Mission has, as usual, set an example of rural industry, and possesses, in addition to large tracts of culture, a vegetable garden, where radishes, carrots, cabbages, tomatoes, egg-plants, and lettuces flourish in abundance. The Dutch factories, too, are surrounded by fruit and vegetable gardens, showing the capabilities of soil and climate for the growth of European products. Brazzaville, again, instead of trading direct with the interior, by means of its own flotilla of steamers, like the stations of the other nationalities, does so only through native intermediaries, who ascend the river in their canoes and sell their cargoes of ivory and rubber to the factories, from which they take European goods in exchange. There seems to be no restriction on the importation of spirits, and "the bottle" (of gin) is one of the chief units of value. The elephant is now nearly extinct in the immediate neighbourhood of the Pool, although the author assisted at the chase of one which offered a singular scene. The great pachyderm, being wounded and hard pressed by his assailants, took to the water, and was pursued by a fleet of native canoes hemming him in and heading him towards the shore. Having finally grounded on a

bank, he was quickly despatched and cut in pieces. The trunk, as a choice portion, was presented to the French officials, and was of huge dimensions and weight, with a diameter of forty centimetres at its root. It was cooked in an excavation in the earth, heated by a fire of brushwood, and was left in it all night on a bed of banana leaves, while another fire was kept alight on the earth covering it. Thus thoroughly baked, it forms an eatable, but scarcely an appetising dish. Hippopotamus meat is tough and stringy, and that of the alligator, though tender, spoiled by its detestable musky flavour.

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**The Karens of Burma.**—Mr. Cuming,\* in his sketches of Burmese life and character, gives an interesting account of the scant and scattered population occupying the vast hill districts of Burma. The Karens live either in isolated huts, in small villages, or in barrack-like structures called *tais*, a communal dwelling, sheltering under a single roof an entire clan of from fifty to eighty families, each with its separate rooms opening off a central hall. The heavy forest growth on the hill slopes is laboriously cleared away with primitive implements, so as to form little patches of cultivation, where sufficient rice is grown for home consumption. The plant raised is a different variety from that of the plains, capable of dispensing with the standing water which is a *sine quâ non* for the culture of the latter. The plot, in addition to the labour required for freeing it from the rapid growth of weeds, must be carefully fenced as a protection against the inroads of deer and wild pig, but the crop has an enemy still more difficult to guard against in the jungle fowl and other birds. The Karens, who are a brave and hardy race, are the only professional hunters in Burma, and go about from place to place to exterminate noxious and dangerous beasts. The ordinary village houses are of the Burman type, raised on poles above the ground, with an inner sleeping apartment screened round with mats, and an outer room open on three sides, while the gaps between the planks of the floor are utilised for the disposal of all rubbish and refuse. The author during his visit to one of these settlements, was attended throughout all the processes of his toilet by a watchful crowd of all ages and sexes, who manifested the liveliest interest in his proceedings. Many of them have been converted to Christianity and sing English hymn tunes in sweet true voices. When on the march, they carry a long fringed bag, hanging nearly to the knees, and a long sausage of rice passed over one shoulder and

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\* "In the Shadow of the Pagoda." By E. D. Cuming. London: Allen. 1893.

fastened at the waist. The dress of the Karen girls is pretty, and the decoration of a bead necklace never fails to add to its effect. The upper garment consists of a dark cloth jacket, cut open in a peak at the front and back, embroidered with scroll designs in coloured thread, edged with narrow red and white braid or with spangles. The lower covering resembles the drapery of the Burmese women, but is generally of more sober colours.

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**Slavery in East Africa.**—Captain Lugard, among other interesting and valuable matter contained in his book,\* gives rather a discouraging account of the result of the English anti-slavery policy in East Africa. The abolition of domestic slavery in Zanzibar has, according to him, remained a dead-letter, the edict of August 1st, 1890, decreeing its extinction, having been rescinded by a secret proclamation issued twenty days later, through fear of a rising of the inhabitants against it. The treaty of 1873 prohibiting the import of slaves into the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar has proved equally ineffective, since it is evaded by the smuggling of some 3000 yearly, and only recently the Sultan's own steamer, the *Kilwa*, was captured with a cargo on board. Captain Lugard advocates, not compulsory emancipation, which would in many cases inflict on the slaves themselves a hardship greater than that imposed on their masters, but a law abolishing the legal status of slavery, rendering their forcible detention impossible, by depriving the owners of all right to reclaim them. Such a system, combined with industrial colonies for fugitive slaves, like that established at Bagamoyo and other missions, would in his view be the best possible solution of the problem. The demand which feeds the internal slave-trade would cease with the abolition of the legal right of ownership, and the institution would die a natural death with the gradual progress of civilisation.

The attempt to suppress the internal slave-trade in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa has, according to the author, been equally futile, despite the gallant struggle made by a handful of Europeans under his leadership to drive the Arabs from their fortified positions in 1887–89. Their partial success was not sufficiently supported to give it permanent effect, and the treaty subsequently concluded by Mr. Johnston, on October 22nd, 1889, was not only a partial surrender of all they had gained, but has never been put in force. A series of reverses befell the small British force in 1892 and 1893, and

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\* "The Rise of our East African Empire." By F. D. Lugard. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1893.

early in the latter year it was only rescued from capture by the arrival of a party of the German Anti-Slavery Society, under Baron von Eltz. By the peace then concluded the Shiré was reopened to navigation, and the successful launching of a gunboat on the Lake will, it is hoped, ameliorate the position. At the northern end of Lake Nyassa the Arabs had practically regained their supremacy, and slave caravans were being freely ferried across.

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**Transport in East Africa.**—Captain Lugard points out that by a decree of the Sultan of Zanzibar, issued on September 11th, 1891, and countersigned by Sir Gerald Portal, "all recruitment or enlistment of soldiers, coolies, or porters, for service beyond his Highness's dominions, is and remains strictly forbidden." As there is no other means of transport available, since the tribes of the interior supply no porters, this decree renders the despatch of caravans except through German territory absolutely illegal, and would, if it were not practically disregarded, cut off communication with Uganda and the Lakes. Sir Gerald Portal's own mission, escorted by a caravan of Zanzibaris, was a contravention of the edict, which would if acted upon have produced a deadlock, rendering impossible the supply of stores or relief to the Europeans in the interior. The measure, intended to check the drain on the population of Zanzibar by the increasing number of expeditions recruited there, should have been supplemented by others if intended to be seriously enforced. The prohibition of Swahili native caravans would, in Captain Lugard's opinion, be a great boon, as they not only carry on the illicit slave-trade, but demoralise the people with whom they come in contact as well. The road through the German sphere is not interfered with under this restrictive legislation, as there the requisite portage is furnished by tribes from the interior. The remedy for all these inconveniences would be found in the construction of the railway from Mombasa, and Captain Lugard advocates the immediate commencement of that section of 208 miles which would carry the traveller across the unhealthy littoral zone to the foot of the internal plateau. The cost of this portion would be but £626,000 as opposed to £2,240,000 for the entire length to Lake Victoria. Beyond this point there is, he thinks, no reason why transport animals, preferably mules or camels, should not be used pending the completion of the railway. On a portion of the route a cart road would be practicable, and this easier section should for the present be completed by a bridle-path practicable for pack animals. Relays of the latter should be available at established

stations, in order to give them the necessary rest. Donkeys are used by most caravans, and do wonderfully well considering the very unfavourable conditions they are exposed to, from want of proper food, ill-fitting gear, and continuous work. All beasts of burden should also be tended by men accustomed to the care of animals, which the ordinary Zanzibari is not, rendering the importation of trained drivers a necessity. The zebra, which abounds in the country, would, in his opinion, be capable of domestication.

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## Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

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### ITALY.

**La Civiltà Cattolica.** *Agosto-Novembre.* Quad. 1035-1041.—This quarter of the *Civiltà* presents its readers with a variety of topics. Politics, history, archaeology, literary criticism, ethnography, astronomy, metaphysics, and fiction have a place in the numbers which lie before us. We mention fiction last because we wish to say that the *Civiltà* serial is unlike the usual product of the imagination in more points than one. First, it is extremely unconventional. Jules Verne broke new ground by transporting himself into times towards the Day of Judgment and worked up wonderful possibilities. Why should not the *Civiltà* go back to prehistoric times, away from the vulgar ruts of the common romancer's waggon, and lay his plot on the bare bones of early Assyrian civilisation? Poets and painters have extensive privileges—*quidquid audendi*—conferred upon them by classic authority. Why should not the bold step of analysing human feelings and unfolding poor old human nature back in the East be also allowed? Add to this the sidelights thrown on Assyrian and in general Oriental life in these early days. This we find in "The Morrow of the Flood." "The Migrations of the Hittites" continues to unfold with stupendous learning and critical acumen the history of that ancient race. "The Copernican System in the Time of Galileo and To-day" deals with the system of Copernicus as against that of Ptolemy. The widespread acceptance of the latter and the persistence with which it was clung to, afford a striking example of the quasi-instinctive conservatism of the human mind. It also is a

gentle reminder to Catholics to beware of doing a thing at once unscholarly and uncatholic—*i.e.*, to link the Church with opinions outside her domain, and to forelose questions which the Church has wisely left open.

There is a series of articles in the *Civiltà* which cannot be read without pain. We refer to those bearing on and illustrating the internal condition of Italy, and the working of political influence in the peninsula. They are "The Bank Scandals," "The Failure of Liberalism," "Ideal Democracy and Democracy as It Is," "Rome III. on its Twenty-third Birthday."

The bibliography of the *Civiltà* covers a wide range of literature. We notice with pleasure that the "Making of Italy," by The O'Clery, is reviewed in a very favourable sense. "Come fu fatta l'Italia," per The O'Clery, ex-deputato al Parlamento Inglese, can now be had at Italian bookstalls. We also wish to draw the attention of colleges, professors of the ecclesiastical sciences, and theologians to a very valuable collection of the conclusions and resolutions of the Congregation of the Council of Trent from its foundation 1574 to 1860. It is edited by Dr. Pallottini, the well-known *advocatus in curia Romana*, and whether viewed from the facilities afforded for drawing on authentic sources, or the well-known reputation of the compiler, is a standard work on the Tridentine Decrees as explained by the Congregation charged with the special function of elucidating the book of laws which we might call a *jus novum* dating from Trent.

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## SPANISH PERIODICALS.

BY REV. JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

**La Ciudad de Dios.**—The subjects treated in this magazine during the past six months have fallen somewhat below the average level of interest. El P. José de las Cuevas, under the title "*Las escuelas económicas en su aspecto filosófico*," makes some very pertinent remarks on the political and economic theories of the great English writers, Bentham, Mill, Malthus, and Say (who, at all events, spent his youth in England), and others. He explains their respective views, and, where they differ, he confronts one authority with another. Thus, on the important question of rent, he points how Dr. Anderson and Ricardo are in direct opposition to the American Carey, and to Bastiat. He weighs the arguments of each, and puts the reader in a fairly impartial position to draw his own conclusions. The conclusions the writer himself draws, we would find it difficult

ourselves to accept, at least without modifications, which there is not time now to specify.

El P. Salvador Pons gives an interesting and a glowing account of the Philippine Islands, with special reference to their aboriginal inhabitants, their produce and commercial capabilities, which seem to be very considerable.

El P. H. del Val continues his commentary upon the Pentateuch, with a view of showing from independent sources the accuracy and historical value of the inspired Mosaic writings. Speaking of the plagues of Egypt, P. del Val remarks that it is not to be wondered at that no special reference to them occurs in any documents yet found, since they were not really supernatural in character. "The plagues of Egypt were not phenomena altogether out of the common (*completamente extraordinarios*). They were calamities both ordinary and very frequent in those regions. They occur even at the present day as in the time of Moses, with this only difference, viz., that in the time of the Exodus they were miraculously multiplied and intensified in order to overcome the obstinacy of Pharaoh."

The only plague which can be accounted in itself miraculous and supernatural was the sudden death of the first-born of every family throughout Egypt. According to the Bible, even the eldest son of Pharaoh himself was no exception; and of that fact we find clear indications in Egyptian archæology. We learn that, on Min-Phtah's death, soon after these evils had come upon the country, he was not succeeded by his eldest, but by his second son. This is especially worthy of notice, since archæological history states that the eldest son of this monarch had been already associated with him on the throne of Egypt even in his father's lifetime. In fact, a colossal statue preserved in the Museum of Berlin represents Pharaoh Min-Phtah accompanied by his first-born, who bears, like his father, the royal insignia with this inscription—Repá Seps, associated with the throne. How is it that this royal son, who shared the kingly power with his father during his lifetime, should on his father's death have resigned it in favour of his younger brother? Archæological science has been unable to assign any reason whatsoever. For a lucid explanation we must turn to the author of Exodus. Moses has left it on record in the following passage:

"And it came to pass at midnight the Lord slew every first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh, who sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive woman that was in the prison, and all the first-born of cattle" (xii. 29).

This we quote as an illustration of the manner in which the



learned Augustinian Father brings his knowledge of antiquity to substantiate and enforce the truths of Holy Writ.

From the science of hermeneutics, El P. J. Fernández carries our thoughts away to a very different science—the science of *aéronautics*. Under the heading, “*Los Globos*,” he treats us to a remarkably fascinating paper on balloons, and on the efforts men have made from time to time to navigate the sky. He describes in a few forcible words the truly awful accidents that have befallen the votaries of this science, and seeks to account in some measure for the tragical end of so many of them. Personally, he is of opinion that some system of directing a balloon through the air will certainly be devised sooner or later. The possibilities of science are almost inexhaustible; and we know as yet very little of the surprises that nature still holds in reserve. He lays down nine necessary qualities that a balloon should possess, which the reader must consult for himself. These once realised, El P. Fernández thinks the difficulty of steering the floating car would soon be overcome.

D. José Solano, Marquis of Socorro, contributes a learned geological paper on the volcanic district of Naples, in which he gives us *un coup d'œil* of the history of Vesuvius and its more remarkable eruptions, most of which have proved so disastrous to human life and so destructive to towns and cities.

One of the most eloquent and beautifully written papers in the Review, entitled “*La Fisiología de las células*,” is by P. Zacarías Martínez. It reads as a hymn of praise to the Creator of the Universe, and is full of sound reason as well as of sentiment and poetry. The spirited author points to the beauty, variety, and marvellousness of the creation, and makes each object reflect for us the wisdom and power of God, from the gigantic whale—

“Que alza dos ríos de agua hasta los cielos  
Y agita el mar del Norte al rebullirse,”

down to the tiny workers that have built up the hundreds of coral isles now studding the tropical seas.

We regret that space will not permit us to translate the whole essay. To make a single extract would only produce an unfavourable impression.

## Notices of Books.

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**John Keble: A Biography.** By WALTER LOCK, M.A., Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, and Sub-Warden of Keble College, Oxford. Methuen & Co., 18 Bury Street, London, W.C. 1893. 8vo, pp. 245.

NO one would care to confess that he was unacquainted with the leading characteristics of Keble's life, his learning, his humility, his generous devotion of himself to the charge of a poor and ignorant country parish, his influence upon the most eminent men which Oxford University has produced during the present century; nevertheless, until the publication of the present work what was known of Keble was known, for the most part, indirectly, and through occasional reference, from the autobiographies and biographies of other men, or from histories of the movement in which he took part; no complete memoir of himself existed. Keble was not the man to insist upon the attention of the world. One who leaves Oxford when at the very height of his fame to busy himself with a few hundreds of Gloucestershire peasants in an obscure curacy, and is unconscious that in so doing he is making any sacrifice at all, is not likely to write autobiographies or to store up materials that others may write his life. So retiring was he, that even those who knew him best were at a loss when called upon to give an account of him. "How shall I profess to paint a man who will not sit for his picture?" said Newman, when asked to describe Keble. The book under notice is the first attempt to place a worthy memoir of Keble before us. The writer had many qualifications for his task, access to documents hitherto unpublished, acquaintance with men who had known Keble intimately and were willing to lend every assistance, a genuine love for his subject, and the unusual gift of being able to write calmly and dispassionately on momentous events which have occasioned the fiercest controversy; and the result is that Mr. Lock has given us a complete and pleasing memoir of a rare and beautiful character.

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**John and Sebastian Cabot.** Biographical Notice with Documents. By FRANCESCO TARDUCCI. Translated from Italian by HENRY F. BROWNSON. Detroit: H. F. Brownson, publisher. 1893. 8vo, pp. 409.

THIS work arrived at a very opportune moment. After Christopher Columbus none had so great a claim to be remembered and celebrated at the Centenary Festivals, recently held in America, as John and Sebastian Cabot, for next in time as in importance to the discovery of the Bahamas and the West Indies by Columbus, was the discovery of the northern part of America by the Cabots. Signor Tarducci displays in this work the historical research and the critical acumen which won so favourable a reception for his "Life of Columbus." Many questions relating to the Cabots which had been left in uncertainty or erroneously solved by previous biographers, receive in this book a satisfactory solution. The Venetian nationality of both John and Sebastian, the discovery by Sebastian of Hudson Strait, Hudson Bay, and Fox Channel are fully established, and Sebastian Cabot is successfully defended from the single serious charge that has been brought against him. Indeed, so full is the book of argument that we should almost resent being so frequently called upon to relinquish the flowing narrative for the noise and din of controversy were it not that the reasonings of our author are so ingenious as to be a real intellectual treat. Signor Tarducci's vindication of the claims of Venice to be considered the birthplace of the Cabots and of the claims of these illustrious discoverers upon the gratitude of mankind, has met with such approval that the original edition of this work in Italian was published at the charge of the Royal Commission of Natural History of Venice. It is interesting to contrast the interest shown by Venice in these sons of hers who, illustrious sons though they were, by their very discoveries deprived her of her commercial greatness with the neglect of the Cabots by England which acquired the commercial sceptre thus wrested from the hands of Venice.

We know nothing [says Tarducci] of when or where he [Sebastian] died, nor even the spot where he was buried. England, wholly occupied in coursing the seas over which he had directed her, had no time to remember or mark the sepulchre of the man to whose powerful initiative she owes the wealth and power which have placed her amongst the foremost nations of the world. What is still worse, her historical literature, so rich in quantity and quality, has not a book in which his life and work are investigated and studied profoundly and at as great length as possible, although her writers have at times proclaimed his greatness and protested the gratitude due to him from the English nation. In the first half of the last century Campbell wrote: "With strict justice it may be said of Sebastian Cabot that he was the author of our maritime strength, and

opened the way to those improvements which have rendered us so great, so eminent, so flourishing a people."

It is also interesting to know the reason which led the England of Cabot's day to attach so much importance to the discovery of British North America.

One proof of what the new regions would produce was the discovery that the sea was extraordinarily rich in fish; a discovery which we might be almost indifferent to in the nineteenth century, but at the time of Cabot was joyful news for England, because a certain source of great wealth for the nation. In those days every Christian people scrupulously observed the Commandments of the Church; and in the strict observance by everybody of Lent and the Vigils, fish had become a commodity of prime necessity for all Christians. Iceland lived off their commerce, Norway and the Baltic shores saw no ships but those engaged in taking or conveying fish. It is easy then to understand how pleasant to English ears was the declaration of the discoverers that the sea was full of fish.

As to the translation, when we have said that it is the work of a literary man of such repute as Mr. Henry F. Brownson, we have said that it is excellent. We trust that the book will have a wide circulation.

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**History of the Church in England from the beginning of the Christian Era to the Accession of Henry VIII.** By MARY H. ALLIES. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1892. 8vo, pp. 371.

**T**HIS is a short and very readable, though not in any sense a critical history. There are many interesting passages in the book, but none make such good reading as those which refer to St. Hugh, of Lincoln, who in his directness of speech, sturdy courage, and sterling manhood, was the Bishop Ullathorne of the twelfth century. St. Hugh had excommunicated Geoffrey, King Henry's chief forester, and had repulsed the royal messengers sent to press him to bestow a vacant canonry on one of the King's friends, and was in consequence summoned to Woodstock to receive tokens of the King's displeasure.

The meeting was studiously planned. Henry was sitting with his courtiers in a semicircle around him. No one was to rise on the Bishop's coming in, nor to give him any salutation whatever, and as for Henry himself, he meant Hugh to see and to feel how angry he could be. As the Bishop advanced with his usual greeting, he was met by silence, but he made his way in spite of it to the King's side. Henry, in forced unconcern, ordered some one present to bring him a needle and thread, and then began to use them, or to toy with them, on a small bit of cloth, which was hanging round his own royal finger. The Bishop watched him in silence for some minutes, and knowing very well what it all meant, made the astonishing remark:—"How much you are now like your Falaise relations." This appealed to the King's sense of humour, and instead of being angry he broke out into a hearty laugh. He turned

to his courtiers saying, "Do you understand how this barbarian has insulted us? I will explain his words. The mother of my ancestor William, the conqueror of this country, was of low birth, and belonged to the famous Norman city of Falaise. Because this derider saw me sewing up my finger he taunted me with being like those Falaise people, and related to them."

St. Hugh was as brusque with Cœur de Lion as he had been with his bull-necked father. But Richard also loved a man, and the plain speaking of the bishop won his regard. "If all bishops were like this one," said Richard to his courtiers, "no prince or king would dare to defy them." Royal compliments, however, had as little effect upon the Saint as royal displeasure or royal threats. Richard on one occasion demanded a large sum of money from the clergy. Archbishop Hubert was prepared to support the king's demand, but not so St. Hugh. "Do you not know," said Hubert, "that my lord the king thirsts for money as the dropsical man for water?" "He may be a dropsical man," replied St. Hugh, "but I am not prepared to supply him or other dropsical patients with water."

In many respects a very excellent little history is this work of Miss Allies. We think, however, that the writer would have done better had she avoided discussing difficult questions where she has not provided the most adequate solution. An instance of a difficulty unnecessarily raised and unsatisfactorily met may be found on page 111, where the writer refers to the teaching of Aelfric, the translator on Transubstantiation.

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**Annals of Winchester College.** By T. F. KIRBY, M.A., F.S.A.  
8vo, pp. 549. London: Henry Frowde; Winchester: P. and G. Wells.

IN the above volume Mr. T. Kirby, the bursar of the Winchester College, has given to the public in a series of annals the story of the great school of William of Wykeham from its foundation in 1382 to the present day. The author has devoted his opening chapter to an interesting account of the circumstances under which the school was founded. Here the reader may feel something of disappointment at being carried at once into the midst of the active measures which led to the foundation of the school, without any adequate introduction to the personality of William of Wykeham. No doubt the function of an annalist is not that of a biographer, and the concern of the latter must be somewhat less with men and more with events and institutions. Yet we take it, that even the most fervid lover of the plunge *in medias res* would have easily pardoned

an introductory chapter which would have refreshed his memory on the main acts of the founder's life, and deepened his living acquaintance with the character and genius of the great fourteenth-century bishop of whose educational zeal the Winchester School is the fruit and the monument. As it is, the author brings out the fact that the larger institution at Winchester, with its charters and endowments, had its predecessor in a small school composed of poor grammar students, which William of Wykeham supported for several years out of his private bounty. Perhaps some of the heads of our Catholic colleges may care to take note of the fact that the master of even this little grammar school in pre-Reformation times, when facilities for travel were so much more limited, was by the terms of his agreement allowed to go in pilgrimage to Rome (at his own cost) at least once in the ten years covered by his contract. The preliminary steps which led up to the greater foundation described in this chapter may be summarised as five:—1. The obtaining of a Bull of Foundation from the reigning Pope Urban VI. 2. The procuring of a Royal licence from Richard II. to acquire, notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain, a site and build a "hall or college to the praise of God and of the glorious Virgin Mary, His mother, in whose honour this said college is founded." 3. The appointment of a head-master and the admission of seventy scholars. 4. The obtaining of no less than twelve different Bulls from the Holy See; securing to the college various privileges and immunities. 5. The strengthening of the endowments by the purchase of additional property, and notably of the lands of the alien priories.

The chapter on the fabric contains an interesting account of the college chapel. In 1415 a new rood gallery was erected, with its figure of Christ crucified and images of our Blessed Lady and St. John. The local artists appear to have been found unequal to the task, as the whole structure was carved and painted in London. The carving cost 48s. 4d.; the painting, £4 10s. 4d.; the carriage and sundries, £4 0s. 4d., altogether £10 19s., or more than £100 of modern money.

A chapter on the statutes gives a brief summary of the regulations which were carefully drawn up by William of Wykeham for the constitution and government of the school, and which Henry VI. so admired that he made them the model for the statutes of his own foundation at Eton. The two following chapters deal with the "founder's kin" and "commoners." The author then proceeds with what may be more strictly termed the annals of the college, and chronicles the chief matters of note under the reign of the successive

wardens. Here Mr. Kirby has in the happiest way enriched his account with a wealth of interesting matter from the computus rolls, and the reader has presented to him details as to furniture and prices which enable him to form for himself a graphic picture of college life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The following, for instance, is a sacristy account in 1412, which many of our clergy or sacristans would recognise in a moment as the true ancestors of their own :

	£	s.	d.
1015 wafers . . . . .	0	7	10
25 flagons and 1 pottle of red wine at 5 <i>d.</i> or 6 <i>d.</i> per flagon . .	0	13	5
9 flagons and 1 pottle of oil for the lamp over the high altar at 16 <i>d.</i> and 12 <i>d.</i> per flagon . . . . .	0	11	2
250 lbs. of wax . . . . .	6	0	4
Edward Chandler, making it into candles . . . . .	0	15	2½
4 doz. wax candles for the choir . . . . .	0	5	4
24 ells of linen at 8 <i>d.</i> or 7 <i>d.</i> to make napkins, albs, and amices . . . . .	0	19	0
3 pieces of "bokeram" . . . . .	0	0	9
Buttes (hassocks) for the stalls . . . . .	0	0	3
Glazier mending windows . . . . .	0	0	12
11 lbs. of rope for great bell . . . . .	0	0	16
Making and binding an Anthem book (Antiphonarium?) . .	0	2	6
Agnes Lambert, hemming four albs and six amices . . . .	0	2	0
John Overton, making 2 copies of "History of Our Lord's Body," and the "Life of St. Anne" . . . . .	0	3	4

Nearly five centuries have passed, and ways and prices have changed since Edward the chandler dealt with the £6 worth of wax, and since Agnes Lambert hemmed the albs and amices, but the main features of the Catholic sacristy remain wonderfully the same.

An inventory of the Church goods in 1525, covering nearly ten pages, puts before us a gorgeous picture of the splendour of sacred plate and vestments at the college chapel. The momentous changes which the Reformation under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth wrought upon the life of the Winchester School, and the manner in which wardens like White, and schoolmasters like Hyde, received the new religion, are matters of deep historical interest. It could have been wished that Mr. Kirby had seen his way to give them more than a brief passing notice.

Not the least valuable part of the work is to be found in the documents given in the appendix. Here is given the Papal Bull of Foundation embodied in the licence of the Papal commissioner, the Bishop of Rochester. It is followed by the Royal licence, and by the charter of the founder, in which he wishes the College to be known during all future time as the "Seinte Marye College of

Wynchester." We have also here the supremely interesting text of the statutes drawn up by William of Wykeham himself, and occupying nearly seventy pages. The most important of these to the Catholic reader will be statutes xxviii. and xxix., which regulate the services in the College Chapel. Besides High Mass and the Divine Office, prayers and psalms were to be daily said for the dead, and no less than seven masses were to be offered each day in perpetuity for the soul of the founder, for his parents and kindred, and for other intentions. Side by side with these conditions of prayers and masses so earnestly and peremptorily insisted on, we may read the statement in which the author correctly summarises the conclusion of these statutes when he says :

Reserving to himself the power of altering statutes as long as he lives, Wykeham declares that *it shall not be lawful for any successor of his in the See of Winchester, or for the Warden and Fellows, to repeal, alter, or make anew any statutes, or to construe any statute, otherwise than in the plain, natural, and grammatical sense, or to make other statutes repugnant to them.\**

To writers like Mr. Kirby, who help to lay open to the public the store of historical material connected with this most ancient and Catholic foundation, we owe a deep debt of gratitude, and while we naturally feel that in a book of this kind there are some things which are left unsaid, and parts of the picture which are not filled up, we welcome it and commend it as an instalment of that excellent work which is being zealously done in our day for the history of the pre-Reformation Church in England.

J. M.

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**Anecdota Oxoniensia. Semitic Series I. 5. The Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures: Five More Fragments.**  
 Edited, with Introduction and Annotations, by G. H. Gwilliam,  
 B.D. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1893.

THE somewhat slender monograph before us is by no means the first contribution which Mr. Gwilliam has made to our knowledge of the Syriac Versions of the New Testament, and possibly we shall be doing a service to some of our readers if we couple our brief notice of his most recent contribution to the "*Anecdota Oxoniensia*" with some account of his previous labours in the same field. As a fellow-worker with the late Mr. Philip Pusey, and afterwards as the custodian of that promising scholar's Syriac *collectanea*, Mr. Gwilliam has done more than any man living towards the systematic collation

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\* P. 92, Statute XLVI. (The italics are ours.)



of the rich treasure of Syriac Biblical MSS. (chiefly belonging to the Tattam collection) which are preserved in the British Museum. Some of the results of his investigations he has made public in three papers contributed to the Oxford "*Studia Biblica*" (i. 151 sqq.; ii. 241 sqq.; iii. 47 sqq.), and from the first and third of these papers we shall draw freely in what follows.

The Peshitto text of the New Testament as it is now known to us from the printed editions, is substantially identical with that of the *Editio princeps* of Widmanstadt (Vienna, 1555), the emendations introduced by Schaaf (Leyden, 1708) and Wichelhaus ("*De N. T. Versione Syriaca*," &c., Halle, 1850) being relatively few and unimportant. Hence it was not to be wondered at that among scholars who were familiar with the extent of the textual variations presented by Greek and Latin MSS. of the New Testament some should have supposed that Syriac MSS. would be found to present similar variations, and should have declined to accept the printed text of the Peshitto as anything better than a witness to the readings of a few relatively late MSS. very imperfectly collated. Others, on the contrary, thought that the *Textus Receptus* of the Peshitto, although possessing but slender support from external authority, "being incapable of verification from patristic quotations, &c., is, nevertheless, substantially correct; that the ancient witnesses to which we now have access would only demand that we should make a few changes in the text of Widmanstadt, and these chiefly in points of grammar and orthography" (*S. B.* i. 152). As long, however, as these opposite opinions rested on conjecture they were of little or no real value; and the best thanks of biblical students are due to Mr. P. E. Pusey and to Mr. Gwilliam for having brought them to the test of actual diplomatic evidence.

Of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament now in the British Museum, "there are eighty-five bearing dates ranging between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 411, besides many bearing later dates." This habit of affixing dates to their codices, which is characteristic of Syriac scribes, makes it comparatively easy to assign undated MSS. to the century to which they belong. Accordingly, Mr. Gwilliam is able confidently to ascribe to the fifth century a copy of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark (MS. Add. 14459 A) of which he has made a very special study, the results of which study he has been able to check by comparison with several dated and undated codices of the sixth and seventh centuries. The outcome of his investigations is to the effect that the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament show a far closer textual uniformity than do the Greek, and that consequently—though a critical edition of the Peshitto is

most desirable, and will, it may be hoped, shortly be forthcoming at the hands of Mr. Gwilliam himself—the Syriac Textus Receptus represents, in almost every particular which affects the sense, the singularly fixed and stereotyped text which the Syrian churches have used since the fourth century, and probably since a still earlier time. For the concurrent evidence of so many MSS. written in different monasteries, and by men of different sects (Monophysites, Nestorians, &c.), conclusively points to a long textual ancestry reaching back far beyond the age of the oldest extant codex.

So far, we think, Mr. Gwilliam is on safe ground. His premisses, so far as we have examined them, appear to us abundantly to support the conclusion that the Peshitto is not, as some had supposed, “the gradually formed product of a series of successive revisions” (*S. B.* iii. 73). When, however, he further argues that the Peshitto cannot be regarded as a result of a revision of the Curetonian, and disputes the right of the Curetonian to the title of “Old Syriac,” we cannot quite follow him. By an ingenious typographical device he has partially exhibited (*S. B.* iii. 85) the relation of the Peshitto to the Curetonian in the passage St. Matt. v. 31–48, the parts in which the two versions are identical being printed in Maronite type; those in which P differs from C in Estrangelo. The divergences are no doubt striking, but why does Mr. Gwilliam say [*italics ours*] “*The problem is to account for the many divergences*”? Rather, we should say, *the* problem is to account for the very large proportion of verbal coincidence; a problem which admits of only two possible solutions—either P is derived from C, or (which hardly any one will hold) *vice versa*, C has been derived from P. It is difficult to see what limits as regards divergence can be imposed on a reviser working under unknown conditions. It is impossible to decide *a priori* how far he would feel himself at liberty to reconstruct the version upon which he was working. But such an amount of verbal agreement as is exhibited by the Peshitto and the Curetonian cannot, we are convinced, be accounted for on any hypothesis of an independent origin. Of the kind of results achieved by independent translators we have an excellent example in the Palestinian Syriac as compared with the Peshitto.

Of the origin of the Palestinian version of the Scriptures, and of the date at which it was made, nothing is known.

The *Syro-Palestinian* dialect contains: (a) Many Chaldee words and forms, some Hebrew words, and a few adapted from Arabic and Greek. (β) Grammatical forms [*e.g.*, the use of *jodh* not *nun* in the formation of the future], nearly all of which are also Chaldaic. (γ) Roots used in a sense not common in ordinary Syriac. (δ) Some terms and forms of words which appear to be exclusively Palestinian (p. xxiv).

But it is not merely in dialectical form, or the occasional use of synonyms that the Palestinian version differs from the Peshitto. The whole structure of the sentences is different, and "such agreement as exists appears to be accidental, and due to the identity of the underlying Greek"; besides which "it can hardly be doubted that the Palestinian . . . represents a different form of Greek text" from that to which the Peshitto bears witness (p. xv).

The largest and most important portion of the Palestinian Version is an Evangelistarium in the Vatican which was described by Adler in his "*Versiones Syriacæ*" (1789), and edited by Miniscalchi Erizzo, under the title "*Evangelarium Hierosolymitanum*," in 1861-64, and again by De Lagarde in his "*Bibliotheca Syriaca*," published posthumously last year. A number of fragments, preserved in London and at St. Petersburg, have been published by Land in the fourth volume of his "*Anecdota Syriaca*" (Leyden, 1875); and eleven verses of Galatians, discovered by Professor Rendel Harris on Mount Sinai in 1889, were printed by him in his "*Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai*" (1890). It was therefore most desirable that the five remaining fragments, embracing some sixty verses in all, from Numbers, Colossians, 1 Thess., 2 Tim. and Titus, which have recently found their way to the Bodleian, should also be made accessible to biblical students. Nor could they have found a more competent editor than Mr. Gwilliam.

In one very important particular, among others, the Palestinian falls far short of the Peshitto in interest and importance. In summing up his argument concerning the textual stability of the Peshitto, Mr. Gwilliam writes :

The importance of these facts and inferences in their bearing upon the criticism of the Greek Testament is obvious. It has hitherto been an easy task to disparage the authority of the Peshitto by the retort that we can only quote it in evidence as it has come down to us; we do not know what it read in the third and fourth centuries. Recent investigations, of which a specimen is given in this paper, enable us to trace back the text of the Peshitto to the very verge of St. Ephraem's days, and we think that we can follow the stream much further yet. . . . That is to say (not to *overstate* the case), at the period when the celebrated uncial Greek MSS. of the New Testament were written, we find the Syrian Church accepting a text which is not altogether in accordance with them, but which rather inclines to that type of text which most modern critics have rejected in favour of one based on these uncial MSS., and in particular on two of them, codices  $\aleph$  and B. (These two MSS. are, as the reader knows, responsible for most of the innovations introduced by the Revisers of the Anglican Bible.) It is not within the scope of this paper to weigh the evidence of those great codices against that of the venerable versions adopted in the Churches of the East. It may be (no opinion is now offered on the point) that the early Syrian Church was so unfortunate as to possess a very corrupt Vulgate. But it is to be observed

that *we must commit ourselves to that view* if we resolve (with the Revisers) to base our text on the evidence of a few early Greek MSS. alone and always to reject the evidence of the Peshitto where it disagrees with them. (S. B. i. 169, 170.)

On the very interesting critical question here raised, the Palestinian Version—if we may judge from the fragments just published—throws hardly any light at all. The text of the fragments favours  $\aleph$  against B twice, and B against  $\aleph$  three times. The combination  $\aleph$ B is followed five times, and in four cases deserted. “The text harmonises with the Peshitto, in opposition to the Harclean some seven times . . . it sometimes sides with these versions against the Greek MSS., and sometimes opposes them.” In a word, “the Greek text used by the translator must have been a curious intermixture of Western and other types” (p. xx., note by Mr. E. N. Bennett). When the newly found “Old Syrian” version of the Gospels is made accessible—which we hope will be within a few months—we shall await with interest Mr. Gwilliam’s verdict on its relation to the Peshitto, and to the great problem of New Testament textual criticism.

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**History of St. Edmund’s College, Old Hall.** By the Very Rev. BERNARD WARD, President. Kegan Paul & Co. 1893.

THIS is a book of exceptional interest. Appearing as it does in the centenary year of the re-establishment of St. Edmund’s as an ecclesiastical college, the intrinsic interest of the history is heightened by the celebrations which have recently attracted so much attention in Catholic England. Had St. Edmund’s been a mere house of Catholic education, its vicissitudes through the perilous times from which we have recently emerged would have found a wide circle of attentive and sympathetic readers. Its position as the chief ecclesiastical seminary of the south, and the source from which London and the home counties mainly drew their clergy from 1793 to 1869, makes its history for the last hundred years the history to a great degree of the Catholic Church in the dioceses of Westminster, Southwark, and Portsmouth. The break up of Douay and St. Omer in the autumn of 1793, the subsequent adventures of students and superiors, their arrival in England, the modest beginning made by Bishop Douglas at Old Hall in November, 1793, the differences between north and south, are nothing short of exciting. Many a familiar and venerable name, hitherto hardly more than a mere *magni nominis umbra*, becomes a living reality as we

follow the chequered story told in these pages. The author laments his want of literary skill, but there is a directness in the narrative which would have been ill exchanged for an attempt at fine writing. The appendices are numerous, and set off admirably such points in the text as most obviously invite fuller treatment. The prints are another attractive feature in the book, and it is well indexed.

The author refers to the hasty correction of the proof sheets; several slips are noticeable: *e.g.*, *is*, bottom of page 1; questionable constructions, as on page 4, line 5 from bottom, page 38, line 3; "the name . . . survive," page 58, *note*; the use of "allude to," page 205, line 6; the amusing sentence beginning "The sale, &c.," page 235, &c. &c. These blemishes are soon removed, and no doubt will disappear when a new edition is called for. On page 272 the story of the "Two Rings" is slightly altered from its ordinary shape, and on the next page Mabel is not represented as drawing the three circles on the palm of the Saint's hand. Perhaps this latter detail or omission of detail is due to the mode of treatment in the window described.

It is to be hoped that some son of St. Cuthbert's will soon do for his northern *Alma Mater* what Father Ward has done so admirably for St. Edmund's. Of the book and the venerable institution which it describes, *felix faustumque sit*.

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**Analecta Hymnica medii ævi. XIVa. Hymnarius Severianus.**

**XIVb. Origo Scarrabarozzi's Liber Officiorum.** Herausgegeben von GUIDO MARIA DRÈVES, S.J. Leipzig: Reisland. 1893.

**FR.** DRÈVES continues his admirable work of collecting and publishing the all but inexhaustible treasures of mediæval hymns (DUBLIN REVIEW, vol. cx. p. 217), and has given to the public two more volumes. The first part contains the hymns of the Abbey of St. Severin, near Naples, where the Benedictines flourished in the tenth century and where the valuable Codex used for this work was written about A.D. 1000. Fr. Drèves has consulted and compared the Codex Vatican 1172, and the Parisinus 1092, both of which contain the collection of hymns referred to. The text is suitably prefaced by a learned dissertation attributing the Codex to the early date above mentioned, and characterising the hymns as very ancient from the total absence of rhyme. The number of hymns amounts to 142. The second part, exhibiting in addition to single hymns whole offices, is in the possession of the Metropolitan Chapter of Milan, and bears the name of Origo Scarrabarozzi, who was archpriest of Milan in 1286. Fr. Drèves is to be

congratulated on his excellent work, destined as it is to unearth the hidden wealth of a period which too long has been suffering from abundant misconception.

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**Monumenta Germaniæ Historica. Epistolæ Merovingici et Carolini ævi. Tomus I. Berolini, 1892. Kl. Folio, 760 pp.**

THE famous collection of the literary monuments for illustrating German history from A.D. 500 to A.D. 1500 for several years, has been making rapid progress under the editorship of Professor Ernst Dümmler, of the Berlin University. The immense value of this vast undertaking is generally known. The literary documents are being issued by the best German scholars, all manuscripts within the reach of research are duly compared and then subjected to the test of modern critical methods, in order to secure such editions as may provide the student with a trustworthy text. To English readers the above volume commends itself for two reasons. It contains the epistles and poems of Columbanus, and the letters of St. Boniface and Lullus. For the edition of Columbanus we are indebted to Dr. Gundlach, who has thoroughly well fulfilled his task. After a critical review of the various manuscripts, from which we single out for its peculiar importance the Codex Parisinus, we have the text of the letters connected for the most part with the Paschal controversy. Every document is headed by a summary epitomising its contents, whilst two kinds of foot-notes point out either mere critical notes or biblical and historical elucidations. The latter seem singularly well fitted to illustrate the text. To the already extant epistles of Columbanus, Dr. Gundlach has succeeded in adding a newly discovered letter which he found in Paris (pp. 177-178) and which contains the answer to Boniface IV.'s summons to Columbanus to express his opinion about the question as to the ceremonies of the Old Testament, *quid spiritualiter observari debeat, quid secundum litteram reprobari*. It was in 1890 when Gundlach published this letter in the *Neues Archiv*. x., 84. The same praise is to be bestowed on the edition of the letters either written by, or sent to, St. Boniface and Lullus (pp. 215-433). Professor Dümmler, author of a work on the Empire of Charlemagne, is the editor of these epistles. Excellent as was the edition by the late Dr. Jaffé, it seems to be now superseded by that of Professor Dümmler. The chronological order of the letters is much better established, the text as based on the comparison of a far larger range of manuscripts is more pure and reliable, and not a few mistakes to be found in former

editions are corrected. Thus the year in which St. Boniface received episcopal consecration is conclusively fixed at A.D. 722, Nov. 30 (p. 227). Students of Irish or English history who wish to do their work accurately, for the future in treating on Columbanus or Boniface will be well advised to depend on the above edition of the letters of these truly great men, who by their character and writings stand forth as two great lights of the seventh and eighth centuries.

B.

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**Cicero de Oratore.** Book I. Translated by E. N. P. Moor, M.A. 8vo, pp. 108. London: Methuen & Co.

**T**HE translator's aim (as stated in the introduction) is threefold—to reproduce accurately the sense of the Latin, to regard the requirements of the English idiom, and to allow the Ciceronian style, more or less, to dominate his rendering. In all three particulars Mr. Moor appears to have succeeded well. Satisfactory translations of Cicero are not too abundant; and we trust that so finished a scholar as Mr. Moor may see his way to complete the *De Oratore* in a manner correspondent to Book I.

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**An Architect in Exile, and other Essays.** By BERNARD WHELAN. 8vo, pp. 110. London: Burns & Oates.

**T**HESE are scholarly essays, written with a good deal of poetical taste and elegance. In addition to the architectural subject—to which all is subordinate—the author deals with various incidental topics intelligently, and in a manner which implies considerable insight and observation—and, occasionally, in a smart epigrammatic style. In commendation of the biographical sketch of Pugin (“The Gothic Renaissance”), it will be sufficient to recommend it for perusal. “The oldest of the Arts,” descanting on the popular non-appreciation of the modern architect, on the difficulties of his position, on his relation to the ever-changing conditions and new exigencies of life, with his subjection to the manifold force of social influences—and lastly, on his responsibilities—rural, urban, sanitary, &c.—is a highly instructive paper. To enumerate one more, “Mont St. Michel” cannot but have great interest for every Catholic reader. And from this last we offer the following short paragraph as a specimen of the author's composition:

The men of the Middle Ages loved nature with a love as intimate, though differing in form of expression, as any modern: but intense as was their love, it was practical and energetic; to them a lovely knoll

existed that it might be perfected by a still more lovely tower, which should gather to itself all the force and beauty of the surrounding landscape; to them a fertile plain with its level lines was a foil for the rocket-like up-springing of many hundred feet of tapering stone-work; to them a river-brightened valley was made to be the haunt of monasteries whose carved capitals and spandrils should repeat the herbage and flowers, even as the translucent stream did in its own sweet but different way. And when nature, as in Mont St. Michel, put on a more daring mood than usual, the poet-builders caught her spirit and out-dared her own audacity.

On the subject of the "style," a few additional words may be needful. The author sufficiently abounds in somewhat bold figures and contrasts; and of these not a few strike us as happy and effective. A single example must suffice. Describing Lincoln from the point of view of the approaching railway-traveller, he says: "The towered hill of Lincoln swims into sight, like to an enchanted ship on an ocean of land." But here and there throughout these essays there is a peculiarity in the diction which we are not so much taken with. We allude to a superabundant use of less natural—or at any rate, less conventional—modes of expression, with an apparent straining after such; which forms and phrases, however ingenious and original, and serviceable in the way of mental discipline, are yet not calculated (for the generality of us) either to facilitate perusal or to increase the pleasure of it. Greater simplicity and fewer artificialities of language would be to our taste. This is the only adverse criticism we consider it needful to make on a volume otherwise meritorious.

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**Jean Bréhal et la Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc.** Par les R.R. P.P. BELON ET BALME, des Frères-Prêcheurs. Large 8vo, pp. 152, 208, 188. Lethielleux. Paris. 1893.

THE great work which Father Belon, professor of Dogmatic Theology at Lyons, and Father Balme, both distinguished members of the Dominican Order, have recently published under the title of "*Jean Bréhal et la Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*," is a monument of patient erudition, historical acumen, and genuine patriotism. Its object, as the authors tell us in the preface, is destined to make known the noble efforts of another Dominican, Jean Bréhal, Great Inquisitor of France, to vindicate the character and memory of the heroic Joan of Arc, and to refute the shocking calumnies which were circulated by her enemies during the whole course of her trial and afterwards. Indirectly, however, the learned authors have a higher object in view. They belong to that great and increasing body of faithful admirers of the heroic Pucelle, whose aim is to



promote in the Church, not only her historical glorification, but also her solemn canonisation by the Holy See. This book is therefore at once a work of erudition and a labour of love. Under both aspects it deserves every praise. The first chapter gives a most interesting account of the efforts made after the death of Jeanne by English diplomacy to justify her execution in the eyes of Europe. It is clear that a general feeling existed that such a justification was much needed. All the British Ambassadors to the various European Courts were directed to inform their respective chancellories of the high political significance of Jeanne's execution, as an act "safeguarding the rights of the State against wilful imposture and gross superstition." The King of England wrote a long letter to the Emperor Sigismund on the subject, and later on he addressed similar apologetic documents to all the Princes of Christendom and to the French Bishops.

It is a fact that those efforts on the part of England did not prove useless. The case of the Pucelle was gradually becoming more and more obscured by the mass of contradictory assertions industriously circulated by the English party. The University of Paris, which had always shown itself opposed to Jeanne both before and after her death, openly sympathised with the views advocated by the English King, and wrote in their favour to the Pope and to the College of Cardinals. Thus the Spiritual Head of Christendom came to be appealed to in a question of great difficulty upon which two Catholic nations were divided.

Years were to elapse before the painful controversy thus raised was to be closed by an authoritative pronouncement of the Roman Pontiff. It is during those years that the Dominican Jean Bréhal contributed so much by his untiring labours and powerful writings to scatter the clouds of falsehood and calumny industriously accumulated by the enemies of the pure French heroine, and to prepare the ground for the triumphant vindication of her character and sanctity by the Vicar of Christ.

Jean Bréhal was born in Normandy in the early years of the fifteenth century. After a most successful course of studies at Evreux, he taught philosophy and theology, and, having been sent to Paris, was soon after appointed to the high office of Inquisitor General of France. Few men have filled this responsible post with more dignity, more learning, and more humanity than Jean Bréhal. He seems to have won the universal esteem and respect of his contemporaries, and to have magnified his office, not by any display of authority, but rather by a constant example of meekness and charity, and by the virtues of a blameless life. Such is the man who, by his very position, was pro-

videntially led to investigate the cause of Jeanne d'Arc, and ended by declaring himself the foremost champion of her honour and sanctity. Those of our readers who are interested in this fascinating subject should turn to the pages of this book for accurate information and for learned commentaries on the various facts which, when brought to light by careful researches and the acute reasoning of Bréhal, successfully demonstrated to Europe and to the Pope the utter baselessness of the fabrications raised against the humble and patriotic maid.

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**Europe, 1789-1815.** By H. MORSE STEPHENS, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, 8vo, pp. 421. Rivington, Percival & Co. Maps. 6s. London: 1893.

THIS book represents the seventh period in the course of European History published by Messrs. Rivington, Percival & Co., under the editorship of Mr. Arthur Hassall, M.A., of Christ Church, Oxford. It is not too much to say that the present volume is well worthy of its predecessors. To the student of European History such a compendium ought to be particularly welcome, presenting as it does, within reasonable limits and in a most intelligible form, a valuable summary of that highly important but highly complex epoch which extends from the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 to the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

The period from 1789 to 1815, that is, the era of the French Revolution and of the domination of Napoleon, marks, as Mr. Stephens justly says, one of the most important transitions in the history of Europe; modern principles took their rise during this epoch of transition, and their development underlies the history of the period and gives the key to its meaning.

The author then proceeds to say what these modern principles are. First, the principle of the sovereignty of the people came to be recognised. The eighteenth century had indeed fully asserted that government exists for the sake of the governed, but it had not gone so far as to assert also that government should be administered by the people. Now, on the contrary, says Mr. Stephens, it is believed that the government should be directed by the people through their representatives, and that it is better for a nation to make mistakes in the course of its self-government than to be ruled, be it ever so wisely, by an irresponsible monarch. Certainly this definition of the sovereignty of the people lacks neither accuracy nor humour. It does not assert that popular sovereignty necessarily means ideal perfection. It only says that the people, having obtained the mastery

in the State, mean to be the ruling power, under whatever time-honoured forms the exercise of that power may still be permitted.

The second political belief introduced between 1789 and 1815 is "the recognition of the idea of nationality, in contradiction to that of the State which prevailed in the last century." That idea has taken deep root in Europe. It asserts the existence of national boundaries and of race limits. Thus have been formed during this century new nations resting the *raison d'être* of their existence on the feeling of nationality and the identity of race. Obviously, this second principle is connected with the first. Peoples, impelled by racial affinities, gravitate towards each other, instead of being merely yoked together by the political wisdom of irresponsible monarchs.

The third modern idea which has so deeply affected the life of Europe is the recognition of the principle of personal and individual liberty. This principle led inevitably to the assertion of the other two, and thus were established the foundations of modern European politics.

These considerations afford a basis for all the considerations to which the author is led by the natural course of events. Fairness, candour, and moderation characterise his judgments, and his evident liberal tendencies do not blind him to the transitory good done by men in the name of opposite principles during the period with which he is specially concerned.

Mr. Stephens takes a depressed view of the state of religion in Europe in 1787. "Disbelief in the Christian religion was," he tells us, "general in both the Protestant and Catholic countries of the Continent." This is a very sweeping statement. He even mentions the case of Schutz, the Protestant pastor of Grilsdorf, who openly denied Christianity and taught simply that morality was necessary, but whom the High Consistory of Berlin declared nevertheless still fitted to hold his office as the Lutheran pastor of his village. This Schutz was a man in advance of his times, it would appear. But would Mr. Stephens assert that the England of the present day is totally devoid of Christian religion because so many Protestant ministers in the Establishment, and out of it, are teaching views of Christianity not sharply distinguishable from those of the good pastor of Grilsdorf?

Many readers will also perhaps take exception to the view formed by Mr. Stephens of the character of Robespierre. He declares that Robespierre was "a profoundly religious and virtuous man," and that the chief cause of his hatred of Hébert and Danton was his belief that they were immoral atheists. We confess our inability to follow the author on this point. That Robespierre had a religion of

his own is, of course, certain ; that he was a virtuous man, in the usual sense of the word, is much less clear. At any rate, his virtue was apt to assume a ferocious character, and the universal sense of relief experienced by his countrymen when he departed this life would tend to show that they experienced little regret either for the loss of his virtuous self or for the cessation of the reign of terror with which his name will ever remain associated.

B. K.

**Mémoires du Chancelier Pasquier.** Publiées par le Duc d'AUDRIFFRET PASQUIER : Tome deuxième (1812-1814). Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893. 8 frs.

THE first volume of Pasquier's memoirs was highly praised in our October number. Another has since appeared and fully bears out our expectation that it would equal its predecessor in interest. The last two years of the Empire teemed with tremendous events, and hence a whole volume of 450 pages is devoted to them. Pasquier did not of course go to Moscow ; but he tells us of the anxiety, the alarm, and finally the utter dismay of the people at home as they heard of the successive disasters of their Grande Armée. He has much to say of the extraordinary devotion of the French nation to the Emperor during his last gigantic efforts to turn the tide of victory. The tangled and disreputable story of the capitulation of Paris and the restoration of the Bourbons, may here be found narrated by one who was well placed to know all its secrets, and whose calm judicious temperament enables him to deal out justice to all the parties concerned. The prison-life of Pius VII. does not fill so large a space as it did in the earlier volume ; but whenever it is touched upon, the writer's sympathy with the much injured Pontiff is openly expressed.

T. B. S.

**Le Prince Charles de Nassau-Siegen, d'après sa Correspondance originale inédite de 1784 à 1789.** Par le MARQUIS d'ARAGON. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

THE Russian alliance again ! Here is the story of a brave soldier—partly French by descent and belonging to the French Army—who fought on land and sea for Catherine II, against the Turks and Swedes. His adventures during the five most eventful years of his life (1784-1789) are admirably described in the letters to his wife, now first published. His own career is interesting enough, but the reader will be even more struck by the sketches of the famous

personages with whom the hero came into contact during his absence from France. Catherine, of course, is frequently spoken of, and appears in a most favourable light; and he has much to say of Joseph II., Stanislaus Augustus, Gustavus III., the Prince of Kaunitz, Prince Potemkin, M. de Ségur, and many others. His great aim in life was to bring about a permanent alliance between France and Russia. Hence the opportuneness of the present volume.

T. B. S.

**The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the first Six Centuries.**

By T. LIVIUS, M.A., C.S.S.R.; with a Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. 8vo, pp. 481. London: Burns & Oates. 1893.

THIS monumental work—there is no other word for it—marks an epoch in the history of devotion to the Mother of God. As His Eminence in his preface remarks, it appeals alike to devout Catholics and to sincere and earnest inquirers outside the Church. The latter will have a stumbling-block removed which an uninstructed zeal for the honour of God had set in their path; and will learn that the language of St. Alphonsus and of the B. Grignon de Montfort is only a development of, where it is not the same as, that of the earliest Christian antiquity. Catholics, on the other hand, will find their devotion quickened by realising that in this, as in every other detail of the Christian life, they are the heirs of all the ages, and that they address Our Lady now in the same accents that were familiar to St. Ambrose or St. Ephrem. The subject had indeed been treated, in his own masterly way, by Cardinal Newman, in his well-known letter to Dr. Pusey; but the brevity of a pamphlet compelled him to leave many details unnoticed and many difficulties undiscussed, so that the greater part of the field was left unoccupied in our English literature until now. Happily Fr. Livius gives proof in the volume before us of possessing every quality needed for successfully dealing with such an important subject. The introductory chapters on development show his clearness in dealing with abstract questions, while almost every page testifies to his great erudition and industry, as well as to that sobriety of judgment which is the most valuable endowment of the true scholar. He is at his best when dealing with such delicate points as the History of the Assumption, or the language used by certain Fathers—such as Origen and St. John Chrysostom—which seems to impute doubt or fault to the Mother of God. It gives the reader confidence in his guide to find that difficulties are not denied or ignored, but discussed and reduced to reasonable pro-

portions. It is pleasant to find that his anticipation has been already realised, that further discovery of early Christian documents will add to the evidence he has accumulated. The apology of Aristides witnesses to the Virginity of Our Lady; and the fragment of the "Apocalypse of Peter" does the same for the intercession of the Saints in Heaven. The Pilgrimage of St. Silvia again, carries back the proof of the existence of the Festival of the Purification in Jerusalem to a much earlier date than was previously known. We do not see that Fr. Livius notices the Sibylline books which bear such abundant and unequivocal testimony to the prerogatives and intercession of Our Lady and of the saints in general, and which cannot be later than the fourth century. It is earnestly to be hoped that the learned author of this work and "St. Peter" will add to the debt which all English-speaking Catholics already owe him, by collecting the testimony of the primitive Church to other points of Catholic doctrine.

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**The Twelve Minor Prophets, expounded by C. Von Orelli.**

Translated by Rev. J. S. BANKS. 8vo, pp. 405, 10s. 6d.  
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

WE very gladly welcome the appearance, in an English translation, of Dr. Orelli's useful commentary on the Minor Prophets. At a time when every one who deals with Scriptural subjects is expected, on pain of being thought hopelessly behind the age, to listen with bowed head to the oracular utterances of the "higher criticism," one naturally turns first to those pages of a newly published commentary which may be expected to disclose the writer's attitude in this particular, and to show whether he is a worshipper at the shrine of Wellhausen, or whether he takes up an independent position, with due subordination of course—in the case of a Catholic—to guiding principles of a higher order than philology and analysis can supply. Dr. Orelli is, of course, not a Catholic, and it is all the more pleasant to find that he arrives, by sheer force of honest reasoning and common sense, at conclusions with which for the most part, a Catholic may cordially agree, but which are in marked opposition to those of the critics whose influence is now all too dominant. To such critics not a few passages in the Minor Prophets are a sad stumbling-block, since they show as flourishing in full vigour, long before the Babylonian exile, ideas which we are for ever being told were distinctively exilic or post-exilic conceptions. This stumbling-block is, however, usually removed or evaded by the simple process of relegating the writings of the Prophets to a lower

date than they claim for themselves. Such, for instance, is the case with Joel, whose recognition of priests and sacrifices, and of Jerusalem as the appointed centre of national worship, is extremely distasteful to the advanced critic, and who consequently has been requested, like the guest in the parable, to sit down in a lower place, and confess his post-exilic origin. Hereupon, Dr. Orelli writes :

That Jerusalem-Zion is the theocratic centre of the land—yea, in a sense, of the earth—from which deliverance and doom issue, is no proof of late origin : for this is not merely the view held by Isaiah from the first, but even by Amos (i. 2), yea, by David : and the representation of Wellhausen, to the effect that only long after this king did the Temple at Jerusalem raise the claim to be Jehovah's proper abode in the land, is arbitrary ; the same may be said of the not seldom repeated assertion, that a pre-exilic prophet could not speak sympathetically of sacrificial rites (p. 76).

A mere assertion, however, that the assumptions of modern criticism are arbitrary, could hardly be accepted as a satisfactory proof of the early date of Joel. Orelli holds that "decisive evidence of the pre-exilic origin" of the book of Joel "is to be found in the literary references to it." Not only do Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel unmistakably reflect and expand the language of Joel, but several passages in Amos (i. 2 ; iv. 9 ; v. 18, 20 ; ix. 13) are no less dependent upon the earlier prophet. "Only in ch. iii. 5 do we recognise an express reference to a prophetic oracle, and that Obadiah's" (p. 77).

We are glad to see that Dr. Orelli takes his stand on the historical character of the book of Jonah, and maintains, against a whole army of modern commentators, the physical actuality of the miracle with which that Prophet's name is most inseparably associated. We could, indeed, have wished that he had expressed himself with rather less of hesitancy on this latter point ; but in days of rampant rationalism it is well to be thankful even for small mercies in the shape of protests against the prevailing spirit of the age. We transcribe a portion of Orelli's Introduction to Jonah :

What runs like a red thread through the whole, at last becomes a knot, whose unloosing in iv. 10 f. forms the glorious finale, which is here revealed as full of goodwill and love, in opposition to the limited, narrow-hearted notion current in Israel, and not impossible even to a prophet like Jonah ; while the conduct of the heathen to God, both that of the seamen and the Ninevites, must put the Jews to shame by their reverence for the Deity, and their ready repentance. The national limits of the Old Covenant are here wondrously broken through ; the entire heathen world opens as a mission field to the messengers of Jehovah. Thus the book, with its wide-hearted outlook on God's ways, and sharp criticism of the selfish spirit of the Jewish people, as a didactic work, is itself a miracle in the literature of this people (p. 170).

So extraordinary an event [as the fish miracle] is . . . to be understood from the moral significance of the entire history. If Peter, in the same Joppa, needed a heavenly vision before he set foot in the first heathen house, a still stronger divine interposition was necessary in the Old Covenant to overcome the resistance of the spirit of national self-righteousness. . . . The high significance of Jonah's mission to Nineveh is evident also from the way in which Jesus looks back to it, Matt. xii. 38 ff. (xvi. 4) ; Luke xi. 29 f. As Jonah found faith in the Ninevites, so Jesus will find faith in the heathen for a witness against this unbelieving generation, yet not without passing, like Jonah, through the abyss of Hades.\* . . . From this point of view, therefore, the miracle, which is a stumbling block to many, appears fully justified on religious grounds.† . . . Whoever, therefore, feels the religious greatness of the book, and accepts as authoritative the attitude taken to its historical import by the Son of God Himself, will be led to accept a great act of the God who brings down to Hades [Sheol] and brings up again, as an actual experience of Jonah in his flight from his Lord (pp. 172-2).

On the other hand, we are sorry to find that—as might, however, have been expected—Dr. Orelli speaks slightly of the Eucharistic interpretation of Mal. i. 11, an interpretation which—apparently in forgetfulness of Irenæus and of the *Didachê*—he strongly characterises as “Roman.” So, too, we regret that he has not seen his way to maintain the unity of the Book of Zechariah (*Zacharias*). The extraordinary disagreement among those who would assign to Zech. ix.-xiv. an author and a date other than those of chapters i.-viii., should warn the student not to be over hasty in drawing conclusions from internal characteristics of Deutero-Zechariah which have convinced Schrader and others that he must have lived in the days of Jeremiah, while they have led Stade to the no less confident conclusion that he is to be looked for in the third century B.C. It is fair to Dr. Orelli to say that he regards as of small account, in this case, critical arguments based upon the diversity of style which is observable in the earlier and in the later chapters of Zechariah ; but the grounds on which he himself maintains a double authorship appear to us singularly weak, especially when it is remembered that, in order to be available, they ought to be such as to outweigh the very strong presumption against the disintegration of a book which, in the canon, appears as the book of a single author. He writes :

A much more important point is, that the outward historical and political situation, presupposed in chaps. ix.-xiv., is not that of the age of Zerubbabel. In the First Part, among the heathen nations hostile to God's people, Babylon is prominent, and almost alone comes into view ; on the other hand, in chaps. ix.-xi., Syrians, Phœnicians, Philistines appear ;

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\* We have ventured to amend the translation here by a slight transposition of a very few words.

† “Appears,” &c. We presume that the writer's meaning is—as it ought to be—*φαίνεται ὡς* not *φαίνεται εἶναι*.



then as great powers, swallowing up the nation, Assyria and Egypt, finally Javan in the distance. The single cities of the Syrians, Phœnicians, and Philistines still enjoy a certain independence; Gaza, at any rate, still has its own king (ix. 3). . . . [Again] the chief moral and political faults, presupposed in Part II., are pre-exilic. This part still contends chiefly against idolatry (x. 2), and regards the extirpation of the false prophets as yet future; their number must still have been great at the time when Zech. xiii. 2-6, was written. . . . [Yet elsewhere], generally speaking, after the Exile there is no complaint about idolatry, and little about false prophets, &c. (pp. 306, 307).

It is curious that a writer who fully recognises the prophetic character of prophecy (a tautology which in view of modern rationalism is not meaningless) should not see that the passage in which mention is made of the cities of Philistia, Gaza, Ashkelon and Ekron, looks forward to a time yet future when these cities shall once more fall, one by one, before an advancing conqueror. And who is this conqueror? No Assyrian or Egyptian, but a son of Javan, as is implied in ix. 13. Assyria and Egypt are indeed mentioned in x. 10, but as countries whence the people of God shall be led back after that "more general Exile" of which the prophet has spoken in the previous verse: "I will scatter them (*σπερῶ*, LXX.) among the nations, and they shall remember me in the far countries"; words in which the "dispersion" (*διασπορά*) of a later day is much more aptly expressed than—as Orelli supposes—the Assyrian exile. It is hardly necessary to insist that the state of things represented in ix. 3-6, the fall of Tyre and of the cities of Philistia, falls in precisely with the history of the conquest of Alexander on his way to Egypt, or to remind Dr. Orelli that in that history not only do the sieges of Tyre and of Gaza occupy a prominent position, but very particular mention is made of the Governor or Prince of Gaza, who is evidently regarded by Josephus as having been a personage of considerable importance. (Ant. Jud. XI. viii. 3). As to the supposed absence of idolatry from the catalogue of the sins of the Jewish People after the Exile, it is perhaps wiser to regard Zech. x. 2 as supplementing the imperfect information which we have from other sources than to assume a contradiction of which we have no proof, and then—in order to avoid the supposed contradiction—to shift the date of Deutero-Zechariah by a century or two. It should further be observed that the form of idolatry to which Zech. x. 2 refers is the private and domestic cult of the *Teraphim*, not a public and organised worship of the deities of a Philistian, or Babylonian, or Assyrian Olympus.

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**Historic Towns: York.** By JAMES RAINE, M.A., D.C.L., Chancellor and Canon Residentiary of York. 8vo, pp. 223. London: Longmans and Co.

CANON Raine's long and honourable connection with historical and antiquarian research in all that appertains to the story of the North of England, clearly pointed to him as the scholar pre-eminently qualified to undertake the task of writing the account of that ancient city for the series of "historic towns," planned by the late Professor Freeman. The learned volumes which the Canon has edited for the Rolls Series and the Surtees Society, his life-long study of all that bears upon our Northern antiquities, have earned for him the fullest right to speak with authority on the points in question; an authority that is hereditary as well as personal, so long and honourably have his family been associated with antiquarian lore. But it is not only to men of learning that the fame of Canon Raine is known. Even the navvies of old Ebor trust to finding in him appreciation, explanation, and, generally, purchase of the mysteries they turn up in the course of their delving.

The book before us is distinctly of a popular nature. Nevertheless, it is a work of genuine merit; and will be welcomed alike by the general reader and the scholar. It is no mere compilation from histories and guide-books, brightened by the local colouring that could be gained in a week's rush round the neighbourhood. It is, on the other hand, the highly condensed result of the cumulative studies of years. Much of the information is first-hand. Indeed, the only serious complaint to be found with the work is that the condensation is too complete. That, however, is no fault of the author, but rather the defect of the series, of which the volume forms a part. York, Alcuin's "*Altera Roma*" and "*Emporium terræ*" in Roman Britain, with all its historic past, has to be treated in the same number of pages as its namesake in the New World.

The work is divided into three parts. The first deals with the general history of the city. Authentic details of the Roman city are few and meagre; but Canon Raine has carefully gathered together the scanty fragments of genuine history, and by the light of the knowledge gained from his antiquarian researches, has been able to fill in the bare outlines, and present us with a graphic picture of the old Roman Capital of Northern Britain. The story is carried down, intermingled with much curious information, to the Revolution of 1688.

In the second part a rapid survey is taken of the ecclesiastical history of the city, education and the urban charities. This separation of the general and ecclesiastical history of the city, imperfect

though it is owing to the close connection and mutual dependence of Church and State in the Middle Ages, certainly conduces to clearness. Part III. is taken up with a short notice of the Municipality and its Constitutional History.

The work is doubly welcome to the Catholic. There is little or nothing that we could have wished unsaid. Perhaps there are points on which we could have desired fuller treatment—the troubles connected with the Reformation, for instance; the Council of the North, and the Persecution of the Catholics. These, however, we feel sure, have had to be sacrificed, along with many others, to the exigencies of the series. The courteous and ready assistance given by Canon Raine to the late Father John Morris, S.J., on the subjects in question forbids the conclusion that the Canon is either uninterested in these matters or has burked the relation of them.

As a matter of fact, there are scattered up and down the work numerous admissions and straightforward statements which, coming as they do from so high an authority as Canon Raine, cannot fail to abate the virulence of the Protestant Tradition. The learned Canon writes in the spirit of Lingard, not of Hume.

Here is a description of the results of the rebellion in favour of Mary Stuart in 1569 :

One of the consequences of this rebellion was the increased severity with which the Roman Catholics were persecuted all over the province of York. Woe to the poor wretches who fell into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Priests were hunted down like vermin. Attendance at Church and at the Holy Communion was rigidly enforced. Everything that savoured of Roman Catholicism was checked and attacked (p. 110).

The work abounds with facts and matter that will be found useful in the combat against the "Continuity Theory." We may instance, as an example of what we mean, how on the death of Queen Eleanor, the Archbishop wrote to King Edward I. telling him that 47,528 Masses had been said in the Archdiocese of York for the repose of her soul (p. 66).

Speaking of the attitude of the people towards the work of the Reformation, Canon Raine says :

Still [in spite of known abuses], the hearts of the people in York were not turned away from their old forms and belief. They clung to them and suffered for their adhesion. There was no district in England where so stern a system of suppression and repression was forced upon an unwilling and slowly yielding people. The clergy in the latter half of the sixteenth century were very closely watched and looked after. Secret agents of the Roman Catholic Colleges of Douay and Rheims were flitting about the country encouraging their co-religionists and trying

to bring others over. The severity with which they were punished acted in favour of their cause (p. 186).

Canon Raine's work whets the appetite for more. He has been compelled to omit much. Something more in the way of maps might certainly have been supplied to guide the reader through the multitude of allusions to names and places. We have reason to hope that the author has in contemplation a larger and more complete work. Meanwhile, the general reader will find much reliable information concerning the Minster, its stained glass, heraldry, &c., in a handy but somewhat elaborate guide-book by Mr. Geo. Benson, published by Ben Jonson & Co., of York. The present Dean of York, the Very Rev. Cust, has also published a monumental work upon the Heraldry of the Minster.

J. B. M.

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**La Dévotion a Saint Joachim.** Par l'Auteur "De la Dévotion a Sainte Anne." 8vo, pp. xiv.—412. Paris: Téqui.

THERE can be no doubt that during the Pontificate of the present Pope, whose Patron Saint is St. Joachim, devotion to the Father of Our Blessed Lady has received a new impetus. In Rome, near the Vatican itself, a majestic basilica is being raised in honour of this Holy Patriarch, which will serve as a memorial of the Episcopal Jubilee of Leo XIII. The present volume is not a mere manual of prayers, as might be inferred from the title. It is an attempt at making known the prerogatives and the virtues of the Saint. To this end the author considers these four points: (1) As St. Joachim had been predestined to be the father of the Immaculate Virgin Mary, what must God have done to prepare him for such a dignity? (2) What must St. Joachim have done to prepare himself? (3) This double preparation being presupposed, how did St. Joachim fulfil the obligations of the office received by him from God? (4) To what degree of glory has St. Joachim been raised in the Heavenly Jerusalem; what tribute of veneration and love is due to him from the children of the militant Jerusalem, and what favours may they hope to obtain through his intercession whilst they are in this vale of tears and perils? Of course in a work of this kind there must be much that is only conjectural, but the author always gives some good authority and some reason of convenience for any opinion he may suggest. It is, however, to be regretted that he did not know, or at least did not make use, of a work which exhaustively treats the same subject, called "*Vita e Culto dei SS. Genitori di Maria Vergine, Gioachino ed Anna*," by Abbot Trombelli. In this book the learned

writer, whose theological works are held in such esteem, gives all that is known concerning the name, the parents, the condition, the prerogatives of St. Joachim. That the author of the French work did not consult Trombelli's book is all the more regrettable, as there are in it some ancient hymns, prayers and devotions in honour of St. Joachim, which might have been drawn upon to expand and give variety to the devotional part of this Manual.

A. A.

**Memorials of Mr. Serjeant Bellasis (1800-73).** By EDWARD BELLASIS, *Lancaster Herald*. London: Burns & Oates. 1893.

SEVERAL very important and deeply-interesting contributions, in the form of biographies, have appeared during the past few years towards the history of that remarkable and in many respects unique chapter of intellectual and spiritual history which goes by the compendious title of the "Oxford Movement." Among these publications, this handsome volume of Mr. Bellasis's will take an important place. For though Serjeant Bellasis, as his son puts it, "was not one of the more conspicuous public men of his day," yet his intimate relations with men like Wiseman, Newman, Hope-Scott, Ward, and other leaders of that stirring epoch make his biography one of unusual interest, and one which throws innumerable side-lights upon the religious history of many of his more famous contemporaries. A brief notice like this is not the place to give either a complete summary or a detailed review of the book in hand. And if we were to begin to quote striking or interesting passages, we fear we should be tempted to lay under contribution almost every other page of a delightful volume. One point, however, has struck us more forcibly than usual in perusing these pages, and we refer to it because it seems to contain a lesson of the highest value for us Catholics. This is the very great part played in Bellasis's conversion—quite apart from intellectual agencies and the influence of Newman and the Tractarian school—by Catholic life and example. This was brought home to the Serjeant in two different spheres: on the Continent of Europe by the religious life and behaviour of the Catholics he saw in Belgium, Bavaria, Tyrol, and other Catholic lands; and, later on, by the daily life of Catholic families in England. Concerning his impressions of Catholicism abroad, he wrote in August 1843, seven years before his reception into the Church:

The notion that I should find the foreign Catholics indifferent was very soon dispelled; the very manner in which I saw a French steersman at

the helm of his vessel take off his cap on passing the large crucifix on the pier at Dieppe surprised me, and the earnestness and devotion I saw in the churches was something quite new to me, but then I fell back upon the idea that it was all superstition and idolatry, fraud in the priests, and ignorance in the people.

Of the higher classes of laity in the countries in which I have travelled I have seen nothing, but I have seen a good deal of the priests, of the poor, and of the schools for the children of the poor; and the more I saw, the more and more I became convinced how utterly groundless my impressions were. Of the priests (I speak now of Belgium and Prussia, where I saw them most) I have a very pleasing recollection; here and there I met with a mere argumentative theologian, but as a body I was struck by their kindness of manner and simplicity of life; although in the conversations I had with them I might not agree with them, yet the very idea that they were not honest and sincere quite shocks and distresses me. I feel and still feel convinced that they were religious men.

That the poor are ignorant is, I believe, an entire misapprehension; I never talked to any who were so; I should say they are far, very far better instructed in religious knowledge than our own people of the same class, and their attention to their religious duties is, to my mind, quite affecting. I have seen in large manufacturing towns, hundreds upon hundreds of work-people in their working dress at Mass at five o'clock in the morning before going into the factories, with their books, and joining heartily in the service, and I need scarcely say what a contrast this forms to the habits of the same class of persons in this country.

I have visited also many Catholic schools abroad, chiefly those under the superintendence of the Christian Brothers, and my opinion is that we have nothing to compare with them, either as to the regularity and order of the schools, the extent of the secular education, the carefulness with which religious instruction is conveyed, or the number and character of the masters.

Upon the whole, my last impression on returning from a foreign country (Belgium) to our own was, that I was coming out of a religious country into one of indifference; the open churches of the former, the frequent services, the constant worshippers, the solemn ceremonial, the collected air of the clergy in their ministrations, the indubitable devotion and reverence of the people, their unhesitating confidence in their Church, has nothing approaching to a counterpart with us; I know nothing more disheartening (I speak of the effect produced upon myself) than a return to England after some time spent in Catholic countries; everything seems so careless, so irreverent, so dead; with all my heart I wish, and especially for my children's sake, that I could see in this country some approximation to the solemnity, reverence, devotion, and earnestness which I have witnessed abroad.

All this may seem harsh towards my own country and my own Church, but they are nevertheless the impressions which I have derived from what I have seen; I am of course liable to be swayed by prejudice as well as others, but so far as I know myself, my prejudices, both those of education and family connection, were all the other way, and I feel they have been overcome by facts which are irresistible. I have now given you what you asked for: my impressions of the Church on the Continent, and you are quite at liberty to make what use of it you please (pp. 27-29).

These strong impressions made by the lives of Catholics abroad before Bellasis's conversion, were happily confirmed still more emphatically by his experiences of Catholic homes immediately

after that event. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure and edification of quoting the following passages :

I was kindly received by the Catholics to whom I had been introduced ; but more than this, I was highly edified by the habits of the Catholic households. I was particularly struck with the unobtrusive and natural manner in which religion was mixed up with the ordinary affairs and even amusements of life. And he gives the following instances of his meaning :

Whilst we were staying at Everingham, the hounds were on the lawn, and the horses of the guests parading in front, and groups of gentry preparing to start, when I went into the chapel ; there was no one there but Mr. William Maxwell [afterwards Lord Herries], and he was on his knees making his morning meditation in a scarlet coat and top boots. This looked to me, at first, like an incongruity. I soon saw, however, that it was not so. . . . On another occasion, whilst we were staying at Holme, I was up early on a Sunday morning, and had gone into the tribune of the chapel, which was a gallery opening from the staircase, and where I was not visible to any one in the chapel below ; at first there was no one, but after some time the sacristy door opened and the young lady of the house entered, who during the previous evening had been foremost in making merriment amongst a young party. She was not conscious of my presence, and proceeded to prepare the altar for Mass, doing this with such reverence and devotion that I could hardly believe her to be the same person who the night before had been acting charades and playing forfeits with such a merry countenance. Everything now was done with deliberation ; she never passed in front of the altar without kneeling, and everything was touched and handled so gently and so devotionally that she might have been serving in the presence of some great monarch ; she finally knelt and prayed, and retired. I had not yet learned the effect produced upon Catholics by the consciousness of the Presence of the Blessed Sacrament. . . . Again, whilst we were staying at Broughton Hall, I saw nothing in Sir Charles Tempest but a cheerful, courteous, good-humoured country gentleman, with strong political feelings ; he was not at all the man whom I should have expected to find at early morning alone in his chapel, and staying there during two Masses with unmistakable devotion. He practised his religion, but I do not think I ever heard him talk about it. Once more, Mr. Charles Waterton, a vigorous old man, the well-known naturalist, full of cheerful anecdote, with whom we spent some weeks at Walton Hall, was also a well-read theologian and liked to talk upon Catholic subjects. . . . After his wife's death, a blanket, a log of wood, and the bare floor, were all the appliances he had for sleeping. Also at four in the morning, winter and summer, he made a meditation bareheaded in the open air on the borders of his lake. But these acts of mortification appeared to be quite consistent in him with a joyful, not to say jovial, character. All these things were new to me.

The edification given to the Serjeant by these Catholic families is referred to by his wife. "These old Catholic Yorkshire houses are truly patriarchal," she writes, "and models of what Christian households may and ought to be. The *angelus* awakens us in the morning, Mass comes before breakfast, at noon *angelus* and again at sunset, family prayers at night, punctual to the minute, nobody absent from the church, and throughout the day religion forming one of the topics of conversation in the most natural way." And in describing a Christmas visit in 1859 to Wardour, after speaking of the festivities, she adds : "With all this, religion came

first and foremost ; daily Mass, always attended by the family and their dependents, night prayers, and the *angelus* bell " (pp. 107-109).

But we must stop. In spite of our good resolutions, our quotations have been, after all, we fear, rather too long. We conclude with sincerely congratulating the amiable and gifted Lancaster Herald upon his accomplishing so successfully this truly *pium opus*, and giving us a daring sketch of a daring life. He has largely added to its merits by an excellent and very complete alphabetical index.

A word of praise must be said of the beautiful portraits which illustrate it, especially the full-page engravings of Serjeant Bellasis and Mr. Hope-Scott, two each respectively. What singularly beautiful faces, full of virile perfection of type and intellectual nobility !

L. C. C.

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**Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem St. Augustin.** Von Dr.

THOMAS SPECHT. Paderborn : Schöningh. 1892. 8vo. VI. 354 pag.

GERMAN literature is not wanting in works on the problems connected with the theological and philosophical opinions of St. Augustine. Only last year it became indebted to Professor Woerter, in Freiburg (Baden), for his solid exposition of "the development of St. Augustine up to his baptism." Soon afterwards, Dr. Specht, professor of theology in the seminary of Dillingen (Bavaria), produced another work on the great Bishop of Hippo. This writer deals with St. Augustine's system or theory on the Church. He shows himself to be possessed of a thorough knowledge of St. Augustine's works. He has adopted the systematic method and, consequently, is grouping the saint's doctrine under a scheme which at once affords an insight far deeper than would have been gained by simply adhering to the chronological order. In seven sections he enlarges on the Church's institution, constitution, and organisation, her relation to Christ and the Holy Ghost, her qualities and notes, her infallibility, and the connection between the visible and heavenly Church. For proving his position, or refuting the views of those who differ from him, Dr. Specht throughout makes St. Augustine to speak in his own words. In his famous articles contributed to the DUBLIN REVIEW in the beginning of the Tractarian movement, Cardinal Wiseman very appropriately compared the Anglicans to the Donatists, who occupied so much of the care of St. Augustine. It is to Donatists and their votaries in every following century, down to the opponents of the Vatican Council, that



Dr. Specht pays special attention. Wherever we meet with opinions of St. Augustine which *seem* to favour any of the sects he is extremely careful to examine into the circumstances in which such utterances were delivered. Apparently conflicting statements are proved to be in full harmony with the general doctrine of the Saint as soon as they are seen in this context. A most striking example presents itself in the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church and the Infallibility of the Pope. Dr. Specht writes, p. 325: "According to St. Augustine the decisions in doctrinal questions given by the Bishop of Rome, the Pope, are endowed with infallibility." Of course a highly-developed pronouncement on this question would be looked for in vain in St. Augustine who, on the contrary, is touching on it only incidentally. But these occasional remarks fully suffice to establish, beyond any doubt, what the great doctor of the African Church taught on the Church's infallibility and indefectibility, as well as upon her exclusiveness and her superiority to any merely human institution. In refuting his adversaries Dr. Specht is mainly engaged with German Protestant or Gallican theologians, but I venture to contend that the book will prove to be a veritable storehouse for English Catholic scholars in dealing with the claims of Anglicanism of every shade.

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#### THE QUARTERLY SERIES.

**The Life of the Ven. Joseph Benedict Cottolengo, Founder of the Little House of Providence in Turin.** Compiled from the Italian Life of DON P. GASTALDI, by a Priest of the Society of Jesus.

**The Life of Augustus Henry Law, Priest of the Society of Jesus.** By ELLIS SCHREIBER.

**The Lights in Prayer of the Ven. Fathers Louis de la Puente, Claude de la Colombière, and the Rev. Father Paul Segneri, S.J.**

**Two Ancient Treatises on Purgatory** (Father JAMES MUMFORD, S.J., and Father RICHARD THIMELBY, S.J.). London: Burns & Oates. 1893.

**T**HE first volume of these four recent additions to the *Quarterly Series* is an extremely interesting narrative, well written and well translated, of a singularly attractive life. The Ven. Joseph Benedict Cottolengo is known by the gigantic home for the poor which he established in Turin. He was a man who thoroughly

believed in Providence. Some of his creditors, it would appear, had by no means equal confidence. Yet those who trusted him and were patient seem never to have lost their money. His life is one long exhortation to give up all for God and to trust completely in God.

The Life of Father A. H. Law, S.J., though perhaps needlessly minute for the general reader, will be valued by his numerous friends and by the Society to which he belonged. He was one of those beautiful characters that attract the hearts of all men, and his lonely death, in the northern parts of Matabeleland, is as touching and pathetic as anything in the lives of holy missionaries.

Two of the treatises in the third volume on our list have been already published in English; but we are informed that they have now been re-translated by the same writer who gives us the translation of the third. Each of them is a sort of record or diary of the "lights" received during the exercise of mental prayer by the eminent and saintly man who has left it to us. The Ven. de la Puente speaks with a fulness and a holy eloquence which will furnish many minds with abundant thought. The Ven. de la Colombière's "Retreat" is already well known. It is most practical and detailed. This is the "Retreat" of which Blessed Margaret Mary said that she had found therein the "devotion" to the Sacred Heart. But the holy Virgin must have said this more out of humility than for any other reason, as the references of Father de la Colombière to the Sacred Heart in these pages are very few and not particularly striking. The characteristic of the treatise by F. Segneri is its masterly and abundant handling of Holy Scripture. The late Father John Morris writes a valuable preface to the volume.

The reprint of the two devotional Treatises on "Purgatory" will be useful. This volume is also enhanced by a contribution from Father John Morris on the "Heroic Act of Charity." Whilst giving much valuable information, he seems to say (p. 111) that the increase of personal charity consequent on making the "Heroic Act" may, if we so wish it, be detached from us as far as "satisfactory" efficacy goes. This seems incompletely expressed. Surely the more we "offer" the more we merit? And if, by a reflex act, we still again "offer" such merit as accrues from offering, we merit still more; so that, by detaching our "satisfaction," we personally satisfy still more. St. Gertrude, when about to die, was concerned at having entirely applied her merits to the souls in Purgatory and done nothing for herself; but Jesus said to her: "Gertrude, be not troubled; your charity towards the souls in Purgatory has been so agreeable to me that after death you will be exempted from Purgatory."

**Direction du Conscience.** Lettre à une Supérieure religieuse. 3me. edition. Traduit de l'Italien (du Père S. FRANCO) par l'Abbé A. E. GAUTIER. Paris : Téqui. 1893.

MANY religious Superiors will be glad that Padre Franco's useful Commentary on the Decree of December 17, 1890, regarding Manifestation of Conscience and Holy Communion has been translated into French. It forms a *brochure* of about 180 pp.

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**Avis et Réflexions sur les Devoirs de l'État religieux.**  
Par un RELIGIEUX BÉNÉDICTIN.

THIS is the work which is understood to be referred to by St. Alfonso when he says in "The True Spouse of Jesus Christ," "Read the works of St. Francis de Sales, of St. Theresa, of Father Louis of Grenada, of Saint-Jure, Meremberg, Pinamonti, and the like, and *above all the Advice to Religious* by the Fathers of St. Maur." The writer was Dom Du Sault, who died at Avignon in 1724. In a solid and eloquent style these two volumes treat of every point of religious life. They are a treasure for superiors, novice-masters, and retreat-givers.

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**Founders of Old Testament Criticism.** By T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D. 1893. London: Methuen & Co.

PROFESSOR CHEYNE is well known as an ardent champion of the "Higher Criticism." He has already published much in this sense; amongst other works being his Commentary and Bampton Lectures on the Psalms, and his "Prophecies of Isaiah." We do not sympathise with a large proportion of the views contained in these volumes; but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that they are scholarly productions, and that many hints may be gained from them by Catholic students.

The volume before us may be briefly described as a glorification of the authors and methods of the "higher criticism." Perhaps the spirit that animates it may be most clearly seen in a brief sentence with which the preface closes. "It (Biblical Criticism) has a great history behind it, and a still greater one may, let us hope, be before it."

Such being the object that Professor Cheyne sets before himself, we cannot quarrel with him for the men he has chosen to eulogise; or the point of view from which he approaches the story of their lives. The most favourable criticism, if it be impartial, must declare

the object of the work to be polemical, not judicial. The author's part is that of the advocate, not that of the student. He holds a brief for the "higher criticism," and is down on anything which does not support it. Indeed, in some cases, he seems to attribute a want of sympathy with modern criticism to sheer dishonesty of purpose.

A work of this kind may indeed be interesting to a certain class of readers; but obviously it will not be acceptable to the ordinary Catholic reader. Indeed, even those students who desire to gain some insight into the history of modern Biblical criticism might well turn to a more impartial treatise for information.

Professor Cheyne's notices of Delitzsch and Sayce illustrate the *animus* with which he approaches his subject.

Our author had a natural liking for Delitzsch; still he does not conceal his opinion that he was never more than half a critic. The principle on which he treats the literary career of the great German commentator is simple. It consists in more or less deploring the results of his earlier years' study, and applauding his later efforts. Why so? Because for a long time, though Professor Cheyne assures us he never "identified himself with traditionalism," still Delitzsch sympathised with conservative scholarship. Accordingly the results obtained during this period are depreciated. On the other hand, the fifth edition of the "Commentary on Genesis," in which Delitzsch falls into line with the higher criticism, is a great work, "stimulating and instructive," and "a proof not only of physical, but of moral energy."

Professor Cheyne will hardly allow that Sayce acts honestly. This is apparently because, having at one period favoured the teaching of the "higher criticism," in later years his mind has been tending towards traditional views. Accordingly, our author seems hurt at Sayce's publications in the Religious Tract Society series; and at the influence the opinion of such a man is having on the thought of the day. It never seems to have occurred to him that Sayce's change of opinions has been brought about by his study of Assyriology; nor does he deny that, in that science, Sayce stands in the very front-rank of scholarship. But the "higher criticism" is the only field worth labouring in, according to Professor Cheyne; and any man who forsakes that happy land, is a kind of apostate.

One must regret [he writes of Sayce] not less for his own sake than for the cause of progress, that he should popularise so many questionable theories, and that in doing so, he should make so many concessions to a most uncritical form of traditional theology. There was a time when he was not ashamed to be called a friend by the unpopular Bishop Colenso; a time, when he tried his skill in problems of the "higher criticism"; a

time, not so far distant, when he delivered the Hibbert Lectures. Now, however, I find him coupled as an orthodox apologist with one of the most uncritical of living theologians.

The volume before us contains a short eulogy on our school of Biblical interpretation. It is undoubtedly clever and ably written. But it is pervaded by a one-sidedness which detracts much from its merits.

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**Beati Alberti Magni Episcopi Ratisbonensis de sacrosancto Corporis Domini Sacramento Sermones, juxta manuscriptos codices necnon editiones antiquiores accurate recogniti.** Per GEORGIUM JACOB. Ratisbonæ: Pustet. 1893. 8vo, XIV.-272 pag.

CANON Jacob, of Ratisbon Cathedral, has rendered an important service to scholastic theology by issuing in an excellent critical edition the sermons delivered on the Blessed Sacrament by Albert the Great, under whose tuition St. Thomas of Aquina was educated in Cologne. Certain scholars, amongst whom we may especially mention Benedetto Bonelli, were anxious to attribute the sermons collected in the above volume to St. Bonaventure. But recently the editors of the Saint's works, the Franciscan Fathers of the College of St. Bonaventure at Quaracchi, near Florence, by the solid arguments adduced have proved the point that the sermons cannot claim St. Bonaventure as their author. Canon Jacob refutes with much care the opinion of those writers who attribute the sermons to St. Thomas, and, on the other side, fully succeeds in establishing the authorship of Albert the Great. In 1486 Peter of Prussia, who wrote the life of Albert, saw his autograph of the sermons in the convent of the Dominican Fathers in Cologne. Furthermore, as a matter of fact, the sermons are extant in numerous manuscripts of Albert's works. As to the contents of the sermons, in the edition of the works of Albert the Great (Lyons, 1651), they receive the eulogy of "sermones plane divini." They represent scholastic theology on the Blessed Sacrament in its best form, having combined with it the mystical element by which the great mediæval doctors were so largely influenced. Canon Jacob has spared no pains to enrich his edition by learned critical and exegetical notes and good indexes.

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**Dictionnaire de la Bible.** Publié par F. VIGOUROUX. Fascicule V. Athènes—Beck. Paris : Letouzey et Ané. 1893.

WE have already more than once recorded our appreciation of this latest work of M. Vigouroux. We have only one fault to find with the editors : that is the time they are taking over the publication of the work. Unless something is done to hasten its progress, we shall have to wait twelve or fifteen years before we are in complete possession of M. Vigouroux's Bible Dictionary.

It is unnecessary to add anything to what we have already said in regard to the opportuneness of the appearance of the present work. There is no lack of Bible Dictionaries among non-Catholics—*e.g.*, Smith's and Herzog's. But for an exhaustive Catholic Dictionary of the Bible, we have to go back to Calmets ; and that is surely somewhat out of date.

In the present number there are important articles on Babylonia, the prophet Baruch, and Balaam, besides a number of treatises of lesser interest.

We may remind our readers that Vigouroux's Bible Dictionary contains notices of all the names of persons, places, plants and animals occurring in sacred Scripture, besides articles on a large number of theological, archæological, scientific and critical questions connected with the sacred volume.

J. A. H.

**Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ.** Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthæum, auctore Josepho Knabenbauer, S.J. Parisiis : P. Lethielleux.

WE hail with sincere pleasure a fresh accession to the volumes of the "*Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ*," which is being brought out by the German Jesuits. The Holy Father has recently issued an important encyclical on the study of sacred Scripture ; and so nearly do the volumes of this series fall in with the views expressed in it, as to the manner in which the interpretation of the sacred text ought to be approached, that it might almost be said Leo XIII. had this series in view when he wrote.

The Gospel of St. Matthew, according to Catholic tradition, was written chiefly for the Palestinian Jews, to prove to them that Jesus was the Messiah. Father Knabenbauer is qualified in a very special way to write a commentary on that Gospel, for he has for years been engaged in the study of the Old Testament ; and he is the author of the commentaries that have appeared in this series on the major and minor prophets.

The work before us, which is in two volumes, opens with an introduction treating of the life of St. Matthew ; a proof that he was the author of the Gospel usually attributed to him ; a discussion of the object with which the Gospel was written, and, finally, a notice of the chief aids one has at hand in the work of interpreting it. There is nothing new in this part of the work, but old arguments are brought forward in such a way as to do service against modern objections.

The interpretation of the Gospel itself is thorough and exhaustive. We cannot obviously here enter into a detailed criticism of it, nor would there be any advantage in attempting to pursue such a course. We must content ourselves with showing the lines upon which the author advances in his work.

The method pursued is clear and logical. The Gospel is divided into four parts, two of which are treated in the first volume, and two in the second. The first part (1, 1-4, 11) embraces the early life of Christ, and the preaching of John the Baptist. In the second part (4, 12-13, 56) Christ is set forth as the Messiah and promulgator of the New Law. He is represented as choosing His disciples, working miracles, and a teacher of men. The third part (14, 1-20, 28) exhibits Christ to us as the teacher of His apostles. He instructs them in holiness of life, strengthens their faith by miracles, warns them against false doctrines, and prepares them for His passion. Finally, the fourth part (20, 29-28, 20) describes the last days of Christ's public life, His passion, death and resurrection.

The whole work being thus divided, the Gospel is explained chapter by chapter. The Vulgate and the Greek text are printed in parallel columns, and all textual difficulties are thoroughly threshed out in appended notes. Then follows the interpretation of the subject-matter of the text itself, which is based upon, and largely illustrated by quotations from, the writings of the fathers. Here, too, one sees the advantage of the author's intimate acquaintance with Hebrew, and with the old Testament writings. For, with the aid of this knowledge, he is often able to throw light upon phrases and expressions in a work originally written in Hebrew (properly Syro-Chaldaic) by a Hebrew, for the Hebrews.

There is a series of appendices at the end of the work, dealing with various objections brought by rationalists against the sacred volume. They have been relegated to the end of the second volume, because the author did not wish "to interrupt the interpretation and explanation of the Gospel for animadversions against rationalists who use all their endeavours to prevent the obvious sense of such narratives as record miracles, trying with all their might to remove and exclude miracles from the Gospel narrative." The appendices

treat of such questions as the Davidic origin of Jesus, His original birth, the story of the Magi, the temptations of Christ, the transfiguration, &c. &c., and occupy altogether about seventeen pages.

If we were disposed to criticise Father Knabenbauer's commentary, we should suggest that its usefulness would have been greater if this part of the work had been enlarged. If, for instance, at the end of each of the four parts into which the commentary is divided, the author had entered into a thorough defence of disputed points. Such discussions are no doubt distasteful to Catholic interpreters, as tending to give a profane character to what is largely a sacred subject ; but still, we must take facts as we find them. Rationalistic objections are making havoc of Christian belief. And accordingly answers to these objections must be found and printed, at least in advanced treatises, on the sacred Scriptures.

We regret that Father Knabenbauer has not devoted more space to this branch of the subject. At the same time we bear ready testimony to the solidity and value of what he has actually accomplished. The Commentary on St. Matthew is a monument of Catholic learning and research.

J. A. H.

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**The Primer of Church Latin.** By René F. R. CONDER, B.A.  
8vo, pp. 111. London: Burns & Oates.

A fair acquaintance with the Latin language, to say naught of ripe classical scholarship, is far from being a necessary equipment of the Catholic: nevertheless such as possess it enjoy an undoubted advantage over the unlettered. The former only can fully explore and relish the manifold beauties and the solid piety which her liturgical prayers embody. Without wishing, with the Abbé Gaume, to see Lactantius and St. Chrysostom substituted in our schools for Livy and Demosthenes, we feel tempted to regret that our upper Catholic youth are not trained during their college days to admire more and to use more largely the Church's own forms of prayer, and to read with love the forcible though homely Vulgate. Is it not perhaps true that, after their entrance into life, the greater proportion of our young men, who have had the rare advantage of a sound classical education, prefer forms of prayer compiled in the vernacular to the beautiful "*ipsissima verba*" of St. Ambrose and St. Thomas and the ancient inspiring glories of the Canon? "*The Primer of Church Latin*" is the outcome of a desire to see the prayers of Holy Church more widely appreciated and used by her children, and it cannot be too much commended to the class of students for whom it is intended.



All examples illustrating syntax, as well as the exercises, are selected from the Vulgate or the prayers of the Church. The principles of pronunciation are, we are glad to see, laid down in accordance with Roman usage. May the book be the means whereby many will gain some sufficient insight into that noble language, in which, to use the Author's words, "the Catholic world has for centuries 'with one mouth glorified God,' " and into "that tongue in which the voice of the Universal Church speaks in unity throughout the whole world."

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**Le Comte Joseph De Maistre et sa Famille (1753-1852). Études et Portraits politiques et littéraires.** Par M. DE LESCURES. Paris: Chappelliez. 1893.

AS the end of the century is drawing nigh, the forces of both the Revolution and the Reaction are beginning to be spent. Each party now realises that there is some good in the other, and that the work of the next generation will be to secure the good and to eliminate the evil that is in both. This remark may seem a strange introduction to a notice of a life of Joseph De Maistre, who is looked upon as the most uncompromising champion of the old order. But I make it because such able advocates of the Revolution as Sainte-Beuve and Mr. John Morley have recognised that in him the Reaction is seen at its best. Moreover, the French Academy last year appointed De Maistre's life and writings as the subject of the essay for the prize of eloquence; and hence while M. De Paillette was delivering a course of lectures on this subject at the Institut Catholique, the anti-clerical student was provided with a similar course at the Collège de France. This shows a very different state of things from the time when the infidel party tried to laugh him down, and the French Catholics were half ashamed of their defender. But as usually happens in such cases, wit and logic have triumphed. De Maistre has proved that error is not the sole claimant of brilliancy; that orthodoxy need not be dull and heavy; that sparkling epigrams and withering sarcasm are never better employed than in the defence of the truth. Without being a theologian—perhaps, indeed, because he was not a theologian—he has set forth certain of the great principles of Catholicity in such a way as best to appeal to the honest and intelligent men of the nineteenth century. "You and I," he seems to say to them, "have no time or inclination for theological studies; but we want to get at the truth; we want to know something about our origin and destiny; we want some security against tyranny, whether royal or democratic. What say you to the following as a short and plain way of meeting our difficulty? There can

be no public morality or national character without religion; no religion, at least in Europe, without Christianity; no real Christianity without Catholicism; no Catholicism without the Pope, and no Pope without infallibility." Along this road he conducts them step by step, coaxing them by his wit or urging them on by argument, and finally landing them, to their great surprise, in the straitest Ultramontaniam.

While giving due prominence to the work which has had most to do with making De Maistre famous, M. Lescures takes care to let us see what manner of man he was, the vicissitudes of his public career, and especially the interesting details of his social and family life. His prolonged absence from home gave rise to a voluminous correspondence with his wife and children, most of which has happily been given to the world. It was the publication of these letters that first convinced his opponents that the writer of the vigorous polemic in favour of the Pope and the scathing attack on Bacon, did not deserve to be described as a "theocratic ogre" and the "bear of Savoy." Copious extracts from them are given in M. Lescures' book, and prove how charming the hard-headed diplomat and stern logician could be with his loved ones in his far-off home.

As for M. Lescures' volume there is only one word that is fit for it—it is excellent in every way. He has made admirable use of his materials, and from long familiarity with them his style has caught something of their point and charm. If one might desiderate something it would be a portrait of De Maistre with a fac-simile of his handwriting. And while we are asking for this we should feel tempted to go further and ask for an index, though there is a copious analysis at the head of each chapter.

T. B. S.

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**The Australian Commonwealth.** By GREVILLE TREGARTHEN. "The Story of the Nations." 8vo, pp. 444-51. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893.

**G**OVERNOR PHILIPS, as far back as the year 1788, described Australia as "the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made." The book recently added to the series known as the "Story of Nations" would certainly tend to justify the prophetic words of the first Governor of New South Wales. Although the work is written evidently with some haste, and with perhaps too narrow a view of what such a work should be, Mr. Tregarthen has nevertheless succeeded in conveying to his readers a clear sense of the immense importance and unlimited possibilities of the great South Land. He shows how boundless are its resources, how little is that

which has yet been done when it is compared with what remains to do, and what energy, enterprise, and self-reliance animate the people in whose hands are placed the destinies of Australia.

We miss, however, much that a book of this nature ought to supply. It is perhaps too much concerned with the details of colonisation, the political changes and commercial vicissitudes of the seven colonies, and too little with the natural features of the country, its original inhabitants and its fauna and flora. We feel sorry to see the author pass so rapidly over the most interesting subject of the Maoris, their physical characteristics and social customs; we should like to hear more about the natives, whose race is deserving of so much attention at the hands of anthropologists. The plants and animals of the country are scarcely mentioned at all. The book thus almost entirely consists of that which, no doubt, appears to the ordinary colonist most important and interesting, namely, the rise of trade; the fluctuations of the markets; the discovery of gold; the number of acres under cultivation; the condition of railways, and the state of local politics. On these points, however, the book is all that could be desired. It gives a brief but accurate account of the rise of each colony, and indicates the peculiar character of its commercial achievements and political tendencies.

Perfect autonomy animates each colony, and that autonomy, if it has its advantages, has also, as we might expect, its drawbacks. Anomalies of hostile tariffs, variation in the gauge of railways, to speak of no greater matters, show clearly the necessity of coming to some sort of arrangement whereby the life of the various provinces might be harmonised, without affecting their individual rights. The author testifies to the desirability of a scheme of federation which would unify the country, when he says: "It is difficult to foretell how or when the desired consummation will be reached, but the sooner a federal Government is established, the sooner will the colonies of Australia take their proper place among the nations of the world."

Mr. Tregarthen gives also a brief but interesting account of the Eight Hours' Movement in Australia, and our readers will be glad to hear that the great Southern Colony has already settled a question which is still a cause of agitation and trouble in the Mother Country. The Eight Hours' Movement seems to have begun in Australia in 1860. It first commenced in New Zealand, then was taken up by the stonemasons of Sydney, and a little later by various classes of operatives in Melbourne. Thus the movement gradually spread from one trade to another until now the "Eight Hours' Day" is the recognised working period in most occupations, and the annual com-

memoration of its inauguration is made the occasion of a general public holiday.

The Education question, of course, exists also in Australia. Until 1880, the principle of granting State aid to religious schools, although unpopular, nevertheless prevailed. But by a new Act passed in that year by the State of New South Wales, the educational system of the Colony was entirely remodelled. Public schools were established in which the teaching was to be strictly non-sectarian. We remark that the secular instruction is supposed to include "general religious teaching as distinguished from dogmatic or polemical theology." We should much like to know how much actual Christianity that "general religious teaching" represents. However, it is stipulated that one hour each day may be set apart for religious instruction to be given in a separate class-room by the clergyman or religious teacher of any persuasion, according to the wish of parents.

Attendance at school is compulsory between the ages of six and sixteen. For the poor, education is practically free. Children attending schools are allowed to travel free by rail. Parents are not compelled to send their children to the public schools, but have free choice in the matter, the State only insisting that instruction shall be given.

We have said enough to show how much matter of the highest interest is contained in this new volume of "The Story of the Nations."

B. K.

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**Dix Ans de Paix Armée entre la France et l'Angleterre (1783-1793.)** Par le Marquis DE BARRAL-MONTFERRAT, Tome 1er. Large 8vo, pp. 374. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

THE Peace of Versailles (1783) between France and England was recognised by both parties as merely a truce on suspension of hostilities. The French, elated by the exceedingly favourable terms which they had obtained, were eager to follow up their success and to blot out once for all the memory of the disastrous Treaty of Paris twenty years before; while the English, smarting under the loss of their colonies and a number of their West Indian possessions, felt that they had been taken at a disadvantage and that another war would restore them to the proud position which they had held under the great Lord Chatham. Nevertheless the peace, such as it was, lasted for ten years. The younger Pitt, who ruled England during nearly the whole of this period, was, notwithstanding all French efforts to the contrary, steadfastly opposed to a renewal of the war. It was not until after the execution of Louis XVI. that he was

obliged to give way, and even then it was the French who formally declared war.

These ten years of armed peace between the two countries are the subject of M. de Barral-Montferrat's book. The first volume—the only one as yet published—deals with the earlier half of the period. The treatment is excellent. The learned writer has taken his materials at first hand from the English Public Record Office and the national archives of the Quai d'Orsay, and has worked them up in that orderly fashion and with that charm of style for which his countrymen are renowned. But the English reader may ask why so much labour should be spent on the study of a period which is devoid of interest compared with the stirring times which followed. The reply to this question, which indeed is asked and answered by M. Barral-Montferrat himself, throws light on the choice of subjects and the method of treatment among French historical writers at the present day. They are realising more and more that to understand their Great Revolution they must carefully study the apparently unimportant events which preceded it. This is one reason for the appearance of M. Barral-Montferrat's book. But there is also another and a stronger one which is particularly insisted on. No Frenchman can forget the terrible year 1870. The determination to have the "Revanche," if not always on his lips, is ever in his mind. His teachers are continually setting before him the example of great nations who have been vanquished for a time, as even France has been, and have afterwards risen more gloriously than before. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*, and so even perfidious Albion may be set up as a model. But when did she fall so low as France after 1870? M. Barral-Montferrat believes that her condition in 1783 was even worse than that of his own country after it had been overrun by the Germans and was crippled with the loss of two provinces and five hundred million pounds! He must pardon us if we cannot go all the way with him here. We can allow that the Peace of Versailles was a humiliating one, and that at the end of the Napoleonic wars England had raised herself to the position of the greatest Power in the world. There is much to be learned in the examination of the measures by which she accomplished this, and M. Barral-Montferrat and his countrymen are welcome to profit by the lesson.

T. B. S.

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**The Process of Argument: a Contribution to Logic.** By ALFRED SIDGWICK, author of "Fallacies," "Distinction, and the Criticism of Beliefs," &c. 8vo, pp. 235. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1893.

MR. SIDGWICK has no great respect for formal Logic and the doctrine of Syllogism. He considers that the study of the traditional Logic may be of value for those that have time to pursue it as a portion of the general history of Philosophy, and may possibly be useful as an exercise in mental gymnastics, but that for the purpose of gaining an insight into the distinction between sound and unsound inference it is doubtful whether it does not do more harm than good. We cannot agree with Mr. Sidgwick in this estimate of the Logic of the Schools, nor can we go with him when he invites us to regard causal sequence as nothing more than perfect regularity of sequence. Whoever discredits the apodictical syllogism will have little respect for the principle of causality. and whoever discredits the principle of causality must question the possibility of science. Mr. Sedgwick assures us that so long as we can be certain of perfectly regular sequence we have all that we require. Yes, all that we require for vulgar knowledge, for the knowledge that the thing is and will be; but once exclude the strictly causal sequence and the "why" of the thing as well as the "why" of the perfectly regular sequence must remain impenetrable enigmas. But though we differ widely from Mr. Sidgwick on the points mentioned, we consider the "Process of Argument" a thoroughly readable and, on the whole, a useful and instructive book. The style is easy and flowing, the illustrations are many and are interesting, and the author displays considerable power of analysis.

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## Reviews in Brief.

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**The Brontës in Ireland.** By DR. WILLIAM WRIGHT. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893.—Dr. Wright has compiled a volume which is not only as interesting as a romance, but also of considerable literary value from the additional light it throws on the Celtic origin of the Brontë genius, so evidently the common inheritance of a race. He has, however, included in his narrative much debateable matter, and the thrilling story of the childhood of old Brontë, Charlotte's grandfather, resting only on his own *ipse dixit*, without a scrap of corroborative evidence, reads rather like a product of that imaginative faculty which achieved such splendid culmination in the third generation of his descendants than a sober statement of fact. The bizarre fancy which rendered the hero of the tale so unrivalled a *raconteur* was associated, too, with a strain of eccentricity bordering on insanity apparently, transmitted to some of his sons.

**Apples Ripe and Rosy, Sir.** By MARY CATHERINE CROWLEY. Office of the "Ave Maria," Notre Dame, Indiana, 1893.—This charming collection of stories for boys and girls, reprinted from the "Ave Maria," would form a Christmas gift likely to gladden juvenile hearts. The tales have the fresh brightness which we associate with Transatlantic literature, and convey a wholesome moral so unobtrusively as in no degree to mar their interest with the suspicion of "goodness."

**Guide to the Oratory.** Edited by HENRY SEBASTIAN BOWDEN, Priest of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates, 1893.—This prettily illustrated volume will supply a want felt by the many strangers who visit the Oratory as one of the sights of London, while adding to the interest with which Catholics regard a building in which they all take pride. It gives a complete account of its artistic treasures, with a short sketch of the principal devotions illustrated by them, and a summary history of the Order and its establishment in England.

**The Merry Month, and other Prose Pieces.** By HENRY BELLSE BAILDON. London: Fisher Unwin, 1893.—These miniature essays, which, as the preface tells us, have already appeared in the daily press, have a fanciful charm which justifies their republication.

The later ones, descriptive of the Ober-Ammergau Play, are the most interesting of the series, and give a vivid picture of the powerful impression produced by that wonderful representation.

**Songs in Springtime.** By JOHN CAMERON GRANT. London: E. W. Allen. 1893.—A volume of verse which has achieved a second edition has taken the first step towards a permanent place in literature. This proof of public favour has been secured for Mr. Grant's Spring Songs rather by their facile and melodious versification than by any striking novelty in the ideas they express. He has, however, treated an original subject in the series entitled "Intercepted Letters." These are, in fact, a poetical version of the recently discovered correspondence between the Egyptian Foreign Office under the Pharaohs and the tributary kings of Canaan, containing their appeals for aid against an invasion from the desert, interpreted by experts to have been that of the army of Joshua. Any attempt to put these singular documents before the public is welcome, from their great historical and scriptural interest.

**Sephora; or, Rome and Jerusalem.** Adapted from the French of Adrien Lemercier by the Rev. JAMES DONOHUE, LL.D. Brooklyn. 1893.—The relations of the Jews to Rome, as well as those between the various sections of Jewish society in the generation before the Christian era, are vividly placed before us in this tale of the fortunes of the high-born Hebrew maiden whose name gives the title to the book. It is no less interesting as a tale than valuable as a historical picture of a time full of striking incident, and most momentous from its bearing on subsequent history.

**Mère Gillette.** By the Author of "An Old Marquise." London: Catholic Truth Society. 1893.—This little idyll of Norman peasant life has a pathos and charm that ought to win for it wide circulation. The sorrows of a mother have seldom been portrayed with a more tender and touching sympathy than in the story of the last and crowning trial of "Mère Gillette," the protagonist of the rustic drama. For, after death had robbed her of all her dear ones, a still heavier affliction befalls her in the desertion of her one surviving son Jean, the prop of her age until weaned from religion, duty, and even love, by the influence of bad companions. The temptation comes in his case from the disseminators of Socialism in his native village, who persuade him to join their ranks and abandon all old associations for the career of an agitator. His subsequent misfortunes and the thrilling crisis which ultimately leads to his reclamation, will well repay the study of our readers.



**Sainte Marie Madeleine.** 24 mo. pp. 96. Paris : Téqui.—In a few short pages the Marquess de Laubespain resumes all that the Holy Evangelists and some of the greatest doctors of the Church tell us concerning St. Mary Magdalen. The little book will form a serviceable addition to an ascetical library, and should inspire with confidence those who, like Magdalen, have lived away from God. The numerous illustrations by Mlle. Maillot are pious and artistic.

**Histoire de Saint Dominique, fondateur de l'Ordre des Fr. Prêcheurs.** Par M. A. F. DRANE. Traduit de l'Anglais par M. l'Abbé CARDON. 8vo, pp. viii.-492. Paris : P. Lethielleux.—It is not often that French Catholic literature borrows from English writers. Considering, however, the merits of the work before us, we cannot be surprised at the standard English life of the holy patriarch St. Dominic being brought within reach of all French-speaking Catholics. Of the book itself we need not speak, as it was noticed at some length in the DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1891. In the French translation we miss the beautifully executed illustrations which add no little interest to the original. May we also be permitted to point out that the passage concerning the antiquity of the Rosary, quoted at p. 133 as from "Chron. S. Agnet." of Thomas à Kempis, is not to be found in that work of the pious author of "De Imitatione Christi"?

**The Life of St. Peter Claver, S.J., the Apostle of the Negroes.** Edited by a Father of St. Joseph's Society, Epiphany Apostolic College. Cr. 8vo, pp. 264. Philadelphia : H. L. Kilner & Co.—As the object of St. Joseph's Society "is to evangelise the races of men alien as yet to the Gospel," and especially the negroes, it is but natural that the missionaries of that Society should take as one of their chief models and patrons St. Peter Claver. Is he not called the "Apostle of the Negroes"? Did he not for forty years meet the incoming slave ship? And did he not sign himself "Peter, the Slave of the Negroes for ever"? The volume before us is mainly a reprint of the Oratorian life of the Saint, and, therefore, well known to English readers. There is, however, an appendix on "St. Joseph's Society," and we heartily join with the editor of this Life, Rev. J. R. Slattery, in praying that the spirit of St. Peter Claver may fill many American youths with a thirst for the salvation of their black countrymen!

**Life of Mère Marie Thérèse, Foundress and first Superior-General of the Daughters of the Cross.**—By a Daughter of the Cross. Crown 8vo, pp. 302. London : Burns & Oates.—In these

latter days the Catholic Netherlands seem truly a *terra sanctorum*. The names of Fr. Damien, Fr. Charley, the Passionist, and many others, will at once come before our mind. The life of one of these servants of God has recently been published by Burns & Oates. The book is no dry and meagre narrative. The personality of the "Foundress of the Daughters of the Cross" stands out in rich and attractive tones. "In this volume," says His Eminence Cardinal Vaughan, "we are able to follow the genesis of a Catholic religious congregation in every stage of its formation. We are brought into contact with the purity of thought, the fervour of feeling, the loftiness of aim, the generosity of self-immolation through which the Holy Ghost works out, in sweet and loving co-operation with the human conscience and heart, the enlistment and enrolment of souls for a special purpose of which the world has need. . . . A further and more personal interest will attach to this work from the fact that the Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross, of which it is the history, has endeared itself to English-speaking Catholics by a record of long and faithful service in England and in India."

**Bibliographies Evangéliques.** Par Mgr. GAUME. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 532. Paris: Gaume et Cie.—The name and writing of Mgr. Gaume need no recommendation. Even among Protestants they seem to be well thought of, for only a few days ago the *Church Times* advised one of its correspondents to "get Gaume's *Manuel des Confesseurs*" for fuller information on some doubtful points of conscience. In the volume just issued by the publishers of the late learned prelate, short biographies are given of all those who are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Canonical Epistles. We have here all that is known of the disciples, companions and helpers of the Twelve in the propagation of the Gospel. The families and the holy women, whose houses served as meeting-places or were converted into Christian churches, are not forgotten. Stephen, Gamaliel, Titus, Timothy, Silas, Tabitha, the Centurion, are not so well known as those who are mentioned in the Gospels, and yet the former no less than the latter deserve our gratitude and our admiration. They also helped in spreading the Gospel and in fighting against paganism. To all students and lovers of Holy Scripture we strongly recommend this biographical dictionary.

**Le Zèle Sacerdotal.** Par le R. P. DE LAAGE, S.J. Paris: Téqui. 1892.—A little hand-book of advice to a Priest on his private and professional life. It seems characterised by simplicity and common sense.

**La Dévotion au Sacré-Cœur de Jésus.** Par le R. P. JEAN-BAPTISTE TERRIEN, S.J. Paris: Lethielleux.—The Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Catholic Institute of Paris has published in this volume a comprehensive treatise on the theology of the devotion to the Sacred Heart. He does not enter upon the strictly devotional or practical aspects of this modern development of the *cultus* of our Divine Redeemer. Père Terrien writes with all the clearness of a Frenchman, and there are few dogmatic and liturgical points which he does not satisfactorily dispose of. Perhaps he gives us rather too much of the physiological controversy. But he brings out clearly what it is very important to understand—viz., that the Church is committed to no physiological theory, and that her decrees altogether prescind from the functions of the heart in the human organism. His observations on the “representations” of the Sacred Heart would have gained in interest if he had studied, or reproduced Father Nilles’s study of, the chronological order of the original revelations. He says nothing about the much-debated “twelfth promise,” although it appears in the first Life of Blessed Margaret Mary, by Mgr. Sanquet.

**L’Âme Sainte embrasée d’un ardent Amour pour Jésus et Marie.** Par DOM G. M. FULCONIS, de l’ordre des Chartreux. Traduit par M. l’Abbé A. FOUROT. Montreuil-sur-Mer: Imprimerie Notre Dame des Prés, 1892.—The good Carthusian who wrote this book of mingled meditation, spiritual reading, and devout practice for every day of the year was an Italian, but died at Montreuil-sur-Mer in 1888. We are told by the Abbé Fourot that two editions of the French translation have already been sold. For pious souls, whether religious or in the world, it certainly offers daily spiritual refreshment, well adapted to nourish the spiritual life. It is varied, suited to the different seasons, and not too long drawn out. The value of this edition is increased by a good index.

**Les Miracles de N. S. Jésus-Christ,** au point de vue topographique, exégétique, et mystique. Par l’Abbé CANDELIER. Paris: Téqui. 1893.—The exegesis of this volume on the Miracles seems sound, and the exposition is full of piety. Perhaps the topographical treatment might be a little more picturesque. But, after all, the work justifies its title.

The Art and Book Company have some very choice small publications which they have recently issued. **The Imitation of Christ** (323 pp., 6d.), together with **The Following of Christ** (204 pp., 4d.), only differ in so far as the former have practical reflections and a

prayer after each chapter, but such additions are of great service to many readers.—**The Spiritual Combat** (180 pp., 4d.) is a very old and ever-welcome friend, much valued when to practise the Faith was truly an heroic act in this country.—**The Hidden Treasure** (1893. 56 pp., 1s.) gives several excellent methods of hearing Mass with profit together, a rule of life and preparation for Confession and Communion, all from the pen of St. Leonard, of Port-Maurice.—A very capital book is **A Book of Novenas in Honour of God and His Blessed Saints**. (1892. 216 pp., 1s. 6d.) Many great Feasts of the year, those special to Our Lady, together with quite a copious choice to the Saints, find a place in this very useful compilation. Those devoted to Novenas will be amply rewarded in possessing themselves of this book.—**Short and Familiar Answers** (261 pp., 1s. 6d.), in bearing the name of the late Mgr. Segur, is a guarantee of its utility to the general public, not confined to ourselves. We see here what religion is and what it is not, and the result is to apprehend Catholicity in all its ennobling power.

**Parochi Vade Mecum** (60 pp., 6d.) will prove to be quite a boon to priests, containing, as it does in the smallest compass, just what a priest wants in order to visit the sick and dying. It fits well into a waistcoat pocket, and is strongly bound in cloth, and is well printed. The Prayers for a Departing Soul are all in English. A more convenient book it would be difficult to find or publish.

**Devotion to St. Anthony of Padua** (by Rev. Clementinus Dugmann, O.S.F. Third edition. A. Waldteufel, San Francisco. 20 pp.) contains in a small space a sketch of the life of St. Anthony, of his picture, the origin of the nine Tuesdays in his honour, with the Novena, and, finally, a Prayer to the Saint to recover lost or stolen goods. As many believe in St. Anthony's powers, and with just reason, this little publication cannot fail to be of interest and use.

**All Souls' Forget-me-not** (Washbourne. 1893. 481 pp.), edited and translated from the German by Canon Moser, of Peterborough, is, for its size, quite a bulky book. It is a manual of many devotions applicable to the Holy Souls, and as such, likely to be welcomed by many who love by any means to try and relieve friends who may be suffering in Purgatory. Quite a feature in this book is the pious treatment of the meaning of such flowers as the Carnation, Tulip, Iris or Sword Lily, Rose, Lychnis, Marigold, and, finally, the Forget-me-not. The Office for, and Burial of, the Dead, in both Latin and English, complete a very useful and very Catholic publication.

**The Manual of Prayers for Youth** (Catholic Truth Society, 1893, 256 pp.) has a special interest for Catholics now, in that this new edition was edited by the late most-revered and most-lamented Father Morris, S.J. The various ways of hearing Mass stand forth as a feature of this book, and the Ordinary and Canon receive here a faithful translation. Hymns, specially selected for each day of the week, form also another feature. The print and arrangement are equally admirable, and the Re-Imprimatur of his Eminence Cardinal Vaughan makes any further recommendation absolutely unneeded.

Benziger Brothers are not behind in a few nice publications within the reach of all. **The Manual of the Holy Family** (1893, Rev. Bonaventura Hammer, O.S.F., 526 pp.) contains everything that a member could possibly want, together with a very ample prayer-book to satisfy the most fastidious. The print is very good and clear.—**The New Month of Mary** (1893, 141 pp. 2s.), and **The New Month of St. Joseph** (1893, 155 pp. 2s.), both have the merit of being new and short in their daily treatment. If the price is somewhat high the result is pleasing and practical when time is all important.

**The Month of the Holy Angels** (1893, 153 pp.) is a worthy companion to the two former, and will be an equal help when short and pithy meditations are desired. An exhortation and example barely take up three small pages of any one day in the above three "months."—**The Flowers of the Passion** (1893, 241 pp.) gives us many thoughts gathered from letters of St. Paul of the Cross, in which Our Lord's Passion is shown to be our real friend in helping us through all difficulties of life. The book is as neat as the printing is good.

## Books Received.

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- Avis et Réflexions sur les Devoirs de l'État religieux.** Edit. Abbé Dufour. 8vo, pp. 408. Paris : H. Walzer.
- Conférences de Notre Dame.** Les Devoirs envers Dieu. Mgr. d'Hulst. 8vo, pp. 322. Paris : C. Poussielgue.
- Two Ancient Treatises on Purgatory.** Rev. J. Mumford, S.J., Rev. R. Thimelby, S.J. 8vo, pp. 308. London : Burns & Oates.
- Purgatory.** Rev. F. X. Schouppe, S.J. 8vo, pp. 312. London : Burns & Oates.
- Explanations of the Gospels and of Catholic Worship, from Italian of Angelo Cagnola.** Trans. by Rev. A. Lambert and Rev. R. Brennan. 8vo, pp. 368. New York : Benziger Bros. ; London : Burns & Oates.
- Skeleton Sermons.** Canon J. B. Bagshawe. 8vo, pp. 262. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- Witnesses to the Unseen.** Wilfrid Ward. 8vo, pp. 309. London : Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d.
- A Short Proof that Greek was the Language of Christ.** By Professor Roberts, D.D. 8vo, pp. 116. London and Paisley : Alexander Gardner.
- The Truth of the Christian Religion.** By Dr. Julius Kaftan. Trans. by G. Ferries. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 357-431. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark.
- The Revelation and the Record.** By Rev. J. McGregor, D.D. 8vo, pp. 265. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark.
- The Teaching of Jesus.** Hans Henrich Wendt. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 417. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d.
- Cambridge Sermons.** Edit. C. H. Prior, M.A. 8vo, pp. 244. London : Methuen & Co.
- Méditations sur la Vie de N.S.J.C.** Par le R. P. Meschler, S.J. 8vo, pp. 576. Paris : Lethielleux.

- The Lights in Prayer.** R.R.P.P. Luis de la Puente, Paul Segneri. 8vo, pp. 332. London: Burns & Oates.
- The Spiritual Letters of Fénelon.** 8vo, pp. 571. London: St. Anselm's Society.
- New Month of the Holy Angels.** St. Francis de Sales. 12mo, pp. 152. New York: Benziger Bros.
- Angeli Dei.** Dr. Joseph Keller. 8vo, pp. 182. London: R. Washbourne.
- A Book of Novenas.** Very Rev. J. B. Pagani. 8vo, pp. 216. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co.
- Manual of Prayers for Youth.** Rev. J. Morris, S.J. 8vo, pp. 256. London: Catholic Truth Society.
- Mass in Honour of St. Brigid (Tonic Sol-fa).** By Joseph Seymour, Mus.B. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 4d.
- La Famille Chrétienne.** Par le R. P. de Laage, S.J. 8vo, pp. 356. Paris: Téqui.
- Les Cinquante-deux Serviteurs de Dieu.** Adrien Launay. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 354-344. Paris: Téqui.
- The Story of St. Stanislaus Kotska.** Edit. by Rev. F. Goldie, S.J. 3rd edit. 8vo, pp. 256. London: Burns & Oates.
- Lourdes: Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow.** Daniel Barbé. Transl. by Alice Meynell. (Coloured Illustrations). 8vo, pp. 116. London: Burns & Oates.
- Life of the Venerable Joseph B. Cottolengo.** Dom. P. Gastaldi. 8vo, pp. 246. London: Burns & Oates.
- Abnormal Man.** By Arthur MacDonald. 8vo, pp. 448. Washington: Government Printing Press.
- Darwinianism, Work and Workmen.** By J. H. Stirling, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 358. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Europe, 476-928.** By Charles Oman, M.A. Period I. 8vo, pp. 532. London: Rivington, Percival & Co. 7s. 6d.
- Some Popular Historical Fallacies Examined.** Part I. By the Author of "The Religion of St. Augustine." 8vo, pp. 46. London: Burns & Oates.
- The Portuguese Royal Patronage.** 8vo, pp. 93. Bombay: East India Press.

- The Patriot Parliament of 1689.** By Thomas Davis. Edited by Sir C. G. Duffy. 8vo, lxxxix.-172. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1s.
- Une Negociation inconnue entre Berwick et Marlborough.** A. Legrelle. 8vo, pp. 101. Paris : Librairie Cotillon.
- The Influence of Dean Colet upon the Reformation of the English Church.** Rev. J. H. Lupton. 8vo, pp. 68. London : George Bell & Sons. 1s. 6d.
- The Morrow after the Sabbath.** 8vo, pp. 72. London : Mowbray & Co. 1s.
- Pour Amuser les Petits.** Coloured Illustrations. 4to, pp. 48. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie.
- Songs in Spring-time, &c.** John C. Grant. 2nd edit. 8vo, pp. 115. London : E. W. Allen.
- The Last Day of the Carnival.** J. Kostromitin. Trans. from Russian. 8vo, pp. 185. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1s. 6d.
- Bogland Studies.** Jane Barlow. 8vo, pp. 187. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.
- The Home of the Dragon.** By Anna Catharina. 8vo, pp. 223. London : T. Fisher Unwin.
- Dream Life and Real Life.** Ralph Iron. 8vo, pp. 93. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1s. 6d.
- Claude Lightfoot.** By Rev. Fr. Finn, S.J. 8vo, pp. 245. New York : Benziger Bros. ; London : Burns & Oates.
- The Need and Use of Getting the Irish Literature into the English Tongue.** By Rev. Stopford A. Brooke. 8vo, pp. 66. London : T. Fisher Unwin.
- The Success of Patrick Desmond.** By Maurice F. Egan. 8vo, pp. 418. Notre Dame : Indiana, U.S.A.
- Poetical Works of Lageniensis.** Very Rev. Canon J. O'Hanlon. 8vo, pp. 328. Dublin : J. Duffy & Co.
- The Household Poetry Book.** Edited by Aubrey de Vere. 8vo, pp. 308. London : Burns & Oates.



THE

# DUBLIN REVIEW.

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APRIL 1894.

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ART. I. — OVERLOOKED TESTIMONIES TO  
THE CHARACTER OF THE ENGLISH  
MONASTERIES ON THE EVE OF THEIR  
SUPPRESSION.

THE truth of the reports made in A.D. 1535-6 by the Commissioners of Henry VIII. in regard to the moral state of the religious houses in England, is in one sense more than a mere speculative question of history. For several generations the sweeping accusations of Crumwell's agents—Layton, Legh, Ap Rice, London and their fellows—were practically accepted as true by writers of every party, Catholic as well as non-Catholic. By the latter these terrible tales have been regarded tacitly, and often indeed expressly, as the natural fruit of such a tree of evil as the Catholic Church; as the obvious and legitimate outcome of the system swept away by the so-called "glorious Reformation." Catholics, on their part, since they have been in a position to take any part at all, have shaken their heads somewhat sadly over these shady stories, and at best have exclaimed with pious resignation, that it was no wonder that God's providence had permitted His wrath to fall upon the land, even to the overthrow of religion, when His special sanctuaries had been so scandalously profaned by evil living. Vague tradition, indeed, associated the revered name of Dr. Lingard with a word of caution in this matter. To all who were tempted to enquire into the state of the English monasteries on the eve

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of their destruction, our Catholic historian is reported to have left a legacy of warning to leave the matter alone. Some few years ago now, when it was understood that I was at work upon this very subject, his Eminence the late Cardinal Manning advised me, on the strength of Dr. Lingard's supposed opinion, not to undertake the examination.

Even if this learned historian had formed so bad an opinion of the pre-Reformation monks and nuns on the eve of the destruction of their house, which seems doubtful, it must be remembered that it was based solely, or chiefly, upon documents in the Cotton MSS. collection. Many of these were printed by Thomas Wright for the Camden Society just fifty years ago, under the title, "Three Chapters of Letters relating to the Dissolution of the Monasteries." Dr. Lingard had not, of course, the means we possess of testing the value of these documents by others to be found in the Record Office; neither could he have suspected, as we may to-day, that the papers in the Cotton collection were selected from the general mass of the Crumwell correspondence with the set purpose of providing matter for a brief against the Monastic Orders, and incidentally against the whole system of the Catholic Church.

From a Protestant point of view these accusations made against the English religious houses have served their purpose well. They have formed a very important item in the general conspiracy to defend an enforced change of religion by blackening the character of the religious life of England in pre-Reformation days. A quotation from the brief introduction contributed by Thomas Wright to the "Three Chapters of Letters," will show that in this the importance attached to the hideous charges against the English monks and nuns by non-Catholics, as *pièces justificatives* for the Reformation, is in no way exaggerated.

I leave these letters to tell their own story [he writes]. They throw light on the history of a great event, which changed entirely the face of society in our island, an event which I regard as the greatest blessing conferred by Providence upon this country since the first introduction of the Christian religion. I will not at present enter into the history of this revolution, but leave the documents for others to comment upon. I have suppressed nothing, for I believe that they contain nothing which is untrue, and the worst crimes laid to the charge of the monks are but too fully verified by the long chain of historical evidence reaching without

interruption from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. Those who have studied in the interior history of this long period the demoralising effects of the Popish system of confession and absolution will find no difficulty in conceiving the facility with which the inmates of the monasteries, at the time of their dissolution, confessed to vices from the very name of which our imagination now recoils. These documents are of peculiar importance amid the religious disputes which at present agitate the world.

Then after expressing his belief that other incriminating documents should be allowed to see the light, the writer concludes: "The great cause of the Reformation has been but ill served by concealing the depravities of the system which it overthrew."

Half a century has passed since these words were written, and we may now fairly congratulate ourselves that searching investigation into the origin of all these grave charges against the good name of our pre-Reformation religious houses, so freely made and so readily credited, has not only thrown doubt upon them, but has practically resulted in a verdict of "not proven." One and all they have been shown to rest upon the testimony of as vile a set of miscreants as have ever appeared upon the stage of our English history. Still there are not wanting some who, thinking worse of the system than they do of Crumwell's paid libellers, yet cling to the belief of their Protestant forefathers that nothing but bad can be imagined of monks and nuns, and that the roofs of the monastic houses were justly pulled down about the ears of their inmates by Henry and those other somewhat strangely chosen instruments of Providence.

Over and above this it sometimes seems as if some even of those who would like to think most kindly of the monastic institute, were hardly quite easy on the subject of the general character of the religious houses at the time of their suppression. Most authorities, however, are now agreed that little reliance can be placed upon the reports of Henry's visitors. Still, as in conducting a defence it is best not only to point out the inherent improbability of the accusations, to demonstrate the malice of the witnesses brought forward, and by examination into their known antecedents to discredit their testimony, but, where possible, to call evidence, if not actually to rebut the charges, at least to speak to the character of the

accused, so, under the circumstances, every item of information as to the moral reputation of the monasteries at the time is of value.

Some short time ago I came, almost by accident, upon some documents in the Public Record Office, which must be regarded as important pieces of evidence on this subject. Unfortunately, they had got mixed up with papers of a wholly different nature, and consequently had been overlooked by Mr. Gairdner and had found no place in his "Calendar of Papers and Letters of the Reign of Henry VIII." To understand their importance it is necessary to briefly state the circumstances under which the chief accusations were brought by Henry's agents against the monastic houses. It will be remembered that as one of the means by which it was hoped to sever the bond between England and Rome, Parliament in 1533 was induced to transfer the right of visitation of religious houses to the king,\* and Henry was by the same Act empowered legally to issue commissions for visiting "monasteries, priories, houses and places religions exempt." Royal commissioners for the purpose were, however, not appointed till the middle of 1535; but by September of that year they had begun their work. By this time it is certain that the project of suppressing some or even all of the monastic establishments in the country formed a part of Henry's practical politics. Parliament, which was to meet early in the following year, 1536, was, as an integral part of the royal policy, to be required to bestow upon the king the smaller monastic houses as a first instalment of the great prize. Some pretext had to be found for presenting such a proposal to the Commons, and it cannot now be questioned that the obvious means of blackening the characters of the inmates was deliberately resorted to for this purpose. The instruments chosen for the work of getting up the required "evidence" were quite capable of fully understanding what they were sent for, and they prove by their letters, written during the progress of this royal visitation in the autumn of 1535, that they were quite willing to serve the king in this matter. In these letters and in the documents drawn up by them at the time, known as the *Comperta Monastica*, are contained the

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\* Twentieth clause of an Act, 1533, "concerning Peter's pence and dispensations."

great bulk of the charges made against the monks and nuns of the English houses, which, until the last few years, have been credited without question, and which served Henry's purpose well enough at the time in wringing from Parliament, in March, 1536, the national assent to the first measure of suppression, by which all religious houses with a value of less than £200 a year passed into the royal hands.

The money limit of turpitude so strangely fixed by Parliament rendered it necessary, as a first step in the direction of dissolution, to ascertain for certain which houses fell within the prescribed annual income of £200. As early as April 24, 1536, barely a month after the passing of the Act, and the very day upon which the Court of Augmentations, created to deal with the confiscated property, was finally organised, instructions were issued for the guidance of certain gentlemen to be employed on a new survey of the religious houses. Now it is to the reports of some of these commissioners that attention is here directed. In the first place be it remarked that it is now beyond dispute that the charges against the monks, and in particular those contained in the documents called the *Comperta Monastica*, were made prior to the meeting of Parliament and consequently before the first issue of these commissions in the April of 1536. This point must be insisted upon because the fixing of the date of the *Comperta* has entirely changed one of the most important considerations in the question. Most writers, who have dealt with the matter, have been inclined to transpose the reports of the two commissions, and thus to make the document containing the charges against the religious houses follow, instead of precede, the report of the gentry first appointed in the spring of 1536.

With the first visitation we are not concerned here further than to remember that it was conducted entirely by men who fully recognised that bad reports were expected from them. They found what they were sent to find; and the chief inquisitor Crumwell had been trained, be it remembered, in the school of Wolsey, against whom one of the articles of accusation at his attainder was: "For shamefully slandering many good religious houses, by which means he suppressed thirty," . . . and for causing "untrue verdicts to be found that the religious persons had voluntarily

abandoned their houses.”\* Their general methods may be best described in the words of Mr. Gairdner. The mode of procedure of Layton and his fellows is well illustrated in the case of Leicester. There neither the abbot (whom Layton himself believed to be an honest man) nor his canons would confess anything. Layton consequently, as he tells Crumwell, intends to accuse some of the latter first of the grossest vices and then of less heinous crimes by degrees until he has extorted something of a confession. “If this may be taken as a sample of the proceedings,” asks Mr. Gairdner, “how much might be considered as a confession by Layton sufficient to warrant his putting it down against a name.”

So much for the first visitation. The second commission was entrusted to very different agents. The royal letters were now addressed to some of the leading men in each county, directing them to make a new survey of the monasteries, with a view of taking over on the king's behalf those of a less value than £200 a year. Besides the value, however, they were instructed to enquire into various other particulars concerning them. The commissioners were to form a body of six visitors, three official and three non-official. The official members were to be an auditor, the particular receiver of the county, and a clerk, but they were to be accompanied by “three other discreet persons to be named by the king in every county.” On their arrival at the monastery to be examined they were directed to summon the superior, to show him the “act of dissolution” and their special commission. Next they were to administer to the officials of the house an oath truly to answer certain questions. These interrogatories were mainly in regard to the temporal estate of the house; but they were also to examine into the number of the inmates “and the conversation of their lives,” or, in other words, what was their moral character. Further, they were to find out how many were priests and how many were willing to take “capacities”;

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\* The instruments chosen for the work were well fitted for what they were expected to do. No scruple troubled their consciences, nor were they unnerved by tenderness or pity in effecting their master's object. As Fuller, the historian, notes: “The inquisitors were men who well understood the message they were sent on, and would not come back without a satisfactory answer to him who sent them, knowing themselves to be no losers thereby.”

which last, being interpreted, signifies how many were willing to give up the religious life and take some ecclesiastical preferment when it should be found for them.

The returns of these commissioners for a certain number of monasteries in five or six counties were known at the time when Mr. Gairdner published his volume of the "Calendar" which deals with the papers relating to 1536. It will be at once understood how extremely important these documents are, since in their testimony as to the "conversation" of the religious they are actually going over the same ground as Crumwell's visitors. It is, moreover, more than remarkable, as Mr. Gairdner has pointed out, that in these returns "the characters given of the inmates (of the houses visited) are almost uniformly good."

In Leicestershire, for example, we find this commission reporting that Garadon and Gracedieu—two of the houses be it noted against which some of the most damaging *Comperta* had been found by the visitors but a month or two before—were "of good and virtuous conversation." This is a significant fact, upon which Mr. Gairdner remarks: "The country gentlemen who sat on the commission somehow came to a very different conclusion from that of Drs. Layton and Legh."

The returns known to exist on the publication of Mr. Gairdner's volume were those for the counties of Leicester, Warwick, Huntingdon, Rutland, and (though in a very brief form) Lancashire. In an appendix to the next volume (vol. x.) the returns for the houses of Sussex were also given; but these reports for six counties were all that were known until, by a fortunate accident, I came upon some others. These hitherto unpublished documents, here printed, relate to the religious houses of Norfolk, Suffolk, Hampshire, Wilts, Gloucester, and the city of Bristol. It may at once be said that the general character of the report, so far as concerns the moral state of these houses, is quite what the reports published by Mr. Gairdner would have led us to expect, and sundry notes upon one of the papers show that the discrepancy between the testimony of these country gentry and Crumwell's visitors in respect to the moral state of the establishments inspected, was remarked upon by the official into whose hands the report came. It is also obvious that the notes furnish additional

proof, were any required, that the *Comperla* document was the outcome of the first visitation under Layton and his fellows.

The present purpose being to call attention to the most interesting features in these reports, it is best to take the monasteries one by one as they are found entered in the documents. The first county is that of Norfolk, and the commissioners appointed for the circuit are Sir Roger Townsend and Sir William Paston, accompanied by Richard Southwell and Thomas Myldemaye. The first house reported upon is the Benedictine priory of Horsham St. Faith's, and as a specimen of these documents I may give this in full.

The priory of blacke monkes of Horsshame Ste. Fidis hath a covent seale and is a bede howse of th'ordre of Seynte Benett of the clere yerly value in lands and possessions £163 1s. 1¼d. So 4s. 1¾d. of newe encrease and £11 8s. for the demayne landes in Horsshame and Newton now in the handes and occupacion of the prior there.

The number of religious is Four, all prystes, wherof the priour hath a dyspensacion and ys a suffrican and bysshoppe of Thetford, and the residue requyre dispensaciones. They ben alle of good name as ys reported by the . . . .

2. *Carowe*.—A Benedictine nunnery near Norwich. It was only worth £66 13s. 4d. a year, but supported eight nuns and seventeen servants and others. The nuns are "persons of very good name by report of the country." Of these, four are willing to get a dispensation from religious life, but the other four "will continue in religion." Of the seventeen familiars two were priests, seven labourers in the fields, and eight women servants.

3. *Langley*.—A house of the Premonstratensian canons. There were six priests, of whom only one refused to take a dispensation to obtain pastoral cure in the world. Among the twenty-one other inmates there were two priests. "They be of good name."

4. *Buckenham*.—A priory of Augustinian canons. At the time of the visit of the royal commissioners there were five members, and of these "one requireth to be religious, and the rest desire dispensations." "Their name is good, as we can learn by report of their neighbours." There were forty other inmates of the house, half of whom are classed under the general designation of "waiting servants," and eight children "who have their living there."



5. *Blackborough*.—A convent of Benedictine nuns, nine in number, “of good fame and name, and they all require their dispensations.” There were twenty people supported by the house, including the chaplain of the convent.

6. *Thetford*.—A small priory of Augustinian canons. At the previous visitation there had been six members, but all, except one, now declared to be “of slender report,” had already anticipated the measure of dissolution passed by Parliament, and had left. The surviving canon “requireth to have a dispensation and go into the world.” Sixteen persons were also at the time living in the house, including two priests and four children.

7. *Hempton*.—This is also a small Augustinian priory. Although a defect in the document does not enable us to tell the number of inmates, it does not prevent us learning that “they be of good name.”

8. *Thetford*.—A convent of Benedictine nuns, wrongly stated to be “of the order of St. Augustine” by the report. There were five religious, “of good conversation and living.”

9. *Pentney and Wormgay*.—A priory of Augustinian canons consisting of nine priests “of very honest name and good religious persons, who do desire the king’s highness to continue and remain in religion.”

10. *Cokesford*.—Another Augustinian priory. The community only consisted of three canons, “all priests of good name.”

11. *Marham*.—A convent of Cistercian nuns, five in number, “of slanderous report, whereof three of them do require their dispensations, and the residue will continue in religion.”

12. *Crabhouse*.—A convent of Augustinian nuns consisting of four nuns, of whom “three require their dispensations, and one will be religious. Their name is good as (is commonly) reported.”

Then follow the names of several houses, cells of the Gilbertine Order, &c. After which :

13. *Wendling*.—An abbey of the Premonstratensian Order. There were five priests who desired to have “capacities,” but “their name is not good.”

14. *Bromholm*.—A Cluniac priory with four religious, all priests. They require] dispensations, “and they be of very good name and fame.”

15. *Wayburn*.—A priory of Augustinian canons with only two members. These are “of slanderous name as is said, and they require their dispensations.”

16. *Beeston*.—This is also an Augustinian house, but is called in the document “of the Order of Peterston,” or “Canons Hospitalers.” The house consisted of three members willing to have “capacities,” and “they be all of good name.”

17. *Weybridge*.—A very small Augustinian house with only one canon.

18. *Hickling*.—Another small Augustinian priory, the possessions of which had been granted to the Bishop of Norwich by Act of Parliament. It had been already dissolved and the inmates dispatched to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

This closes the list of houses reported upon by the Norfolk commissioners, and after giving a general summary they append this *Memorandum*:

That the parsonages being in the hands of the incumbents of the religious houses within written will not hereafter keep value, for that the same parsonages have been served by the religious persons of such monasteries who now shall be, upon the dissolution of the houses dispersed, albeit the same parsonages be parcel of our value within written according to the last valuation.

Item there is no deduction of alms in this value, which ought to be remembered in case the king's highness depart with the whole possessions of any house.

These notes are of interest as showing that the religious afforded gratuitous spiritual ministrations to the people, and that the poor of the county would necessarily suffer by the withdrawal of the alms formerly dispensed by the religious houses about to be suppressed.

The next document is “a brief certificate” for the county of Surrey. The paper is defaced, and the names of the houses are gone. I presume, however, that the three monasteries reported upon are Waverley, Reygate, and Tandridge or “Tyturyge.”

In the first named, *Waverley* (that is, if I am correct), there were eleven priests and two novices. Of these thirteen, six are reported as “incontinent;” but the value of this

testimony is somewhat discounted by the declaration that "the said persons neither desire capacities nor will by no means depart their howse, and be very obstinate and wilful."

2. *Reygate*.—A small Augustinian house of three members, one of whom is said to have a bad character. Two of the three want "capacities," and "the third desireth to go to another house."

3. *Tandridge*.—Another small Augustinian house consisting of four religious of good name and all desiring capacities.

The third document relates to the county of Hampshire, the county of Wilts, the city of Bristol, and the county of Gloucester. The commissioners are Sir James Worsley, John, George, and Rich Poulet, Esquires, and William Berners, and they were appointed on May 8, 1536. The religious houses they visited and examined are as follows :

1. *Wintney*.—A convent of Cistercian nuns, with an income of only £43 0s. 3d. a year. It maintained ten nuns, "by report of good conversation, who all desire to continue in the same religion." In the house there were twenty-nine other inmates supported, including two priests and two *corrodians* with their two servants.

2. *Winchester, St. Mary's*.—A convent of Benedictine nuns, though called by mistake in the report Augustinian. There were here twenty-six nuns, "whereof twenty-five desire to keep their habit in religion, and one, *upon dissolution*, desireth capacity. The whole number in their order are religious, and in living virtuous by common report." The number of other persons supported by the convent was seventy-six. Of these five were priests, thirteen lay-sisters "by foundation," nine women servants, twenty officers of the household and waiting servants, three "corodiers," and twenty-six children. To this list is appended the note : "over and above the great relief daily ministered unto the poor inhabitants of the said city."

3. *Southampton, St. Dennys*.—A house of Augustinian canons with a rental of little more than £80. There were six priests, all "of good conversation"; three of them "desire to continue in religion," and the other three willing to have "capacities."

4. *Netley*.—A Cistercian abbey, "being," as the commissioners report, "of large building, situate upon the rivage of

the seas. To all the king's subjects and strangers travelling the same seas great relief and comfort." There were seven monks, "by report of good religious conversation," six of whom declared their intention of remaining religious. The rest of the household consisted of thirty-two people, two of them being *Friars Observant* "committed there by the king."

5. *Quarre* (Isle of Wight).—Another Cistercian abbey, "being of large building and situate upcn the rivage of the seas. By report great refuge and comfort to all the inhabitants of the same isle, and to strangers travelling the said seas." Here there were ten monks, all priests, "by report of good religious conversation," and eight of them desirous "to continue in religion."

6. *Bromere*.—An Augustinian priory with six priests and two novices, "by report of good conversation." Six of them desire "capacities."

7. *Motisfont*.—Another Augustinian priory. This was already dissolved, and its possessions in the hands of Sir William Sandes, Knight of the Garter and Lord Chamberlain, by the king's orders. There had been ten in the community, eight priests, "sent with letters for their capacities," and "40*s.* of the king's reward, and two novices," one "committed to the monastery of Christchurch, Twynham," and one "sent unto his friends with 30*s.* of like reward." The twenty-nine servants and others had "all been discharged."

The next report is that of the Wiltshire houses. The commissioners appointed, July 1, 1536, were Sir Henry Longe, Richard Poulet, Esq., with John Pye and William Berners.

1. *Maiden Bradley*.—An Augustinian priory, against the prior of which house Layton had brought such infamous accusations. There were, on the visit of the commissioners, six canons and two novices, "by report of honest conversation." Five of the eight desire to remain in the religious life.

2. *Farleigh*.—A Benedictine priory of the Cluniac congregation. There were six monks "of honest conversation," and all "wholly desiring continuance in religion."

3. *Lacock*.—A convent of Augustinian nuns, "of great and fair buildings, set in a town; to the same and all other adjoining by common report a great relief." There were fourteen professed nuns and three novices, "by report and in appearance

of virtuous living, all desiring to continue in religion." They had forty-two other inmates of the convent, including four chaplains, a clerk, and a sexton.

4. *Kington*.—A small convent of nuns, or, as they are called in the report, "Minchins of St. Benedict's Order." Its annual value was only £25 9s. 1½*d.*, and the nuns numbered but four; "by report of honest conversation, all desiring continuance in religion."

5. *Stanleigh*.—A Cistercian abbey "of large, strong building, by report of the country a great relief." The community consisted of nine priests and a novice; "by report of honest conversation, all desiring continuance in religion." There were forty-three people supported in the house over and above the community. These included a schoolmaster and seven people "found of alms."

6. *Eston*.—A small house of what are named "cross canons of St. Augustine." I confess I do not know what the place is. There were, however, only two in the community, both priests; "by report of honest conversation, desiring to continue in religion."

7. *Ederos*, alias *Ivychurch*.—A house of Austin canons consisting of five members, four being priests and one a novice, "of honest conversation." Four of them desired to receive capacities. Their familiars numbered seventeen, and included a schoolmaster and five "children for the Church."

The next certificate is that of Thomas White, Richard Poulet, Nicholas Thorne, and William Berners, commissioners appointed, August 3, 1536, to report as to the Bristol houses.

1. *Bristol, St. Mary Magdalene*.—A small house of Benedictine nuns, though called in the certificate *Augustinians*. It was worth only £21 yearly, and there were but two members; "one professed being governor, impotent and aged, the other a young novice, desiring continuance in religion."

2. *Bristol, St. James*.—A cell of the Abbey of Tewkesbury.

Lastly comes the certificate for the houses examined in Gloucestershire, under a commission dated September 4, 1536, by Sir Edmund Yame, Kt., John Walche, Richard Poulet, and William Berners. The first report is for:

1. *Haxley*.—A Cistercian abbey with seven monks, "by report of convenient conversation." Of these, four desire to

remain in the religious life. Besides the seven priests there was one lay-brother.

2. *St. Oswald's*, near Gloucester.—A house of Augustinian canons. There were seven priests, “by report of honest conversation,” five of whom desire to remain religious.

This practically concludes the actual reports made at this time of the commissions appointed in 1536. Putting this new information together with what we learn from the similar reports printed by Mr. Gairdner in his tenth volume of the “Calendar of State Papers,” we find this general result. The reports are concerned with some 376 religious, men and women. Of the 242 men, some 83 desire “capacities,” the rest want to be left alone to live the life they were professed for. Of the 134 nuns named, only 9 are anxious, or rather are willing, to leave their convents. And, what is of the greatest importance, out of the 376 religious so reported upon, only 22 men and 3 women are noted as not of good repute. The rest are declared to be of “good and honest conversation.”

Further, one or two remarks are necessary to explain the real meaning to be attached to the comparatively large numbers who are declared willing to take *capacities*, or, in other words, to give up the regular life to which they had been professed and enter the ranks of the secular clergy. Under the peculiar circumstances in which these religious were placed by the suppression of their houses, I do not think we can blame them very severely. The choice before them was this: being sent to other houses, where they would feel that they were forced upon the community, with which they could never hope to become identified in interests and aspirations, and where, without hope of success, they would have to begin life anew; or taking up some parochial work with a fair expectation of finding at least some sphere of usefulness. Looking at the alternatives, and remembering that the royal influence was on the side of secularisation, the wonder is not that so many elected to apply for *capacities*, but that those who remained steadfast to the religious vocation should be twice as many as those who were willing to leave the cloister.

Of course, in some instances, the religious who elected to abide by their obligations would have been able to reckon on a good reception in other houses of their order. Thus, for

example, the six monks of *Netley Abbey*, who refused the offer of capacities, were all received into the neighbouring Cistercian house of Beaulieu, to which their own abbot, Thomas Stephens, had just been elected superior. But as a rule there can be little doubt that a religious who was thus forced into other communities must have felt that he was becoming a burden to this appointed home.

Another remark is prompted by the official notes which, as already remarked, are to be found in the commissioners' report for the Norfolk houses. It would appear from these that in many instances the religious had not waited to be turned out of their homes by Henry's agents, but had anticipated the result of the Act of Dissolution by betaking themselves elsewhere, and not remaining to witness the desecration and sack of their old monastic homes.

A few words may perhaps be usefully said as to the way in which these favourable reports, sent in by the country gentry, were received by Henry and his chief adviser, Crumwell. Amongst the certificates already published by Mr. Gairdner is one for Garendon Abbey, Leicestershire. The community consisted of the abbot and fifteen monks, "one being blind, impotent, and in extreme age." They are all "of good conversation, and God's service is well maintained. All desire to continue in their religion or be assigned to some other house." There were 74 other persons supported in the establishment, including "5 children found of alms," and "5 impotent persons having living by alms." It will be remembered that this was one of the houses against which one of the very worst reports was made by Drs. Layton and Legh in their visitation a few months before. How the king appreciated the good report now furnished by the country gentry may be gathered from a letter addressed by one of the commissioners, George Gifford, from the monastery of Garendon on June 19, 1536, whilst on this very business. He writes that the Chancellor of the Augmentations had shown the king the letter written by the commissioners in favour of the abbey of St. James' and the nunnery of Catesby in Northamptonshire, and that the king "was displeased," and said "that it was like that we had received rewards which caused us to write as we did." Still the writer makes bold to urge his petition in favour of

the house of Walstroppe. What he says about this house is interesting.

The governor thereof [he writes] is a very good husband for the house and well beloved of all the inhabitants thereunto adjoining; a right honest man, having eight religious persons, being priests of right good conversation, and living religiously, having such qualities of virtue as we have not found the like in any place; for there is not one religious person there but that they can and do use either embroidering, writing books with very fair hand, making their own garments, carving, painting, or graving. The house without any scandal or evil fame, and it stands in a waste ground, very solitary, keeping such hospitality that, except by singular good provision, it could not be maintained with half as much land more, as they may spend, such a number of the poor inhabitants nigh thereunto daily relieved that we have not seen the like, having no more land than they have. God be even my judge, that I write unto you the truth and no otherwise, to my knowledge, which very pity alone causes me to write.

Notwithstanding the royal displeasure at the style of the reports sent in by the mixed commissions of gentry and officials, it is gratifying to find that almost invariably the account given by them is good. The new documents, hitherto unpublished, and here printed, like the similar papers printed in Mr. Gairdner's "*Calendar*," contradict, in many instances directly, the biased reports sent in by Henry's first visitors in the autumn of the previous year 1536.

\**COM. NORFOLK.*—Sir Roger Touneshende and Sir William Paston, Knight, Richard Southwell, Esquyre, and Thomas Myldemaye, Commissioners to the Kyng our Sovarayne lorde, to enquyre of alle the landes, possessiones, goodes and catalles apperteynyng or belongyng to any howse, monastery, or pryory of the religion of monkes, chanones, and nunnes within the said countye of Norfolk, accordyng to certen enstrucciones annexed to ther commission to certifie to the chancellor of thaugmentation of the revenues of the Kyngis Crowne, according to the same articles of enstrucciones herafter ensuyng.

#### THE ARTICLES OF THENSTRUCCIONES.

[A]. The names of the howsses and of what order, and to whom they ben cells, and the clere yerly value of their last valuacion with the encrease new surveyed.

[B]. The number of religious persons with their conversation and lyves, and how many of them ben pristres and wyll have dispensaciones.

[C]. The number of servants, hyndes, or other persones that have their levyngs in the same howses.



[D]. The value of leade, bells, and other buyldinge to be sold, with the ruyne, decaye, and state of the same.

[E]. The entyre value of all other moveable goods, stokks and stores with the detts owynge to the howsses.

[F]. The woodes with the value of them, parkes, forestes, and communes, with the number of the acres.

[G]. The detts owynge by the howsse.

[H]. Howsses of religion omytted and lefte oute by the fyrste valucion.

#### THE AUNSWERE OR REAPORTE TO THE SAME.

[A]. The Priory of Blacke Monkes of HORSSHAME SANCTE FIDIS hathe a convente seale, and is a hede howsse of thordre of Seynte Benett, of the clere yerly value in lands and possessions £163 1s. 1½*d.*; so 4s. 1½*d.* of newe encrease, and £11 8s. for the demayne landes in Horsshame and Newton, nowe in the handes and occupacion of the prior there.

[B]. 4, all prystes, wherof the priour hathe a dyspensacion and ys a suffrican and bysshop of Thetford, and the residue requyre dispensaciones. The ben alle of good n[ame a]s ys reaported by the . . .

[C]. 18, whereof prystes 1; weytynge servantes 6; hyndes 11; which have wages, lyveres and levynge of the same howse.

[D]. £250 by estimacion, and the howse in many places ruynous, but the church and cloyster ys in good reparacion.

[E]. £79 15s. 11*d.*; whereof in moveable goodes £55 8s. 5*d.*; catalle £9; corne *nil*; dettes due and owynge to the howsses £15 6s. 8*d.*

[F]. 100 acres of wood, worth every acre nowe to be solde 40s.—£200; parkes, forestes, and communes *null*.

[G]. £35 4s. 8*d.* as apperith by a bille of parcelles thereof, signed with the hand of the said prior.

#### THE MONASTERY OF NUNES IN CAROWE, BESYDES NORWICH.

[A]. Of the Ordre of Seynt Benett ys a howse of itself and no cell, and hath a convent seale, and is also of the clere yerly value of £66 13s. 3*d.* with 37s. 8½*d.* of newe encrease made upon this survey, and with £7 5s. 4*d.* for the demayne landes there.

[B]. 8 religious persones of very good name by reporte of the contrey, whereof 4 of them dow require ther dispensaciones, and the residue will contynue in religion.

[C]. 17, wherof prystes 2; hinde for the husbondry 7; women servantes 8, which have ther lyvynge of the same howsse.

[D]. £145 by estimacion and the howse in very good and necessary reparacion.

[E]. £40 16s. 11*d.*, wherof in moveabell goodes £19 0s. 5*d.*; corne by estimacion £15 2s.; cattel £6 14s. 6*d.*; dettes due and owynge to the howsse *nil*.

[F]. Woodes *null*; parkes, forestes and communes *null*.

[G]. *Null*.

## THE MONASTERY OF WHITE CHANONES OF LANGLEY.

[A]. Of the Premonstratences Order; 4s. a hede howse and hathe a covent seal and ys of the yerly value of £111 4s. 10½*d.*, with £6 8s. 4*d.* of newe encrease upon this survey, and with 116s. of the demayne landes ther now occupied by thabbot.

[B]. 6, alle prysts, wherof one desyryth to contynue in religion and the reste require capasaties. They ben of good name.

[C]. 21 servants, wherof prysts 2; weytynge servants 7; hyndes 12; which have their levyng there.

[D]. £160 by estimacion and the house in ruyne and decay.

[E]. £36 14s. 3*d.*, wherof in moveable goodes £12 6s. 3*d.*; corne by estimacion £16 3s; catall, £8 5s.; detts due to the house *nil*.

[F]. 30 acres of woode, nothyng as yet of value; parkes, forestes and communes *null*.

[G]. £120 16s. 8*d.* as appereth by a byll of parcells therof made.

## THE PRIORY OF BLACK CHANONES OF BOKENHAME.

[A]. Of the Order of St. Augustyne, hathe a covent seale and ys a hed howse and of the clere yerely value of £114 7s. 8*d.*, with 117s. 5¼*d.* of newe encrease upon this survey, and wyth £15 6s. 2*d.* for the demayne landes there, now in occupation of the prior.

[B]. 5, all prystes [wherof] one requiryth to be religious and the rest desire dispensacions. There name ys good, as we came lerne by reporte of the neybures.

[C]. 40, wherof weyting servants 21; hyndes 11; childerne 8; which have their levyng there.

[D]. £180 by estimacion, and the howse newly buylte and in marvelous good reparacion.

[E]. £117 9s. 4*d.*, wherof in moveable goods £41 13s. 1*d.*; catall £9; corne by estimacion £16 13s. 4*d.*; dettes due and owyng to the house £50 2s. 11*d.*

[F]. 111 acres of divers years growe, worthe nowe to be solde £233 6s. 8*d.*; parkes, forestes and communes *nul*.

[G]. *Null*.

## THE PRIORY OF NUNNES OF BLAKEBOROWE.

[A]. Ys of the Order of St. Benet, beynge a hede howse, havynge a covent seale, and ys of the clere yerly value of £44 0s. 1½*d.* with 20s. 2*d.* of new encrease and with £11 0s. 11*d.* for the demayne landes with one folde course in thandes of the prioress ther.

[B]. Religious persons 9; of good name and fame, and they all require ther dispensaciones.

[C]. Persons havynge levyng in the said house 20; wherof prystes 1; men servants 11; women servants 8.

[D]. Lead and bells by estimacion £60, and the howse somewhat in decay.

[E]. Moveable goodes, stokes and stores £59; wherof in moveable

goodes, catall £38 5s. 9d.; corne £20 18s. 3d.; detts due to the howse *nil*.

[F]. Woode 10 acres; every acre worth now to be sold 26s. 8d.—£13 6s. 8d. Parkes, forestes, communes *nil*.

[G]. Detts due by the house £79 4s. 8d., as apperyth by a byll of parcells therof made.

#### THE PRIORY OF CHANONES IN THETFORD.

[A]. Of the Order of Seynt Augustine, hathe a covent seale and ys a hede howse and ys of the clere yerly value, £44 12s. 10d., with 106s. 2d. of newe encrease opon this survey, and with £15 0s. 8d. for the demayne landes now in the occupacion of the prior there.

[B]. Religious persons 1, of slendre reporte, who requiryth to have a dispensacion to goo to the worlde.

[C]. Persons having levynges there 16; priests 2; hyndes 2; children 4; weytyng servants 8.

[D]. Lead and bells by estimacion £80, and the howse very ruynous and in decay.

[E]. Moveable goods with the detts owing to the house £29 8s. 7d.; *videlicet* in moveable goods and catall £8 8s. 7d.; corne £21; detts due to the howse *nil*.

[F]. Woode *null*; parkes, forestes and communes *null*.

[G]. Detts owing by the house £7 0s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., as apperyth by a bill of parcells therof made.

#### THE PRIORY OF CHANONES IN HEMPTON.

[A]. Hath a covent seale and ys a hede howse and ys also of thordre of Seynt Augustine, and of the yerly value of £32 14s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., so letten to Francis Bedyngfeld, Esq., by indenture for a terme of years.

[B]. Religious persons. . . . done require the Kynges dispensation. They ben of good name.

[C]. Persons havynge levynges there 15; *videlicet* hyndes for the husbandry 10; weytyng servantes 5.

[D]. Lead and belles £80 by estimacion, and the howse somewhat in decay.

[E]. Moveable goodes with the detts owyng to the howse £60 2s. 6d. *Videlicet* moveable goodes and catall £26 18s. 9d.; corne £28 3s. 10d. Detts due to the howse 100s.

[F]. Woodes, parks, forests and communes *null*.

[G]. Detts owing to the howse £7 17s., as apperyth by a byll of particulars thereof made.

#### THE PRIORY OF NUNS AT THETFORD.

[A]. Of the Order of St. Augustyne, ys a hede howse and hathe a covent seale and. . . .

[B]. Religious persons 5, of good conversation and lvyng, and they all require ther dispensacions.

[C]. Persons having levyng there 9; whereof prystes 1; men servants 4, and women servants 4.

[D]. Lead and bells by estimacion *null*. The howse ys in good reparacion.

[E]. £27 0s. 4d., whereof in moveable goods and cattall £21 0s. 4d.; corne £6; debts due to the howse *null*.

[F]. Woodes, parkes, forests, and communes *null*.

[G]. Detts owynge by the howse £17 15s. 10d., as apperyth by a byll of particulars thereof made.

#### THE PRIORY OF CHANONES OF PENTENEY AND WORMGAY.

[A]. Of the Ordre of Seynt Augustyne, ys a hede house and no cell, havynge a covent seale and ys of the clere yerly value in landes and possessions £180 19s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., with £10 13s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. of newe encrease upon thys survey and £23 14s. for the demaynes nowe in the occupation of the prior in Pentney (£21 14s.), with the mille and folde course and in Wormegaye 40s.

[B]. Religious persones in the said howsse 9; all prysts of very honest name and good religious persones who done desire the Kyngs Highness to contynue and remayne in religion.

[C]. Persons havynge lyvynges there 83; whereof hindes 23: howsseholde servauntes 30; children and other pore servauntes 30.

[D]. Leade and bells by estimacion £180, and the howse in very goode and requisite reparacion.

[E]. Goodes £119 5s. 6d., *videlicet* moveable with the cattall £84 7s. 1d.; corne £34 18s. Detts owyng to the house *null*.

[F]. Woodes of sondry years and growes worthe now to be solde by estimacion £20. Parkes, forests, and communes *null*.

[G]. Detts due by the howse £16, as apperyth by a byll of parcells.

#### THE PRIORY OF CHANONES OF COKESFORDE.

[A]. Of thorder of Seynt Augustyne, ys a hede howse and hathe a covent seale and ys of the yerly value of £121 19s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. with £17 7s. 10d. for the demayne landes there in thoccupation of the prior.

[B]. Religious persones 3, all prysts of goode name, and they require their dispensaciones.

[C]. Persones havynge levynges ther 64; whereof weytyng servants, 7; hindes 40; children 3, almes folke in the hospitalle 14.

[D]. Lead and bells by estimacion £100, and the house in decaye and ruynous.

[E]. Goodes £67 7s. 11d.; in moveable goodes with the cattall £17 7s. 11d.; corne £50; detts due to the howse *null*.

[F]. Woods, parks, forests and commons *null*.

[G]. Detts due by the howse £26 13s. 4d. as apperyth by bylls.

#### THE MONASTERY OF NUNES IN MAREHAME.

[A]. Of the Order and rule of Cysteweys, ys a hede howse and hath a covent seale and ys of the clere yerly value of £32 7s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. with £15, 14 for the demayne landes there.

[A]. Religious persons 5, of slanderous reporte, wherof 3 of them done require their dispensacions and the residue will continue in religion.

[C]. Persones havynge levyns there 12; wherof prysts 1; women servants 4; hindes 8.

[D]. Lead (*null*) and bells by estimacion £4 4s. The howse in sore decaye.

[E]. Goodes £32 13s. 6d.; wherof in goodes moveable with the cattall £12 13s. 6d.; corne by estimacion £20; detts due and owyng to the house *null*.

[F]. Woodes, parkes, forests, and commons *null*.

[G]. Detts due and owyng by the howsse 110s., as apperyth by a bill of parcells.

#### THE PRIORY OF NUNNES OF CRABBEHOWSE.

[A]. Of thordre of Seynt Augustyne, ys a hede howse and hath a covent seale and ys of the clere yerly value of £28 16s. 10d., with 77s. 4d. of new encrease upon this survey and with £16 4s. 8d. for the demayne lands ther, nowe in thoccupacion of the prioresse.

[B]. Religious persons 4; wherof 3 of them don require ther dispensacions and one wille be religious. Ther name ys goode as [ys commonly] reportyd.

[C]. Persones havynge lyvyng in the saide howsse 6; wherof women servants 4; hindes 2.

[D]. Lead and bells by estimacion £40 4s., and the house in requisite reparaciones.

[E]. Goodes £15 5s. 8d.; in goodes moveable with the cattall £14 2s. 2d. corne by estimacion 23s. 4d. Detts due to the howsse *null*.

[F]. Woodes, parkes, forestes, and communes *null*.

[G]. *Null*.

(f. 5). *The top portion is not legible*: "Ther name ys not goode," however, can be read.

According to the articles  
of our instructions. { THE PRIORY OF BYNHAM, named to be a cell to the monastery of St. Albones; hath a privy seale to appere before you incontinent upon the sight therof.

{ THE MONASTERY OF SHULDEHAME and the PRIORY OF MAR-MONDE ben of thordre of Gylberdynes who hath in lykewyse commandement by privy seale to appere before you upon the sight of the same.

{ THE PRIORY OF MODNEY, named to be cell to Ramsey, hath a privy seal to appere *ut sup*.

THE PRIORY OF INGHAME ys solde to one William Woodehowsse and the religious personss in the same dispersed and gone, and the goodes and cattalls wasted and spoyeled. The circumstances of which matter we have advertysed and sygnified unto you by our letters.

THE PRIORY OF CHANONES OF FLYTHAME ys named to be a cell of the Priory of Chanones of WALSINGHAME. To . . . seale to appere before you accordynge to our sayde instructions.

(f. 6)

#### THE MONASTERY OF WENDELYNG.

[A]. Of the Premonstratynes Order is a hede house and hath a covent

seale and ys of the clere yerly value accordyng to the last valuacion of £72 5s. 4½*d.*, with £16 9s. 7½*d.* for the demayne lands there; wherof £7 parcell of the same was solde before the last view, and diverse parcells of land ys solde to sonderly persones by several grauntes under convent seale for ever as shall appere, and the rest of the same landes and possessions now remayning in the abbotts handes ys devysed to Rycharde Southwell, Esquire, and Robt. Hogan for the term of 99 yeres yeldyng yerly for the same £13 6s. 8*d.* as shall apere under the covente selle of the said house, beryng date the 1st daye of Nov. the 26 yere of the Kynges reigne, and at that tyme sealyd and delyvered as the abbote before us hath confessed and deposed whiche we have thoroughly examyned.

[B]. Religious persons 5; all prysts who don require capacities. Ther name ys nott good.

[C]. Persones havyng levyng ther 12; wherof hinde 2; weytyng servants 10.

[D]. Leade and bells by estimacion £100, and the house in decay.

[E]. Goodes £12 8s. 9*d.*; moveable with cattall £6 17s. 10*d.*; corne 100s.; detts due to the house 11s.

[F]. Woode of 8 yeres growe, every acre worthe nowe to be solde, 10s.—£4. Parkes, forests, and communes *nil*.

[G]. Detts due and owyng by the house £66 17s. 11s. as appereth by a bill of parcells thereof made signed wt. the hand of the said prior.

#### THE PRIORY OF MONKS IN BROMEHOPE.

[A]. Of the Order of Clunysenses ys a hede howse and hath a covent seale and ys of the clere yerly value of £109 0s. 8*d.*, with £8 15s. 4½*d.* of newe encrease, and with £4 15s. 4*d.* for the demayne lande ther nowe in the occupacion of the prior.

[B]. Religious persons 4, alle prystes requiryng dyspensac, and they ben of very goode name and fame.

[C]. Persones havyng levyng ther 33; wherof weytyng servants 4; hinds and labores 26; persons found of almes 3.

[D]. Lead and bells by estimacion £200, and the house in requisite reparacion.

[E]. Goodes £49; wherof in moveable goodes and cattall £31 10s.; corne £17 10s.; detts due to the house *nil*.

[F]. Woodes of sundry ages 100 acres, every acre nowe worthe to be solde 13s. 4*d.*—£66 13s. 4*d.* Parkes, forests, and communes *nil*.

[G]. Detts due by the house *nil*.

#### THE PRIORY OF CHANONES IN WAYBORNE.

[A]. Of the Ordre of Seynt Augustine ys a hede howse and hathe a covent seale and ys yerly worth *de claro* £24 19s. 6½*d.*, with 11s. 9*d.* for the demaynes ther. This house ys in decaye, 53s. 4*d.* by the yere, parcel of the said somme of £24 19s. 6½*d.*

[B]. Religious persons 2; prysts of slaundrous name as yt ys said, and they require their dispensacions.

[C]. Persones havyng levyng there 3; wherof 2 of them have corrydes by the covent seal.

[D]. Lead and bells by estimacion £60, and the howse in decaye.

[E]. Moveable goods 57s. 2d.; corne *nil*. Dettes due to the howsse *nil*.

[F]. Woodes, parkes, forestes, and communes *nil*.

[G]. Detts due and owyng by the house *nil*.

#### THE PRIORY OF CHANONES IN BEESTON.

[A]. Of thorder of Peterston. They ben callyd chanones hospitlers, and they have a covent seale and ys yerly worth £43 2s. 4½d., with 60s. 10d. for the damayne landes there.

[B]. Religious persones 3, requyryng ther dispensacions. They ben of goode name.

[C]. Persones having living ther 14; wherof servants 7; childerne 6; and one skoller in Oxonforde that hath 40s. yerly for his exibucion.

[D]. Lead and bells by estimacion £60, and the house in good reparacion.

[E]. Moveable goods 67s. 2d.; corne, 66s. 8d.=£6 13s. 10d. Detts due to the house *nil*.

[F]. Woodes, parks, forests, and communes *nil*.

[G]. Detts due and owyng by the house £20, as appeareth by a byll of parcells.

#### THE PRIORY OF CHANONES OF WEYBRYDGE.

[A]. Is a head house and hath enstitucion of the bysshoppe and hath no covent seale, and ys of the clere yerly value of £7 13s. 4d.

[B]. Religious persones 1, and he hath a dispensacion.

[C]. Servants 2.

[D]. Lead and bells *nil*.

[E]. Moveable goodes, stokes and stores *nil*.

[F]. *Nil*.

[G]. *Nil*.

#### THE PRIORY OF CHANONES OF HIKELYNGE.

[A]. Ys dissolved and the relygious persones sent uppe for the dispensacions to my lorde of Canterburys Grace.

The possessions of which house is grantyd to the Bisshopp of Norwich by acte of Parliament whiche said Bishopp claymyth by the same acte the goods and catalls appertaynyng to the same which we have lefte to your determinacion and judgement.

Co. NORFOLK.—The totalle viewe of the certificate within written in the countie aforesaid besides the cells and other howsses not surveyed.

That ys to say :

The clere yerly value of all the landes and possessions, £1194 0s. 4d.

The yerly encrease of the same upon this survey £44 5s. 4½d. = £1238 5s. 8½d.

The number of religious persones 75.

Requyryng to continue in religion 19.

Requyryng to have dispensacion 56.

The numbre of servants, hinde and others 385.

The value of lead, bells, by estimacion £1699 8s.

The value of all the goods, with the stokes, stores and the detts owing to the howses, £756 4s. 2d.

The value of the woods now to be sold £537 6s.=£2992 18s. 10d.

The debts due and owynge by the howses £403 8s. 4½d.

MEMORANDUM.—That the parsonages beyng in thandes of thencumbents of the religious houses within wrytten wyll not hereafter kepe value, for that the same parsonages have been servyd by the religious persons of such monasteryes woo nowe shall be upon the dyssolucion of the howsses dispersid, albeit the same personages ben parcell of our value within written accordynge to the laste valuacion.

ITEM—Ther ys no deduction of almes in the value which ought to be remembred in case the Kynges Highness depart with the hole possessions of any howse.

\* CO. SOUTHAMPTON, WILTS, BRISTOL, GLOUCESTER.

(M. 1.) COM. SOUTHAMPTON.—The certificate of James Worsley, Knight, John Poulet, Esquyer, George Poulet, Esquyer, Richard Poulet, and William Berners, Comyssioners assigned by our soverayne lord the King to enquire serche and examyn within the same countye of and upon all and singuler articles annexed to the Kinge comyssion to theym in that behalf directed, made the 30th daye of Maye in the 28th yere of the reigne of King Henry the VIII as ensuyth.

*Articles of Instructions to the said Comyssioners.*

(These are practically the same as before given and the answers may be placed under the same heads.)

#### PRIORY OF WINTENEY.

[A]. A hedde howse of nunnes of thordre of Cisteaux. (Former valuation) £43 0s. 3d.; (present value) £50 5s. 8d., wt. £10 for the demaynes of the same.

[B]. (Religious persons) 10, by reporte of good conversation which hoolly desieres to contynue in the same religion.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 29—viz., priests 2; waytinge servants 1; hinds 13; women servants 9; corodiers 2; and theyr servants 2.

[D]. Church and mansion in good reparacion, tiling excepted. The kytchyn and bruyng house in great decay. Lead and bells to be solde esteemed to £28 1s. 4d.

[E]. (Goods) £188 17s.—viz., plate and juelles £35 0s. 10d.; ornaments £6 11s. 6d.; stuffe £16 0s. 6d.; graynes of all kindes £16 19s. 8d.; stokkes and stores, £114 4s. 6d.

[F]. Owinge by the house as particularly apperith £72 17s. 0d., and owinge to the house nil.

[G]. Great woodes, beyng common, 34 acres, and copis woddes of divers ages 55 acres. Esteemed to be solde £42 14s. 10d.



## ABBAY OF ST. MARIE IN WINTON.

[A]. A hedde house of nunnes of thordre of St. Augustyne. The monastery of large buyldinge, situate nigh the myddell of the citey havynge noo demaynes belonging to the same. (Former valuation) £179 7s. 2d.; (present valuation) £330 18s. 6½d., with £150 conceyld upon taxacon of the tenthes without consente of the abbes and convent as is confessed.

[B]. (Religious) 26, whereof 25 desiren to kepe theyr habite in religion and oon upon dissolucon desiereth capacite. Thole number in their ordre bene religious and in lyvinge vertuons by comon reaport.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 76—viz., preests 5; laysisters by foundation 13; women servants 9; officers of the houshold and waytinge servants 20; corodiers 3; children 26.

Over and besides the greate relief dayly ministred unto the poore inhabitants of the said city.

[D]. Church and mansion wt. all oder houses of large circuyte been in very good astate and in all things well repayred. Leade and bells viewed and estemed to be sold to £182 12s. 6d.

[E]. (Goods) £480 15s. 11d.—Plate and juelles £371 18s. 4d.; ornaments £89 10s.; redy money £15 13s. 4d.; stuff £27 3s. 8d.; graynes £2 9s. 8d.; stokkes and stoores £324 15s. 7d.

[F]. Owinge by the house *nil*. Owinge to the house wt. £24 6s. 8d.; in the tennants hands, £30 9s. 4d.

[G]. Great woods 146 acres, and copis woods of divers ages 78 acres. Estemed to be sold to £231 7s. 4d.

## PRIORY OF SEINT DIONISE.

[A]. A hedd house of chanons reguler of thordre of St. Augustyn. (Former valuation) £80 11s. 6d.; (present valuation) £95 12s. 2½d. wt. £13 6s. 8d. for the demaynes.

[B]. (Religious) 6, all beinge preestes of good conversation, wherof desyren to contynue in religion 3, and to have capacities 3.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 9—viz., officers in houshold 4, and waytyng servants 5.

[D]. Church, mansion and housinge in extreme ruyn and decaye. Leade and bells viewed and estemed to be sold to £22.

[E]. (Goods) £17—viz., plate and juells 60s.; ornaments £8 17s. 8d., and stuff 102s. 4d.

[F]. Owing by the howse as particulerly apperith £27. Owinge to the house £52 12s.

[G]. Great woods, beinge very thynne sette 90 acres. Esteemed to be solde to £36 13s. 4d.

## PRIORY OF LETELEY.

[A]. A hedde house of monkes of thordre of Cisteaux, being of large buyldinge situate upon the ryvage of the sees. To the kyngs subjects and straungers traveling the same sees great releef and comforte. (For-

mer valuation) £100 12s. 8d.; (present valuation) £181 2s. 8½d., wt. £9 9s. 4d. for the demaynes and mille there.

[B]. (Religious) 7, all being priests, by reporte of good religious conversation, whereof desiren to continue religion 6, and to have capacities 1.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 32—viz., Freers Observants, comytted by the kings highness 2; waiting servants 4; officers in household 11. For the church: hinds 7, and for the dayery 3.

[D]. Church mansion and houses of great buylding in good asteate of reparacion. Lead and bells viewed and esteemed to be sold to £57.

[E]. (Goods) £206 1s. 3d.—viz., plate and juells £43 2s. 11d.; ornaments £39 4s. 8d.; stuff £9 3s. 4d.; corne not severed £16 17s.; stokkes and stoores rem. £103 13s. 4d.

[F]. Owinge by the house as particularly apperith £42 3s. 4d. Owinge to the house £28 5s.

[G]. Great woods 77 acres; copis wodes 5 acres; all esteemed to be solde to £81.

#### THE ABBEY OF QUARRE IN THE YLE OF WIGHT.

[A]. A hedde house of monkes of the Ordre of Cisteux, being of large buyldinge situate upon the ryvage of the sees by report great refuge and comfort to all thinhabitants of the same yle and to estraungers traveiling the seid sees.

(Former valuation) £134 3s. 11d.; (present valuation) £156 10s. 1d., wt. £20 for the demaynes.

[B]. (Religious) 10, all being priests by report of good religious conversacion. Whereof desieren to contynue religion 8, and to have capacities 2.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 39—viz., waiting servants, 10; servants in the church 2; officers of household 8; hinders 10; lavenders 2; servants in the dayerie 6, and corodiers 1.

[D]. Church mansion and houses of large buyldinge in convenient reparacion. Leade and bells estemed to be sold to £19.

[E]. (Goods) £330 17s. 3d.—viz., plate and jewells £48 14s. 3d.; ornaments £17 10s. 8d.; stuff £23 13s. 4d.; cornes and graynes £20; stokkes and stoores £220 19s.

[F]. Owinge by the house as apperith £55 8s. 9d.; owing to the house £9 18s. 4d.

[G]. Great woods 94 acres; copis woddes 56 acres; all estemed to be solde to £122 18s. 4d.

#### PRIORY OF BREMMORE.

[A]. A hedde house of chanones reguler of thordre of Seint Augustyne. (Former valuation) £154 14s. 1½d.; (present valuation) £156 15s. 8½d., with £4 12s. 8d. for the demaynes.

[B]. (Religious) 8—viz., preests 6; novesses 2, by report of good conversacion; whereof desyre to kepe religion 2, and to have capacities 6.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 19—viz., waiting servants 5; officers in the household 7; carters 2; in the dayery 2; and corodiers 3.

[D]. Church in convenient reparacion. Mansion and outehouses in ruyn and decaye. Leade and bells viewed and estemed to be solde to £35 12s.

[E.] (Goods) £50 5s.—viz., plate and jewels £32 11s. 4d.; ornaments 103s. 4d.; stuff £6 18s. 8d.; stores of catalles 101s. 8d.

[F]. Owing by the house as appereth £169 18s. 11d.; owing to the house £11 11s. 10½d.

[G]. Great woods 66 acres; copis woods 45 acres; all estemed to be sold to £49 6s. 8d.

#### PRIORY OF MOTTEFONTE.

[A]. A hedde house of chanon reguler of thordre of Seint Augustyne.

Dissolved and possession therof delivered to Sir William Sandes of the most Hon. Order of the Garter, Knight, Lord Chamberleyn, according to the King's pleasure and commandment signified unto the said commissioners [and to the] Chancellor and Courte of Augmentation. (Former valuation) £124 3s. 5½d.; (present valuation) £164 12s. 6d., with £6 13s. 4d. for the demaynes.

[B]. (Religious) 10—viz., preestes 8, and novesses 2, wherof commytted to the monastery of Christchurch Twynham 1 with — of the King's reward and sent with lettres for their capacities 8 wt. every of them 40s. of the King's reward and 1 novice sent unto his friends with 30s. of like reward.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 29—which bene discharged.

[D]. Church and mansione in convenient reparacion. The oute houses in ruyne and decaye; lead and belles there viewed and esteemed to £155 which been delivered to the said lord chamberleyn by the assignment of the said chauncellor's lettres.

[E]. (Goods) £148 9s. 4d., whereof reserved to the King's use in plate and jewels £42 3s. 8d.; in ornaments £38 15s. 4d. The goods, graynes, cornes, stokes and stores there delivered unto the seid lord chamberleyn by boke indented according unto the lettres of the said chauncellor £67 11s. 4d.

[F]. Owing by the house as appereth £103. Owing to the house 53s. 4d.

[G]. Great woddes 60 acres; copis woddes of divers ages 92 acres; all esteemed to be sold to £106 13s. 4d.

Sum of the value certified £816 13s. 1d.

Sum of the possessions with encrease £1135 17s. 4¼d.

Sum of the religious 77 { Abiding 56,  
&  
capacities 21.

Sum of the persons (servants, &c.) 233.

Sum of the lead and belles £499 5s. 10d.

Sum of the goods £1822 0s. 9d.

Sum of dettes { Owing by the houses £470.  
                  { Owing to the houses £135 9s. 10½d.

Sum of the woods £67 13s. 10d.

(M. 2.)

COM. WILTS.

(Heading same as before, *mutatis mutandis*. The names of the commissioners are Henry Longe, Knight, Richard Poulet, Esq., John Pye and William Berners. Their appointment is dated 1 July, 28 Henry VIII. The articles of Instructions are as before.)

## PRIORY OF MAYDEN BRADLEY.

[A]. A hedde house of chanons regular of thorder of Seint Augustyne. (Former valuation) £180 10s. 4d.; (present valuation) £199 16s. 4d. for the demaynes of the same.

[B]. (Religious) 8—viz., preests 6 and novesses 2, by reporte of honeste conversacion; wherof desyr contynnance in religion 5, and to have capacities 3.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 18—viz., wayting servants 4; officers of household 9; hindes 3; and corodyers 2.

[D]. Church and mansion wt. all the housing in good reparacion newly repayred and amendyd. The lead and bells there estemed to be solde to £67 10s.

[E]. (Goods) £40 13s. 4d.—viz., juels and plate £18 8s. 10d.; ornaments £12 15s.; and stuffe of household £9 9s. 6d.

[F]. Owyng by the house as particularly apperyth £191 13s. 10d.; and owing to the house £54 2s. 8d.

[G]. Greate woods 178½ acres, and copys woods 142 acres, all to be solde esteemed to £160.

Comons in the forest of Sellewood without nombre.

## PRIORY OF FARLEY.

[A]. A hedde howse of Clunasents of Seint Benetts Rule. (Former valuation) £153 14s. 2½d.; (present valuation) £195 2s. 8½d., with £18 4s. 6d. for the demaynes of the same.

[B]. (Religious) 6, all beinge preests of honest conversation, holley desyryng continuance in religion.

[C]. (Servants) 18—viz., wayting servants 5; officers of the household 8, and hindes 5.

[D]. Church and mansion with outhouses in convenient state. The lead and bells viewed and estemed to be solde to £28 8s.

[E]. (Goods) £89 18s. 7d.—viz., juells and plate £30 3s. 3d.; ornaments £8 15s. 4d.; stuffe of household £10 13s.; stokkes and stores £39 7s.

[F]. Owing by the house £245 2s. 7d. Owing to the house £51 10s.

[G]. Great woods 100 acres, and copis woods 66 acres; all to be solde estemed to £62 16s.

## ABBEY OF LACOK.

[A]. A hedde house of nunnes of S. Augustynes rule, of great and large buyldings, set in a towne. To the same and all other adjoynyng by common reaporte a great releef. (Former valuation) £168 9s. 2d.; (present valuation) £194 9s. 2d., with £16 3s. 4d. for the demaynes of the same.

[B]. (Religious) 17—viz., professed 14, and novesses 3, by report and in apparaunce of vertuous lyvyng, all desyryng to continue religios.

[C]. (Servants) 42—viz., chapleyns 4; wayting servants 3; officers of household 9; clerk and sexton 2; women servants 9, and hynds 15.

[D]. Church, mansion, and all oder houses in very good astate. The lead and bells there estemed to be sold to £100 10s.

[E]. (Goods) £360 19s.—viz., jewells and plate £64 19; ornaments £17 12s.; stuff £21 18s. 2d., and stokkes and stoores £257 0s. 10d.

[F]. Owing by the house *nil*, and owing to the house *nil*.

[G]. Great woods *nil*; copys woods 110 acres; estemed to be solde to £75 1s. 4d.

#### PRIORY OF KYNTON.

[A]. A hedde house of Minchins of Saint Benedicte's rule. (Former valuation) £25 9s. 1½d.; (present valuation) £35 15s., with 100s. for the demayns of the same.

[B]. (Religious) 4, by reporte of honest conversacion, all desyryng continuance in religion.

[C]. (Servants) 11—viz., chapleyn 1; clerk 1; women servants 4; wayting servants 1; hinds 4.

[D]. Church and mansion in good state. The oute houses in summe ruyne for lacke of coveringe. The lead and bells there estemed to be solde to 105s.

[E]. (Goods) £17 1s.—viz., ornaments 8s. 6d.; stuffe 2s. 10d. and stoores of corne and cattall £12 19s. 8d.

[F]. Owyng by the house £50, and owyng to the house *nil*.

[G]. Great woods none; copys woods 36 acres; esteemed to be solde £24.

#### ABBAY OF STANLEY.

[A]. A hedde house of monkes of thordre of Cisteux, of large, stronge buylding, by reporte of all the countre a greate releef. (Former valuation) £177 0s. 8d.; (present valuation) £204 3s. 6½d., with £32 9s. for the demayns and mille of the same.

[B]. (Religious) 10—viz., preests 9, and novesse 1. By reaporte of honest conversacion, all desyryng contynuanee in religion.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 43—viz., scholemaster 1; wayting servants 4; officers in the house 10; hyndes in divers granges 18; dayery women 3, and founden of almes 7.

[D]. Church and mansion with all outehouses in a very good state, part newe buylded. The leade and bells esteemed to £65 10s.

[E]. (Goods) £260 12s.—viz., jewels and plate £42 9s. 2d.; ornaments £13 11s. 4d.; stuffe £14 9s. 2d.; stores of cattell £124 3s. 8d.; corne not sewed £65 8s. 8d.

[F]. Owyng by the house £285 5s. 11d., and owyng to the house £12 13s. 4d.

[G]. Great woods and copys woods 269 acres, esteemed to be solde to £164.

#### PRIORY OF PULTON.

A house of Gylbertyne's of thordre of Sempryngham.



Summa of the leade and bells £273 8s.

Summa of all the goods £1024 18s. 3d.

Summa of detes owinge by the houses £794 4s. 6d.

Summa of detes owinge to the houses £132 16s.

Summa of the woods £639 14s. 10s.

(M. 3.)

COM. VILLE BRISTOLL.—The certificate, &c., of Thomas White, Richard Poulet, Nicholas Thorne, and William Berners, &c. (as before). (Date of the commission 3 August, in the 28th yeare of the reign of Henry VIII. Articles of instructions as before.)

#### PRIORY OF SEINT MARY MAGDALEN IN THE TOWN OF BRISTOLL.

[A]. A hedde house of nunnes of Seint Augustynes ordre. (Former valuation) £21 11s. 3d.; (present valuation) £21 13s. 2d., with 3s. 4d. for the orcharde and garden.

[B]. (Religious) 2, by report of honest conversacion, whereof one professed, beyng governor impotent and aged; the other a yonge noves desiring contynuaunce in religion.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 2, the one a manne servant, thother a woman lauder.

[D]. Church and mansion in convenyent reparacion. The leade and belles ther estemed to be solde to 19s. 4d.

[E]. (Goods) 62s. 10d.—viz., jewels and plate 26s. 8d.; ornaments 32s. 2d., and stuffe of householde 14s.

[F]. Owyng by the house *nil*, and owyng to the house *nil*.

[G]. Great woods and underwoods being together 10 acres, estemed to be solde to £13 6s. 8d.

#### PRIORY OF SEINT JAMES IN YE TOWNE OF BRISTOWE.

A house of monkes of thordre of Seinte Benedicte a selle appropriate to the monastery of Tewkesbury, datiff and removeable.

To the priour and governor wherof was delyvered a pryvey seale with an injunction to hym given by the seid commissioners to appere before the Chaunceller and Counsell of the Courte of Augmentacion the 9th day of June in the 28th of the seid Kynge upon payne of 500 marks.

#### COM. GLOUC.

The certificate of John Walche, Edmund Tame, Knight, Richard Poulet and William Berners, &c., as before.

The commission dated 4 Sept. anno. 28 Hen. VIII. The "Articles of Instructions" as before.

#### ABBEY OF FLAXLEY.

[A]. A hedde house of monkes of thordre of Cisteux. (Former valuation) £112 3s. 1d. (Present valuation) £129 1s. 6½d. with 66s. 8d. for the demaynes.

[B]. (Religious) 7, all beyng preests by reporte of convenient conversacion, whereof desiren to contynue in religion 4, and to have capacities 3.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 18—viz., wayting servants 2; convers 1; officers of household 7; hyndes 4; dayery women 2; and corodyers 2.

[D]. Church brent and consumed with fyre. The house in ruyn and decaye; lead, none. The bells molton with fyre and the metall solde for and towards the new buyldynge of the seid church.

[E]. (Goods) £69 8s. 6d.—viz., jewels and plate £16 13s.; ornaments of the church 73s. 4d.; stuff £6 5s. 6d.; stokkes and stoores £25 8s.; and graynes not sewed 76s.

[F]. Owyng by the house £17 1s. 4d. Owyng to the house £21 8s. 4d.

[G]. Great and underwoods several and common 1000 acres, all estemed to be solde to £57.

#### PRIORY OF STANLEY.

A house of Blake Monkes of thordre of Seinte Benedicte. A selle appropriate to the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester; datiff and removeable.

To the priour and governor wherof was delyvered a pryvey seale with an injunction geven to hym by the seid commyssioners to appere before the Chauncellor and Counsell of the Court of Augmentacion the 16th day of June in the 28th year of King Henry VIII. upon payne of 500 marks.

#### PRIORY OF SEINT OSWALD NIGH GLOUCESTER.

[A]. A hedde house of channons reguler of thordre of S. Augustyne. (Former valuation) £90 10s. 2½d. (Present valuation) £95 2s. 6d.

[B]. (Religious) 7, all being prests, by reaporte of honest conversacion, wherof desyren to kepe religion 5 and to have capacities 2.

[C]. (Servants, &c.) 8—viz., waiting servants 3; officers of household 2; for the church 1; and hyndes 2.

[D]. Church ruynous. The house of late newe repayred. Leade and bells esteemed to be solde to £57 5s.

[E]. (Goods) £74 8s. 6d.—viz., juells and plate £25 5s. 4d.; ornaments £8 17s.; stuffe 78s. 10d.; stokkes and stores £36 7s. 4d.

[F]. Owyng by the house as apperith £124 9s. 3d. Owyng to the house *nil*.

[G]. Woods of thage of 24 yeres and above 3 acres, estemed to be solde to £6.

#### PRIORY OF DEREHURST.

A house of Blacke Monks of the Ordre of Seinte Benedicte.

A selle appropriate to the Monastery of Tewkesbury, datyff and removeable at the will of the abbot there. The priour of the same aged and impotent, to whom was delyvered a pryvey seale w<sup>t</sup> an injunction to hym given by the seid commyssioners to appere before the seid Chauncellor and Cuncell of the Courte of Augmentacion the 19th day of June in the 28th year of the seid King upon payne of 500 marks; and for hys seid impotencye desired to make hys apparance by oon of hys bretherne.



## GLOUCESTER.

Sum of the value certified £202 13s. 3d.

Sum of the possessions, with £21 10s. 9½d. of encrease, £224 0s. 4½d.

Sum of the religious 14 { abydinge the same 9  
and  
capacytes 5.

Sum of the servants 26.

Sum of the leade and belles £57 5s.

Sum of all the goods £143 17s.

Sum of detts { owyng by the house £141 10s. 7d.  
owyng to the house £21 8s. 4d.

Sum of the wodds £63.

F. A. GASQUET.

## ART. II.—THE POPES AS PROMOTERS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

WHEN the struggle between civilisation and barbarism had reached its acutest stage and was carried on simultaneously over an area that was nearly conterminous with the old Roman Empire, the task of maintaining even an elementary knowledge of science and of the liberal arts was upheld in Europe chiefly by monastic institutions. Selfish enterprises of war and conquest absorbed the interest and life of an age which set at naught the higher elements of existence, or relegated their pursuit to an indefinite future. Whilst the clash of arms filled the outside world with its clangour, the arts of peace were cultivated in the silence of the cloister. They were not, however, destined to be confined to the cloister alone. They soon made their way outside its walls. They laid hold of the barbarous elements that had grown up around them, and that offered them at first so stout a resistance. By degrees they subjugated all that came within their reach; and if we look back with affection to-day towards the great centres of monastic life that were spread over Europe at the dawn of the Middle Ages, it is because they preserved civilisation from utter extinction, and besides having been citadels of faith and homes of moral purity and self-sacrifice in an evil time, they kept alive and fostered under every disadvantage the cultivation of art, literature and science.

But when Christianity had triumphed over all the forces opposed to it, and when the restraints of the Gospel were placed alike on Frank and Teuton, on Goth and Vandal, society soon began to assume a different aspect. Its altered conditions quickly gave birth to new demands. The monasteries had served their educational purpose well, and could still continue to develop their special branches of intellectual industry and thus contribute a noble part to the formation of the institutions that were finally to supersede them. Glastonbury and York, Reichenau and St. Gall, Ratisbon and Fulda, Bec, Jumièges, Cluny, St. Maur, held on for centuries in spite of all competitors. But when states and kingdoms were now

established on a basis of security, man's natural desire for knowledge, universal and exact, appealed alike to kings and peoples. The partial development of the faculties that was possible in times of war and revolution was no longer equal to the complex conditions and exigencies of the new life. Hence, before the university came to be established in its full organisation, various approaches to it were tried and found admirably suited to the wants of the time. These were designated for the most part either "*Studium Generale*" or "*Studium Commune*," or "*Studium Universale*." The first of the kind which was founded in Europe was that which Charlemagne attached to his palace. This great Emperor seemed destined by Providence to lay down and consolidate the foundation of a new order of things :

Like Alexander [writes Hallam\*] he seemed born for universal innovation. In a life restlessly active we see him reforming the coinage and establishing the legal divisions of money ; gathering about him the learned of every country ; founding schools and collecting libraries ; aiming, though prematurely, at the formation of a naval force ; attempting for the sake of commerce the magnificent enterprise of uniting the Rhine and the Danube, and meditating to mould the discordant codes of Roman and barbarian laws into an uniform system.

Charlemagne, however, rendered a greater service to literature and especially to higher studies than the mere creation of schools and the employment in them of the most famous professors ; for he effected the definite emancipation of the Papacy from all political dependence, and enabled it to wield without further serious obstacle that beneficent influence which has contributed so much to the supremacy of Europe and the civilisation of the world. For many centuries after this there was scarcely any great educational development inaugurated in Europe that cannot be traced either directly or indirectly to the Popes. Paris and Bologna, Salerno and Oxford, may not have had direct Papal institution at their origin, yet under the first glimmer of their undoubted appearance as universities, we find them under the protection of the Popes, receiving privileges and assistance from them, appealing to them in their troubles and internal conflicts, and asking to have their rules, their structure, their organisation approved and confirmed. The

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\* "*State of Europe during the Middle Ages*," vol. i. p. 8.

number of universities, however, that were founded by letters patent of the Roman Pontiffs, whether at the request of princes, governments, or bishops, or under their own immediate impulse and by their own direction, is very large. Copies of the letters of erection of the following are still extant,\* and can be seen for the most part amongst the archives of the Vatican Library:—Toulouse, founded in 1229 by Gregory IX.; Rome, in 1244 by Innocent IV.; Montpellier, in 1289 by Nicholas IV.; Lisbon, in 1290 by Nicholas IV.; Avignon, in 1303 by Boniface VIII.; Perugia, in 1308 by Clement V.; Coimbra, in 1308 by Clement V.; Cambridge, in 1318 by John XXII.; Pisa, in 1343 by Clement VI.; Valladolid, in 1346 by Clement VI.; Prague, in 1347 by Clement VI.; Erfurt, in 1388 by Urban VI.; Pavia, in 1389 by Boniface IX.; Heidelberg, in 1385 by Urban VI.; Cologne, in 1388 by Urban VI.; Turin, in 1405 by Innocent VII.; Leipzig, in 1409 by Alexander V.; Valencia, in 1410 by John XXIII.; St. Andrews in Scotland, in 1413 by Benedict XIII.; Glasgow, in 1450 by Nicholas V.; Aberdeen, in 1494 by Alexander VI.; Bordeaux, in 1441 by Eugene IV.; Ingoldstadt, in 1472 by Sixtus IV.; Saragossa, in 1474 by Sixtus IV.; Tübingen, in 1482 by Sixtus IV.; Avila, in 1482 by Sixtus IV.; Presburg, in 1467 by Paul II.; Louvain, in 1425 by Martin V.; Griefswalde, in 1456 by Calixtus III.; Basle, in 1460 by Pius II.; Freiburg in Baden, in 1456 by Calixtus III.; Dillingen, in 1552 by Julius III.; Vilna, in 1579 by Gregory XIII.; Gratz, in 1583 by Gregory XIII.; Tlaskala, in 1598 by Clement VIII.; Paderborn, in 1615 by Paul V.; Pampeluna, in 1621 by Gregory XV.; Osnabruck, in 1672 by Clement X.; Münster, in 1631 by Urban VIII.; Urbino, in 1671 by Clement X.; Majorca, in 1671 by Clement X.; Innsbruck, in 1672 by Clement X.; Guatemala, in 1687 by Innocent XI.; Breslau, in 1702 by Clement XI.; Quebec, in 1854 by Pius IX. Louvain, after a period of suppression, was re-established in 1834 by Gregory XVI., whilst the Catholic universities of Freiburg in Switzerland and Washington in the United States owe their foundation and prosperity to the present illustrious Pontiff Leo. XIII. In this list we have not included the “Collegium

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\* The originals down to 1400 are quoted by Father Denifle in his splendid work on the “Universities of the Middle Ages.”

Romanum" the "Propaganda," the "Apollinare," and the "Collegio Pio," which are purely ecclesiastical establishments, nor the "Catholic Institutes" of France, which are forbidden by law to bear the name of university.

We must remember also that if many of the other universities were founded and endowed by secular princes or by powerful rulers and statesmen, whether clerical or lay, the Popes were not indifferent to the undertakings, nor could they be said to have had no part in their erection. They willingly and ardently co-operated in every effort that was made to instruct and enlighten. The faculties could not be fully organised without their approval, and the approval, as we have said, was invariably secured. Thus, for instance, the University of Salamanca was founded by Alfonso IX., King of Leon, and endowed by his successors Ferdinand III. and Alfonso X., but, although the archives of its first years have been scattered and lost, there are ample proofs still in existence of the active co-operation and approval of the Popes. The letter given below, as quoted by Father Denifle,\* addressed to the Bishop of Compostella, in 1313, by Pope Clement V., bears testimony not only for its own date, but for long years before.

Earlier still, when Alonso VIII. of Castile established the first Spanish University at Palencia, he did so at the instigation of Don Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, and took care to secure the approval of Pope Honorius III., through Tello,† the bishop of the diocese which he had chosen to be the seat of the university. It was under similar patronage and encouragement that Alfonso el Sabio of Castile, following the plans of St. Raymond of Pennafort, founded the great linguistic school

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\* "Universitäten des Mittelalters," p. 490; Codex Vat. 13, Mart. 1313. An. 8, ep. 210, Bl. 70a. "*Exposuit nobis venerabilis frater noster Salamantini. Episc. quod licet ab olim per nonnullos Castellæ reges sapientiaæ zelatores ad decus ecclesiarum et illuminationem fidelium ejusdem regni, in civitate Salamantini infra ipsius regni terminos constituta, ordinatum fuisset studium generale et demum auctoritate Sedis Apostolice confirmatum, quod ibi per longa temporum spatia viguisse dignoscitur, propter aptitudinem loci et fertilitatem victualium de diversis mundi partibus magistrorum et scholarium multitudo concurreret, &c.*"

† The brief of Pope Honorius to Tello runs: "*Cum igitur ex parte tua fuit expositum coram nobis ad dandam salutis scientiam plebi tue, in civitate tua scholas theologie, sacrorum canonum et aliarum facultatum provide ordinari, nos in hoc discretionis tue studium non immerito commendantes, tuis precibus inclinati, scolas ipsas necnon personas magistrorum et scholarium sub Beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus.*"—Denifle, "Die Universitäten des Mittelalters," p. 476.

and university of Seville, in the year 1254, for the special study of Hebrew and Arabic and of the other subjects calculated to be most useful for the conversion of Saracens and Jews.

Pedro IV. of Aragon made similar provision for his subjects at Perpignan and Huesca in 1349. It is, we imagine, unnecessary to add that the great institution founded in the thirteenth century at Alcalà by Sancho IV.\* of Castile, and revived by the illustrious Cardinal Ximenes in 1510, had all authentic approval and confirmation from the Holy See.

In like manner in Northern Europe when Sten Sture, the famous administrator of Sweden, undertook in 1477 to erect the University of Upsal, he did so by the advice and persuasion of Archbishop Ulfsson, the Primate of Scandinavia, who obtained from Pope Sixtus IV. the right to establish the faculties of theology and law as well as those of medicine and philosophy. When the centenary festival of this university was celebrated in 1877, a large work was published on its history by Claes Annerstedt, the university librarian, who spoke in eloquent terms of the services rendered to civilisation and learning by the Roman Church, whilst the Chancellor of the University spoke on the same occasion of Archbishop Ulfsson as the real founder of the university, and as "the noblest, purest, and most enlightened Swedish patriot of his time."† The University of Copenhagen was erected under somewhat analogous circumstances by Christiern I. on his return from a visit to Rome in 1479.

By similar co-operation and good understanding with Pope Urban V. the University of Vienna was erected in 1365 by Rudolf IV., Duke of Hapsburg, and that of Cracow in 1364 by King Casimir of Poland.

The people of Basle, in Switzerland, in 1460, besought Æneas Sylvius, who had been secretary of the council there some years before and who was now Pope, with the title of Pius II., to sanction and encourage the establishment of a university in their city, to which the Pontiff readily assented.

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\* The king's letter of foundation of this school is still extant. "Tenemos por bien de hacer estudio de escuelas generales en la villa de Alcalà. Y porque los maestros y los scholares hayan voluntad di venir hi al estudio otorgamosles que hayan todas aquellas franquezas que ha el estudio de Valladolid."—Sagraddi, "Historia della Cuidad di Valladolid," p. 192.

† "Nordische Reisen durch Scandinavien nach St. Petersburg." Alex. Baumgartner, S.J., p. 336.

The University of Geneva had been previously founded by the Emperor Charles IV. and Count Amadeus of Savoy, and had been approved with all the faculties—theology, law, medicine and letters—by Pope Urban V.

The State-Absolutists of modern times represent the school established at Naples by the Emperor Frederick II. as the first example in existence of the state university exempt from all ecclesiastical control. Nothing, as Father Denifle clearly shows, could be farther from the truth.\* Frederick II. was, no doubt, quite capable of the idea of a purely state university, but, in an age of faith, he was incapable of realising it. In those days the co-operation of the Church was essential to success. This picture of a rationalist emperor in the thirteenth century, surrounded by poets, artists, astrologists, teachers versed in both branches of the law, by Arabian mathematicians and Jewish sceptics, is too dear to the modern imagination not to be utterly and even grossly exaggerated. As far as Frederick's implacable hostility to the Church and his turbulent opposition to the Popes in political matters is concerned, nobody will deny it. In this respect he was in very truth what his aged and venerable opponent, Gregory IX., was accustomed to call him, "A monster vomited by the earth." At one time, leading a crusade, he wrested Jerusalem from the Saracens, but, in the height of his victory, plotted in turn with the Caliphs of the East for the destruction of Christendom. Despoiling the Church, defying its excommunications, ridiculing its observances, shedding torrents of blood in the midst of his professions of love for peace and civilisation, writing poetry himself, and putting out the eyes of Pietro delle Vigne, the poet and chancellor who had shed most lustre on his reign; an utter barbarian in spite of his culture; a warrior who feared only the elements, like his pagan ancestors of the north, and yet who died penitent in the arms of two priests, giving an example at the end in spite of his wickedness of the faith that conquers all things. The dominating character of Frederick showed itself, however, chiefly in politics. In other things he was practical, accommodating, and even generous. It is certain that the mendicant friars were

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\* "Die Universitäten des Mittelalters," by H. Denifle, pp. 452-457:

employed in his university until political considerations induced him to banish them. The faculty of theology was the first there as elsewhere, and could not have been incorporated without the concurrence of ecclesiastical authority. But political troubles upset the whole institution, and at different times altogether interrupted its existence.\* For a short time, during the exile of the friars, the faculties of arts and civil law were carried on by themselves. It was during an interval of this kind that St. Thomas of Aquin studied grammar and logic there under Magister Martin, and natural philosophy under Magister Petrus de Hibernia.† Even this part of the foundation did not long survive Frederick himself, for his successor Conrad decided on transferring the whole establishment to Salerno. When Manfred restored the study again to Naples his quarrels with the Holy See interfered with its success, and it was not until Charles of Anjou took it in hand, under the advice and direction of Pope Clement IV., that it could be said to have been founded on a permanent basis.

With regard to the great medical school of Salerno, its early history is involved so much in obscurity that it is impossible to say whether its origin was ecclesiastical or secular.‡ One thing only is certain, that it attracted students from all parts of the known world, and that its charms of scenery and climate vied with the fame of its teaching in leaving a lasting impression on all who frequented its halls. Giles of Corbeil gave expression to the general affection and remembrance of its alumni when he spoke of it as the "Alma Mater."

Cujus fama nitet late diffusa per orbem ;  
 Quam medicinalis ratio, quam physicus ordo  
 Incolit atque regit, quam nostrae providus artis  
 Cultus odoriferis specierum imbalsamat hortis.

The learned Italian writer, Puccinotti, expresses the opinion that the school of Salerno was originally an offshoot of the

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\* Origlia, "Istoria dello studio di Napoli," p. 20.

† "Unde puer de utriusque parentis consilio Neapolim mittitur et sub magistri Martini in grammaticalibus et logicalibus et magistri Petri de Hibernia studiis in naturalibus edocetur."—Denifle, p. 457.

‡ "Le prove positive mancano e tutti documenti che si possono citare riguardano tempi lontani della prima fondazione."—De Renzi, "Storia Documentata della Scuola Medica di Salerno," p. 145. Quoted by Denifle, *op. cit.*



great Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino.\* This, like the opposite contention, is nothing more than a conjecture, and in the absence of documents cannot be confirmed with certainty.

The history of the University of Bologna is perhaps more instructive than that of any other similar institution, not only on account of the light it throws on the influence of the Popes in promoting and encouraging centres of universal study, but also because of the example it presents of the gradual development or evolution of the university model such as it has come down to us and exists at the present day. There would seem to have been three steps or periods in the growth of the fully matured system. The first was the organisation of students around a school or series of schools into corporate bodies, with something like a common government and recognition of common authority, and the combination at the same time of the doctors or professors in independent organisations with common interests and common aims. In the second stage privileges were sought for and obtained from both civil and ecclesiastical authorities for doctors and scholars in their respective spheres, and included not only powers of conferring and receiving diplomas and degrees, but also exemption from jurisdiction in several matters in Church and State. The third brought all the different organisations under the control of one central governing body, with a rector at its head. This was the progress of events undoubtedly in Bologna. The school of law in that city is said to have been instituted by the Emperor Theodosius II., in conjunction with Pope Celestine I., in 433. But the document on which this assertion is founded is evidently false. It shows clear internal proof of having been forged centuries later. Nevertheless, at a very early period great numbers of students flocked to Bologna to be instructed there by the adepts in Roman law. The scholars, who were for the most part men of mature age and ripe experience, were in the course of time formed into two distinct corporations, the *Citramontani* or *Italians*, and the *Ultramontani* or *foreigners*.† Each division had its own rector and government proper. Four of its most

\* "*Storia della Medicina*," Napoli, 1860, pp. 317-326.

† The *Ultramontani* were composed of: *Gallici*, *Picardi*, *Burgundiones*, *Pictavienses* et *Vascones*, *Turonenses* et *Cenomanenses*, *Normanni*, *Catalani*, *Ungari*, *Poloni*, *Theotonic*i, *Yspani*, *Anglici*, *Provinciales*.

distinguished professors—Bulgarus, Martin, Jacob, and Hugo—were specially convoked to the Diet of Roncaglia by Frederick Barbarossa in 1158, and obtained from him there, in the charter known as the “*Authentica Habita*,” amongst other important privileges for their corporations that of exemption from the criminal jurisdiction of the city, and the right to erect an independent tribunal for themselves.

Law, both civil and ecclesiastical, was the specialty of Bologna, and for a long time it was the only faculty in existence there. Whatever other studies were pursued in the city at this early period were subsidiary to it and altogether of little importance. The reputation of the school was made by the lawyers alone, by men like Isnerius, the great expounder of the civil codes, who taught merely for the love of teaching and the pleasure of imparting knowledge; or like Gratian, the Benedictine, who laid the foundation of the “*Corpus Juris Canonici*,” by the compilation of the collection known as the “*Decretum Gratiani*.” It was only in the thirteenth century that the faculties of medicine and letters came into existence there, and about the middle of the fourteenth that Pope Innocent IV. completed its university attributes by erecting the faculty of theology side by side with the others. But as far back as any authentic information reaches in connection with the history of the institution, we find the Popes taking the liveliest interest in its welfare and progress. Thus, before the two corporations were definitely established, or rather when they were in process of formation, the students apply to Pope Honorius III. (1217) to settle some differences which had arisen between the natives and the foreigners. The Citramontani had only just then formed themselves into a corporation; the Ultramontani were not yet organised. In reply, the Pope writes a most fatherly letter to all the students from Rome, Campania, and Tuscany residing at Bologna, and reminds them that although their formation into a corporate body is laudable and even necessary, yet they should maintain a spirit of charity and hospitality towards all who do not belong to their organisation. Three years later the students again have recourse to his Holiness. The civic authorities of Bologna were beginning to interfere with the privileges and liberties conferred on them, and it is against their encroachments that the students now

appeal. The result is a long letter from Honorius to the rulers of the city of Bologna, warning them to desist from their interference, and reminding them of the honour and advantages conferred on their city by the crowds of students who flock to their schools from all lands, and who could, if molested there, easily turn elsewhere for their education.\* On another occasion it is the professors who have to complain of some breach of faith on the part of the municipal rulers, and again Pope Martin IV. takes up the defence of the university professors, and enforces their rights by his full authority.† No other university indeed was so closely bound up with the Papacy; for it gave to the Church, besides an immense number of cardinals and bishops, at least six Popes—viz., Honorius II., Lucius II., Gregory XIII., Innocent IX., Gregory XV., and Benedict XIV. Moreover, it must be said to the credit of the Church that the college system, which had the same origin in Bologna as in Paris and Oxford, was developed there chiefly by ecclesiastics. The “Collegio Bresciano,” for instance, was founded in 1326 by William of Brescia, Archdeacon of Bologna, for poor scholars from foreign nations. The “Spanish College” was established by the famous soldier and cardinal, Ægidio Albornoz, whose name is so familiar to all who are acquainted with the history of Rienzi, the last of the tribunes, and the return of the Popes from Avignon. The “Collegium Gregorianum” owed its origin to the munificence of Pope

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\* Sane cum ex studio literarum præter infinita commoda, quæ sentitis ex eo, vestra civitas inter alias sit famosa et in universo mundo nomen annuntietur ipsius, factaque sit altera Bethlehem, domus videlicet panis, qui parvulis frangitur in eadem, ex qua exeunt duces; quoniam in studio eruditi assumuntur ad regimen animarum; non solum debetis a scholarium gravaminibus conquiescere verum etiam illos honoribus prevenire, attendentes quod ipsi gratuito ad studendum vestram preelegerint civitatem, quæ cum prius esset humilis per eos ibidem congregatis divitiis fere supergressa est civitates provinciae universas.”

† “Ecce enim cum dilecti filii, cives Bononienses, legum doctores, cum ob devotionem nobis ab eis habitam quæ sumpsit exordium ex familiaritate contracta nobiscum diu antequam conscenderemus speculum apostolici culminis, pro salutari consilio super quibusdam casibus eorum gravantibus conscientiam consequendo ad apost. sedem accesserint; vos preponentes rationis iudicium et sequentes vestrarum arbitrium voluntatum de subtrahendis salariis debitis doctoribus memoratis et de quibusdam aliis articulis nonnulla statuta doctoribus ipsis et eorum honori contraria. . . . Universitatem rogandam duximus et adhortandum . . . . supradicta et quaelibet alia in doctorum ipsorum prejudicium penitus revocetis et doctores ipsos ad honores et status pristinos liberaliter admittentes necnon solita benevolentia et condigna reverentia prosequentes, eis providiatis de consuetis salariis et provideri ab eorum auditoribus libere permittatis.”

Gregory XI., whilst enormous sums of money were devoted by other Popes to the maintenance and advancement of the studies and general interests of the university.

Bulaeus or Du Boulay makes an elaborate attempt in his "History of the University of Paris"\* to show that that great institution was founded by Charlemagne. This contention is now, however, definitely rejected by all critical writers. The establishment of Charlemagne in which Alcuin taught was undoubtedly a high school of a very advanced kind; but it had nothing about it of the organisation of a university, and, moreover, it did not last long after its founder's death.

It was only two centuries later that famous teachers began once more to attract scholars from distant countries to the schools of Notre Dame, of St. Geneviève, of St. Denis, and St. Victor. In the days of Abelard, Roscelin and William of Champeaux there was no such thing in Paris as an university. Father Denifle, in his valuable work on the "Universities of the Middle Ages," gives under seven headings the result of his careful and critical studies on the University of Paris and its history:

1. The University of Paris was constituted as such at the end of the twelfth century, by the combination of the masters of the four "disciplines" or faculties, theology, law, medicine, and the arts.

2. Each of the four faculties was gradually formed by a combination of the teachers of the same department, which combination was called a faculty and originally meant a discipline in the sense of a college of professors in the same branch of studies.

3. At the beginning scholars from the same nation formed a separate organisation, but the whole body in the course of time was divided into four nations. This was by no means an organic development; but in the thirteenth century the division was found artistic and was accordingly adopted.

4. The members of each "nation" were all scholars, but included the Licentiates and Masters of Arts.

5. The "Masters of Arts" belonged on the one side to the "consortium magistrorum," which constituted the university, and on the other side to the student's organization or the "Four Nations."

6. The rector was originally the head of the four nations, but after a little time also head of the Faculty of Arts; for at the commencement faculties had no common head any more than the whole university.

7. It was about the middle of the fourteenth century that the rector

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\* "Historia Universitatis Parisiensis."

of the four nations and head of the faculty of arts became the recognised head or rector of the whole university.\*

Taking these conclusions as our starting-point we can confidently assert that there was scarcely a step made in advance in the constitution of the university as a whole that Papal authority was not invoked and exercised to sanction or modify or confirm. The very oldest document in existence in connection with the university is a decretal of Innocent II., issued in 1180, in which he defines the functions of the chancellor and determines the extent and limits of his rights. During the half century that followed there were over a hundred Papal Bulls or Briefs directed to the university authorities. What was regarded as the *Magna Charta* of the university was contained in the Bull of Gregory IX., "Parens Scientiarum," issued in the year 1231, and a few years later it was provided by a letter of Pope Innocent IV. that no one should promulgate a sentence of excommunication, suspension or interdict against the university or any of its members without the special licence of the Apostolic See, and that if promulgated it should be null and void. The tact and moderating influences of Rome were likewise exercised all through the historic contest for precedence between the various faculties. Originally the students and masters of the arts faculty held a preponderating and overwhelming influence in the "four nations," and the "Master of Arts" whom they selected as moderator or rector of their own body became in course of time, by a very natural transition, rector of the whole university, with authority over all the other faculties as well as his own. As time went on, however, and the students of theology, law and medicine began to increase, the faculty of arts felt obliged to take precautions in order to ensure its pre-eminence. The plan adopted was to ordain that no scholar should receive his degree or any diploma in the university unless he took two oaths ordered in the following terms :

1. Item jurabitis quod statutum factum et ordinatum per facultatem artium de prepositione rectoris in actibus communibus universitatis inviolabiliter observabitis, ad quemcumque statum deveneritis.
2. Adhuc jurabitis quod libertates singulas et consuetudines honestas

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\* "Die Universitäten des Mittelalters," p. 130.

facultatis et totius universitatis privilegia deffendetis, ad quam cumque statum deveneritis.

Notwithstanding these precautions frequent efforts were made by the other faculties to flout or deny the authority of the rector. Thus, for instance, in 1365, the Dean of the Faculty of Law, addressing the rector in a general assembly, uses the unruly language: "Non curo de preceptis vestris plusquam de uno obolo." The struggle of the theologians against the arts faculty was even still more embittered and prolonged.\* In the end the rector of the university, the procurators of the four nations, and the whole faculty of arts were cited "ad instanciam theologorum" before the Roman Curia, when the English nation sent to Rome as its representative, "ad litigandum contra dominos theologos" Magister Conrad of Sweden. The Holy See, with some solatium for the plaintiffs, declined to interfere with the authority of the rector.

Wood, who has done for Oxford what Du Boulay did for Paris, attributes the foundation of his university to Alfred the Great. This opinion prevailed for centuries in England. It was affirmed in an Act of Parliament at the time of the Commonwealth, and found expression much earlier still in the lines of the poet Harding.

And in the yeare eight hundred eighty and tweyne  
Martin, Bishop of Rome, granted to King Alfred  
To found and make a study then againe  
And an Universitee for Clerkes in to rede,  
The which he made in Oxenford indede  
To that intent that Clarkes by sapience  
Againe Hereticks should make resistance.†

It is now, however, universally admitted that this story of the foundation is absolutely baseless. Oxford was not a place of general study before the time of Edward the Confessor. It probably began as such some time in the eleventh century. That it flourished and was well attended is evident from the account which Roger Wendover gives of the event which dis-

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\* In the year 1347 Du Boulay tells us: "Hocce tempore lis quaedam surxit inter Rectorem et quosdam Doctores Theologos qui vocati ab ipso, nec ad proposita respondentes, ob contumaciam perjuri declarati sunt et infames. At isti Theologi, ita privati, Rectorem, Procuratores, et totum facultatem Artium ad Romanam Curiam vocaverunt ut comparerent infra triginta dies."

† "Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis," by Antony à Wood, p. 16.

turbed it in 1209, when the students and masters, to the number of 3000, quitted the town and betook themselves to Reading, Maidstone and Cambridge. That it was originally a clerical institution, directed and frequented exclusively by clerics, is equally certain. It received from the earliest days of its existence as an university the most cordial encouragement from the Popes. Innocent IV., Boniface VIII., Clement V., and Eugene IV. conferred on it the most extensive privileges. The letter addressed by the university\* to Martin V. in 1427 is signed by the "most devoted sons of your Holiness, the chancellor and unanimous body of the masters of your University of Oxford." In addition to this the greatest of its material benefactors were either members of the Roman Court like Cardinals Beaufort and Wolsey, or bishops in orthodox communion with the Holy See, like Merton and Waynefflete, Chichele and Bradwardine. In spite of its centuries of Protestantism there is still an air of the old monasticism about the place which recalls the happy days of union and brotherhood in the West. The beautiful reredos of All Souls' Chapel, recently restored by the Earl of Bathurst, is in itself a history of Catholic times, a sort of *résumé* of the ages of faith, when exquisite art was at once the outcome and the support of piety, and when Old England was not ashamed to honour "St. Mary, the Virgin," or pay its share of homage to the Vicar of Christ.

The spirit of fiction which attributed Oxford to King Alfred and Paris to Charlemagne, has attempted a bolder flight still in the case of Cambridge, to which it ascribes a pair of mythical founders in the persons of King Arthur of the Round Table and Cadwalladyr, King of Britain. The first authentic mention of Cambridge as a seat of learning dates from 1209, when the students referred to above withdrew from Oxford where they had been ill-treated, and repaired to Cambridge. A few years later a brief was addressed by Pope Gregory IX. to the Bishop of Ely giving him authority to absolve from the excommunication incurred by the clerics resident at the university, "pro levi injectione manuum in seipsos vel alios clericos." But the university could scarcely be said to be definitely con-

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\* Wilkins' "Concilia," vol. iii. p. 476.

stituted until King Edward II. wrote in 1318 to Pope John XXII. asking him as a special favour to confirm and *perpetuate* the establishment, which the Pontiff immediately did.\*

John Lech, Archbishop of Dublin, was the first who sought to establish an university in Ireland. In 1312 he obtained a Bull from Clement V. authorising the foundation. Unfortunately he died in the same year; but his project was taken up and adopted by his successor, Alexander de Bicknor, who in 1320 obtained another letter from John XXII. approving the enterprise. The university was to be established in connection with St. Patrick's Cathedral.† The Dean of the Chapter, William Rodiart, was made its first chancellor. As far as plans were concerned the scheme was elaborate,‡ but a university cannot succeed without students, and the outlawed Irish were kept far away from Dublin in these days, and the Anglo-Norman gentry had too many other schemes on hand besides educational ones. The university was accordingly starved and allowed to die. A similar fate overtook the establishment founded in Drogheda, in the reign of Edward IV., endowed though it was with all the privileges of Oxford University, and established with the hope, as the Statute expresses it in Norman French, that it would secure "*si bien l'encreasse du science, richesse et bonne gouvernance comme l'avoidance du riot, male gouvernance et extorsion.*"§ In 1475 the last attempt before the Reformation was made for university education in Ireland. This time the promoters of the undertaking were the religious orders of Dublin. They explained in a long letter to Pope Sixtus IV. the needs of the country, and the pressing necessity of a place of higher study, asking at the same time for authorisation to undertake the work. The Pope readily complied with their request. His letter constituted the university as a corporation complete in itself and very independent of all external control, with liberal elective powers given to its members.|| But here again the same causes that militated

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\* "*Nos igitur Apostolica autoritate statuimus ut in predicto loco Cantebrie sit de cetero studium generale illudque ibidem vigeat perpetuis futuris temporibus in qualibet facultate et omnibus jurebus gandeat quibus gaudere potest et debet quelibet universitas legitime ordinata.*"

† See Monck Mason's "*History of St. Patrick's Cathedral,*" 1320.

‡ Ware's "*Antiquities of Ireland,*" chap. xxxvii.

§ *Ibid.*

|| See Burgho's "*Hibernia Dominicana,*" chap. iv., No. xvii.



against previous efforts were victorious also. The government would not give the new institution either endowment, edifice, or incorporation. It is no wonder that it came to nothing. The blight of foreign rule killed all progress and all prospects of success. Then came the Reformation with its long and dreary centuries of persecution, of which it is needless to speak. In our own times Pope Pius IX. cordially approved and supported the establishment by the Irish bishops in 1854 of a Catholic university in Dublin. This institution did splendid work while it lasted. The scholars, who were employed in its halls as teachers and professors, left a profound and most interesting impression on the literature of their time. It is a pity it was ever dismantled and its most flourishing faculty reduced to naught. But the strain of supporting it was too much for the resources of the country. We can only look forward with hope to the day when justice may yet be done to Irish Catholics in this department of higher education and when a university may be erected in Dublin that shall receive the approval and co-operation of the country and to which the successor of St. Peter may impart that Apostolic Blessing which through the long roll of ages gave the initial and life-giving impulse to so many institutions of the kind.

J. F. HOGAN.

### ART. III.—A MISSIONARY MODEL FARM IN BORNEO.

1. *Illustrated Catholic Missions.* May–October, 1888.
2. *St. Joseph's Missionary Advocate.* Vol. ii.
3. *Letters from the Bornean Missionaries to the Superior of St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill.*

THE great primary of the Indian Archipelago, round which its minor islands group themselves in a half ring of attendant satellites, forms a sort of halfway house between Australia and China, between India and Japan. Its area of 280,000 square miles, greater than that of any European State save Russia, and entitling it to rank, after New Guinea, as the largest insular mass on the globe, is in great part unexplored, and cultivation has but nibbled at the shag of forest and jungle under which the potential riches of its soil lie buried. These are very great, including not only all the well-known tropical products, but many peculiar to itself, with still more priceless mineral treasures, culminating in silver, gold, and diamonds.

The highlands and mountain ranges of its interior form separate systems, divided by intervening lowlands, and rising from an extensive belt of littoral plains, everywhere gaining on the sea at a comparatively rapid rate by the accretion of fresh material. Its greatest mountain, Kina Balu, attaining the respectable altitude of 13,698 feet, rises in its north-western angle, and uplifts on its flanks a considerable region, affording a promising field for tropical highland culture in the varieties of climate and soil comprised in it. The rivers of Borneo constitute as yet the sole highways through its tangled forests, and, save within a short distance of their channels, the map of its interior is a blank.

The foundations of British rule in North Borneo were laid by a very remarkable man, the late Sir James Brooke, Raja of Sarawak. Originally a cadet in the East India Company's service, he equipped a yacht in the Mediterranean, and reaching the western coast of Borneo in 1839, constituted himself the protector of the weaker section of the native population in the

civil wars raging amongst them. They voluntarily submitted in increasing numbers to his authority, which, legalised by a concession from the Sultan of Borneo in 1842, was extended by additional grants in subsequent years. The area ruled over by the present Raja Brooke, his nephew and successor, forms a block of 50,000 square miles, with a seaboard 400 miles in length, and has a population of Chinese, Malays, Dyaks and other native tribes to the number of 300,000. The capital, Kuching, on the delta of the Sarawak river, with a population of about 10,000, and a considerable trade in sago, gutta-percha, and other tropical products, in addition to diamonds and the precious metals, is situated at the southern extremity of the State.

A further development of private adventure in Borneo, followed, during 1887-1888, in the negotiations by which a territory known as Sabah, occupying the northern extremity of the island, was ceded by the Sultans of Brunei (Borneo) and Sulu to the founders of the British North Borneo Company, incorporated by royal charter in 1881. To their administration the small colony of Labuan, an island off the coast occupied as a coaling station, was handed over in 1890, while a British protectorate was proclaimed over the Company's territory as well as over that of Sarawak and of the native State of Brunei at the same time. The Company's domain, a peninsular tract, with an area of about 30,000 square miles, nearly equal to that of Ireland, has undoubtedly great capabilities. Its coast-line, about a thousand miles in length, includes all the finest harbours of the island, of which the chief are Gaya Bay on the west, in which the whole British fleet could find anchorage, and Sandakan on the east, a deep inlet, fifteen miles long by five broad, into which seventeen rivers and streams discharge their waters. On the latter, the capital, Elopura (Beautiful City), is situated, with a ready-made highway to the interior in the river Kinabatangan, which is four fathoms deep, and fifty yards wide at a distance of eighty-five miles from its mouth. Near this river are the celebrated Gomanton caves, the principal sources of supply of the edible birds'-nests which form part of the riches of Borneo. The largest has a vault 900 feet in height, twice that of the dome of St. Paul's, and so numerous are the swifts that

furnish the gelatinous delicacy of the Chinese that they have been seen to issue from one of the apertures in an unceasing stream for three-quarters of an hour. They share their shelter with bats, some Bornean specimens of which measure  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet across the wings, and the accumulated guano both of the birds and quadrupeds forms another valuable product, while the export of nests to China amounts to an annual value of £5000.

A second esculent much prized by the Celestials—trepanng, or *bèche de mer*—is supplied by the Bornean seas. It is collected with such other marine products as sharks' fins, pearls, pearl-shell, and seaweed, by the Badjows, or sea-gipsies, a remnant of the ancient pirates, who wander in their boats, occasionally building temporary huts on shore.

They still look upon the sea and its produce as their own [says Mr. Cook of Sandakan, in an interesting article in the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, vol. vi.], nor are they disturbed in this belief, but the Government arranges to guide and assist them in conserving it. So well has this been done, that these people, who can muster about 5000, come and ask advice about the most simple matters. They are the reserve navy of North Borneo, and are divided into several fleets, with their admirals, commodores, and captains, just as we find in more civilised countries. It is no uncommon sight to see from twenty to forty sail entering or leaving Sandakan, Marudu, or Darvel Bay.

Commerce on the rivers is protected by a few Sikh or Malay police stationed at some of the principal points, and the natives now penetrate the woods fearlessly in all directions under the invisible ægis of the British flag. Malay traders, who import Manchester goods, bags of rice, kerosene oil, brass wire, and dried fish, ascend the rivers in canoes, and barter these articles for gutta-percha, india-rubber, camphor, beeswax, birds'-nests, rattans, and other jungle produce. Their downward voyage is made on a bamboo raft called a lanteen, on which a house of the same materials, with walls and roof of palm-leaves, shelters themselves and their families. The current alone propels these temporary craft, which are steered by a pole or oar, and fastened to the banks by rattans at night.

The forests swarm with deer, wild pigs, and other game, which the natives hunt with dogs, or shoot with poisoned arrows shot from the *sampitan*, or blowpipe. Larger species

are represented by the orang-utang, the two-horned rhinoceros, and the elephant, but the great carnivora only by the comparatively insignificant cheetah. The Argus and Bulwer pheasants whirr through the jungle, and sun-birds, Eastern rivals of the humming-bird of the West, flash back the sunlight from jewelled plumes. The creatures most destructive to life are the crocodiles, which haunt the rivers in such formidable numbers as to cause the abandonment of some of the villages on their banks, as they are strong enough to overturn the native canoes and make a meal of their crews.

Of the numerous varieties of valuable timber trees growing in the primæval forest, *bilia*, a species of ironwood, is the most prized. The gutta-percha tree, from an incision in the bark of which the glutinous milk exudes, sometimes attains a height of 100 feet with a girth of six, and the india-rubber vine, a creeper similarly treated, also flourishes luxuriantly. The sago palm, the pith of which, after repeated washings and siftings, furnishes that celebrated starch, grows freely on the swampy lowlands, and renews itself spontaneously by fresh suckers from the root, when cut down at the age of seven or eight years. Sugar-cane attains giant dimensions, and tobacco, another wild product, is much used by the natives, while under cultivation it is expected to rival that grown in Sumatra for the finer wrappings of cigars. Some 700,000 acres of land have already been leased to companies, principally for its cultivation, and the quality has been favourably reported upon in the market. To enumerate the fruits and vegetables growing wild or with but little cultivation would be tedious, but among them are yams, sweet potatoes, mangoes, pine-apples, oranges, bananas, bread-fruit, and last, but not least, the celebrated durian, with its deterrent odour and delectable flavour, exported in quantities to the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China.

The native population of the Company's territory is scanty, numbering probably no more than 150,000, and canoes may travel a hundred miles on the large rivers without passing a single habitation. Small-pox, which occurs in terrible epidemics once in eighteen or twenty years, exterminates them wholesale, and many deserted settlements attest its ravages. Vaccination has been successfully introduced by the English officials, and must prove a boon to the inhabitants. Chinese

colonisation, which formerly existed here on a sufficiently large scale to modify the race, is advocated, and the future labour supply will also be drawn from this source. The natives of the interior consist of innumerable tribes of Dyaks, who have an evil reputation from their former favourite pursuit of hunting their enemies in order to secure their skulls as trophies. These ghastly raids are now a thing of the past, and the dreaded head-hunters of Borneo prove more amenable to civilising influences than might have been expected from their antecedents.

The attempt to convert them to Christianity was made not long after the discovery of the island by the Portuguese, and Innocent XI. despatched Father Ventimiglia, a Theatine priest, on the mission. Of its success or failure no record has been handed down, save the tradition that many miracles attested his sanctity, and that he placed the island under the protection of Our Lady, St. Michael the Archangel, and St. Cajetan, the founder of his Order. Further missionary enterprise was checked by the exchange of Portuguese for Dutch sovereignty, and the middle of this century was passed before another Catholic priest brought the faith to the great island of the East. A career of romantic adventure led the second pioneer of the Gospel to its shores. A Spanish seaman, named Don Cuarteron, was in 1850 in command of a line-of-battle ship attached to the Philippine squadron, when on one of his voyages in the China Seas he came upon a sunken ship laden with treasure and costly goods. He gave notice of his discovery to the officials of Hong Kong, but the owner of vessel and cargo was sought for in vain. Meantime the Spanish captain, being in imminent danger of shipwreck, made a vow to devote life and property to a missionary life should he escape. Enriched by a large share of the derelict treasure, he fulfilled his vow, and leaving the service, repaired to Rome, where at the age of forty he entered the College of the Propaganda. Appointed, immediately on his ordination, Prefect Apostolic of North Borneo and Labuan, he landed there in 1857, and laboured courageously in his new vocation for two-and-twenty years. But the appointed time had not come for the Cross to be reared successfully among the Dyaks, and he returned to Rome in 1879, the sole survivor of all his fellow-

workers, to end his adventurous life in Spain shortly afterwards.

The resumption of the attempt to evangelise Borneo after this, its second, failure, was one of the first cares of the Pontificate of Leo XIII. The Prefecture Apostolic of Labuan and North Borneo, created on March 19, 1881, was entrusted to the English Missionary Society of St. Joseph, and several of its members, headed by the Very Rev. Father Jackson as Prefect Apostolic, went out a few months later to take possession of their new territory. Arrived at Kuching, the capital of Sarawak, in the summer of 1881, they were received with the greatest kindness, both by the Raja and the European residents. The former presented them at first with a house, and subsequently with fifteen acres of land as a site for their permanent installation, while the latter gave practical proof of their goodwill by supplementing the scanty furniture of the missionaries.

They seemed to watch [writes one of the latter] when we went out into the country, and on our return we found ourselves enriched, now with comfortable chairs (too comfortable for poor missionaries), then with mosquito curtains, tables, &c. &c., without our knowing the names of the kind donors.

Even with these additions the Fathers do not seem to have been very luxuriously lodged, as a new arrival, in February 1885, describes the walls of their apartment as formed of palm-leaves, while planks and boxes supplied the place of beds. By the advice of the Raja, they made Kuching their headquarters, gradually extending their operations thence by the water-courses which form its sole channels of communication with the interior. The Rejang, the main artery of Western Borneo, with a delta spreading its numerous arms over seventy miles of coast, gave them access to Kanowit, which they made their central station, with Fort Kapit, Sibü, and Sarik as out-posts. Missions, too, were opened farther north in the territory of the Company, on the rivers Papar and Patatan, nearly opposite Labuan, and at Sandakan, the British capital on the east of the island. The population within the range of their influence comprises Chinese, Malays, and Dyaks, on the coast and in the Rejang country, with descendants of the aborigines called Muruts, Dusans, or Ida'an in the interior, and a mixed

race of Malay origin interfused with Badjows, Sulus, and natives of the neighbouring islands, in the Papar district.

At Sandakan, or Elopura, as it is officially called, the mission buildings are situated on a small hill, containing about five acres of ground presented to the Fathers by the North Borneo Company. The work here is principally among the Chinese, who compose the main portion of the 5000 inhabitants. The school is flourishing, and one of its pupils, a little Japanese boy of eleven, died a most saintly death as described in a letter from Father Byron, in *St. Joseph's Missionary Advocate* for the autumn quarter of 1892. Baptized on his death-bed, after two years' instruction, by the name of Francis Xavier, chosen by himself, he kept repeating in his delirium the words "What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world if he lose his own soul," although he could scarcely have understood their meaning. Many of the boy converts, both here and at other places, show a great susceptibility to religious influences, and become most docile pupils, the elder helping to train and control the younger.

The mission at Papar is in the country of the Dusans, one of the aboriginal tribes, now partially civilised and living by agriculture in permanent villages. About 10,000 inhabit the banks of the Papar, which, like the Nile, overflows and fertilises the plains between the mountains and the sea. Cocoa-nut trees fringe its banks, and rice fields fill the levels through which it flows, with here and there a clump of sago palms, where the ground is too swampy for even that amphibious cereal, furnishing a resource to the inhabitants in case of the failure of their main crop. The houses are raised on piles, and roofed with atap, the leaves of the Nipa palm sewn together. On the same plan are built the little chapel and residence of the missionaries, situated on a terraced bluff overlooking the stream. The language used by the priests is Malay, but they are learning the native dialect, which is unwritten and varies from village to village. The following translation of the letter of a little Dusan boy to Father Jackson is given in the number of the *Advocate* last quoted from.

FATHER JACKSON,

I received the Sacrament of Baptism on Christmas Day, and the Sacrament of Penance on St. Joseph's Day. Father Jackson, where do



you live now? I ask from you a nice book with Latin prayers in it, a book to write in, a picture, a very nice belt, and an armlet. I like to talk to you; how are you in that other land? Why do you not come back to Sarawak? I am desiring to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation. I thank you because you ask things for me, and because you pray for me, and because you make me good. I pray for you.

Your child,

FELIX JOUT.

But perhaps the most interesting work of the Mill Hill Fathers in Borneo lies in that group of missions to which the Rejang and its affluents give access. Here they came in contact with the Dyak population, settled, Father Dunn thinks, to the number of 80,000, along the courses of these streams. Originally dwellers on the coast, they belong to the section of their nation known as Sea Dyaks, and were driven by the increase in their numbers during the last fifteen generations to seek fresh ground in the unbroken forest of the riverain region. Notwithstanding their community of race, indicated by similarity of customs and language, they have broken up into a number of separate tribes usually bearing the name of the stream on whose banks they dwell. Their mutual hostility gave scope for the practice of their favourite pursuit of reciprocal slaughter in order to secure the heads of their enemies as the ghastly trophies of their prowess. The influence of civilisation has abolished head-hunting, and among the Dyaks of Sarawak it has for many years back been exchanged for more peaceful avocations. The Dyak communities scattered along the river-banks consist each of from six to thirty families lodged under the single roof of a "long-house," accommodating the entire village. The building, raised on poles from six to twenty feet above the ground as a protection against enemies and inundations, is divided into as many sections as there are families in the community, and is reached by a notched pole, slanting from the ground to the verandah formed by its overhanging eaves. The framework and flooring are of bamboo, the walls and roof of palm-leaves stitched together, and the external decorations consist of grotesque carvings or poles surmounted by branching rods, grasses or streamers. A corridor running along the whole length of the interior gives access to the several family dwellings, the furniture of which is limited to a few mats and some rude pottery.

The collection of jungle produce, employing parties of from six to twenty men, who are sometimes absent for six months at a time, has now taken the place of head-hunting as an outlet for the spirit of adventure of the race.

For hundreds of miles along the coast [says Father Dunn of Kanowit, in an article on the Dyaks of Sarawak, in vol. iii. of the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*] parties of Sea Dyaks may now be met with, their boats laden with rattans, gutta-percha and india-rubber, to collect which they have travelled hundreds of miles from their native villages, and braved for months the dangers of sea and land.

Their religion consists in a belief in good and evil spirits, and more especially in omens, the flight of birds being considered so significant that the encounter of a "bad bird" suffices to cause the abandonment of an expedition. Celestial beings are invoked as the donors of temporal prosperity, and the principal of these celebrations is the annual feast of thanksgiving for the harvest, when in addition to universal banqueting some sacrificial rites are performed. There is, however, a vague belief in a future state, and among many tribes of the interior the summit of Mount Kina Balu is regarded as the abode of the spirits of the departed. The abandonment of these superstitions furnishes a severe test of the sincerity of the Dyak converts to Christianity, and the influence of the missionaries is in many cases strong enough to secure it. Thus in June, 1885, the condition of solemnly burning all heathen charms and fetishes, required by Father Dunn as a preliminary to the baptism of five families of neophytes, was complied with, the condemned objects being cast into the flames in front of the crucifix, despite the horror-stricken remonstrances of relations and friends. Insanity and ruin were predicted as the inevitable consequences of the wrath of the demons, but the increased prosperity of the new-made Christians falsified all these prognostications of evil. The blessing of their fields and the erection of a cross, with appropriate prayers, were accepted by many other families, and the result eagerly awaited as a sort of test of the truth of the creed proposed to them. The personal attachment shown by the Dyaks to the Catholic missionaries is a good augury of the future success of the latter amongst them. At Serik, where Father Dunn had begun to instruct the people, the Prefect Apostolic, on finding it neces-

sary to summon him away, had to contend with an unexpected outburst of indignation on the part of the population. They refused at first to give either a boat or men to enable him to leave, and were eventually persuaded to lend a small canoe only by the deposit of the missionary's books and vestments as a pledge of his return. Their joy on receiving him back again at the end of three months was proportionally great, and he did not again leave them until he had established a permanent station amongst them, with a resident priest in charge.

But the main obstacle to solid or stable work among the Dyak tribes of the Sarawak rivers, is the wandering life led by them as a consequence of the primitive form of agriculture they practise. This consists of partially clearing a patch of old jungle by felling the larger trees and clipping the underwood, and then setting fire to it, in order to provide manure by its ashes. The grain is simply sown broadcast if the ground be swampy, or dibbled in if dry. In some places it is first sown on rafts of from three to six feet long, covered with a layer of earth and placed on the river. They are soon verdant with the pale green shoots of the young rice, which is then transplanted to the fields. An attempt is made to keep the crop free from weeds, and to protect it from the depredations of wild hogs, innumerable swarms of rats and mice, and other enemies, during the five months intervening before it is harvested. This system entails the continual breaking up of fresh ground, and is most detrimental to the resources of the country, as acres of valuable forest, containing splendid timber and other products, are ruthlessly destroyed every year to provide fresh soil for temporary culture. The villages are moved on as fast as the short-lived fertility of the old clearings is used up, and sometimes change their sites as often as five times in as many years.

Missionary work, requiring the erection of permanent chapels and schools, the employment of catechists, and some stability in the relations between pastor and flock, is rendered almost nugatory by the constant shifting of the population. The converts, scattered through various communities over a wide district, disappear into the jungle, and are eventually lost sight of in their periodical migrations in search of "fresh fields and pastures new." Thus Father Dibona, writing in

November, 1893, instances a long-house with fifty-four Christians up the Tuat river, which six years ago was only two hours' journey from Kanowit by boat, and whose inhabitants have now to be reached by a walk in addition of two and a half hours "through mud and water, over fallen trees, and crossing a river six times." These people then talked of moving to another locality one day's journey across the mountains or four days by boat, where, after a few years, during which they could be only occasionally visited by a missionary, they would be re-absorbed among the heathen and permanently lost to Christianity. Incipient conversions are checked in the same way, as after some partial instruction has been given, the priest returns to finish the course, only to find the house with all its inmates vanished from its place, and no clue left as to its new location.

Driven to despair by finding a well-disposed population thus rendered inaccessible to lasting religious impressions, Father Dunn directed his energies to the execution of a scheme through which they might be attached to the soil by the link of permanent instead of transitory culture. For this the use of the plough, unknown amongst the Dyaks, was required, and our readers do not need to be told that the adoption of this implement in its rudest form implies the command of the services of some animal to draw it. The universal beast of draught and burden in Borneo, as indispensable as the ass in Mexico, or the ox in South Africa, is the water buffalo, resembling in habits and outward appearance those which travellers in Italy may see herded on the Campagna, or wallowing in the mud of the Pomptine or Maremman marshes. They love the water, and will lie half the day immersed in a river or pond, safe from the assaults of winged tormentors, and shielded from the heat of the sun. Their powers of swimming render them invaluable auxiliaries of travel in Borneo, where the tracks through the woods frequently cross streams and rivers, and the rider is carried over standing on the back of his mount. Their amphibious habits are equally useful in Bornean farming, since the rude wooden plough in use is dragged over the rice fields while they are either still covered with water or very soft, after which a little dressing with the harrow is the only further preparation made for the reception of the seed. To

introduce agriculture as thus practised by the Dusan tribes among the Dyaks of Sarawak, is the present aim of Father Dunn, and for this purpose a "buffalo fund" was opened by the Council of St. Joseph's Missionary Society, the appeal being generously responded to by many of the members. He was thus enabled to start, in 1891, his interesting experiment, by the purchase of four buffaloes, the cost of which, including their transport from North Borneo to Sarawak, amounts to £5 5s. per head. The wages of Dusans and labourers will moreover entail an outlay of £7 10s. a month for three or four months of the year, and of about £3 a month for the remainder. Practical success was immediately achieved in the increase of productiveness; for while under the old system crops of ten bushels an acre on hilly land, or thirty on the valley bottoms, represented the average yield, the latter figure was raised to eighty bushels for the more favourably situated lands, a nearly threefold advance on the best results of native tillage. The inferiority, indeed, of the old method is sufficiently proved by the fact that while the banks of the Rejang for 100 miles from its mouth contain large tracts of the best rice-growing land in the world, and three-fourths of the population are employed in its cultivation, there is not only no surplus for export, but £30,000 worth of rice has to be annually imported from Siam and Singapore. Were the advantageous conditions of soil and climate fully utilised, these figures would be reversed, and the import of rice be replaced by a considerable export.

The purchase of two more buffaloes in 1892 brought up the number employed to six, and Father Dunn was able to report in January, 1893, that ten acres of land had been enclosed with an ironwood fence, of which four were actually under cultivation, while the remainder had still to be cleared of stumps and roots. Of the acreage cultivated, one-half had been worked by a couple of Dyaks who had settled near the Mission with their families, and the other half by the boys of the Mission schools. In the course of the year another small farm had also been started at Bawan, about five miles from Kanowit, and here a substantial shed had been erected, and four acres brought under cultivation.

This little farm [says Father Dunn, in a letter published in the *Advocate*, for the spring quarter of 1893] is crossed by an old road, the over-

land route from the Rejang to the rivers Oga and Muka, so that foot passengers having to pass through the farm it serves as a good advertisement, and has already made our new farming system known far and wide over the country. Three young Dyaks, belonging to a Christian family in this place, having completed the work on their own rude native farm, set to work upon a piece of land adjoining our farm and cleared about an acre of the trunks and roots. They then worked on our farm for a few days to learn how to manage the buffaloes, and afterwards ploughed and harrowed their own piece of land with a little assistance from us. Thus during this past year three Dyak families have made use of the plough and harrow, which we consider a fair beginning.

Naturally, the labour of preparing unbroken jungle for the plough is very arduous. Not only have the stumps and roots of the trees to be carefully removed, but dams must be thrown up to retain the water for irrigation, and the ground after ploughing has to be harrowed to prepare it for the reception of the seedlings. The Dyaks do not realise without practical proof that this work, when once accomplished, is done for ever, as the successful results of Dusan agriculture on the same system are too remote to appeal to their intelligence. Neither will they lay out money on the purchase of buffaloes until they have learned by experience that it is profitably expended, which is the lesson the Mission of Kanowit is now engaged in teaching them. Already they have proved sufficiently apt pupils to keep the six buffaloes employed in full work, and they were at the end of the season reduced to skin and bone. More funds are therefore needed to give extension to this promising enterprise, which is already producing a considerable effect in the hoped-for direction of establishing a Christian community. In addition to the actual price of the buffaloes themselves, two Dusan farmers skilled in their management must be employed, the Fathers think, for another year, and the expenditure on tools and implements has to be met as well. Father Dibona, writing on the 23rd of last November, declares the outlook then to have been very encouraging.

Here in Kanowit [he says] five old schoolboys (one is just married) have made fields with help from the Mission. They are heart and soul in the work, and next year can extend it by adding to their fields, so that in two or three years they will have enough to support a family. For this, however, they want a buffalo, and as they can get some money for their coffee, they will be able, with some help from the Mission, to procure one. This would mean five families of good Christians settled down. The field

of last year was divided into small sections, and five schoolboys got one apiece. The bigger boy, who is just married, got a piece, and two Christian families one each. This field is used to teach those who want to learn to use the plough for the first time. Last year it was divided in the same way among the boys who have this year made fields of their own.

Our field on the Bawang river is divided amongst two Christians and three families under instruction, while one of the former has in addition taken up a field of his own. Should he succeed this year it may prevent most of the fifty-four Christians in the long-house from moving farther off, and induce them eventually to join him. Another family in Bawang has already a large field, this being the second year they are at work.

He adds that, though these results may not appear very large to any one who does not know the Dyaks, to him they seem very encouraging. Meantime Father Dunn had ordered four more buffaloes, but in his opinion double that number would be required for this, the ensuing year. But without continuous financial support for the next two or three years, the success hitherto achieved will be rendered abortive, as it takes some little time to make a permanent impression on a race so wedded to their own habits as the natives of Borneo.

To those, indeed, who have tried to introduce a higher standard of life and labour even among nominally civilised peoples, the ground for wonder will be, not that a larger measure of success has not been attained, but that so much has been done in so comparatively short a time. Agriculturists of all nations are inherently conservative, and the task of revolutionising their methods is one that has been found impracticable by many a would-be reformer within the circuit of our own islands. That Father Dunn and his fellow-labourers should have overcome the initial obstacles to starting a model farm in the interior of Borneo, is in itself a proof that the zeal of an apostle can cope with difficulties insuperable to ordinary philanthropy.

The system pursued seems to be an admirable one. It consists of retaining in the Mission the property of the reclaimed land at Kanowit, while allotting it for use during each year to successive relays of youths trained in the school, and of an age to begin life for themselves. In an adjoining district, meantime, a larger quantity of ground would be gradually taken up and worked for a term of about three years by the Mission, to be then divided among different Christian families,

who would be in this way induced to establish themselves permanently in the district. The formation of a Christian community would thus be secured, and the shifting conditions of life hitherto imposed by the necessities of temporary culture exchanged for the more civilising influences of permanent settlement. The land and the people would be reclaimed together, and an orderly basis provided for future society among the converted heathen. The experiment is full of possibilities not only for the religious, but for the general development of a region rich in natural resources beyond, perhaps, any other portion of the earth. To allow the enterprise to collapse for want of continued financial support from the people of this country would be to renounce the best prospect yet opened of winning a footing for the faith among the inhabitants of that favoured land. That industrial and religious training should go hand in hand is the cardinal principle to which the missionary system of the Catholic Church owes so much of its success, in raising at once, morally and materially, the status of the degraded races long excluded from the inheritance of Christian civilisation. We need only point, as instances of the results of this method, to the settlement founded by the French Fathers of the Holy Ghost at Bagamoyo in East Africa, to the Benedictine colony of New Nursia among the aborigines of Western Australia, and to the Trappist foundation at Mariannhill among the Kafirs on the Natal border. Borneo, an unexplored treasure-house of Nature, with vast and undeveloped capabilities, affords a field at least as promising for the work of reclamation. Here Europe's golden dream of the East seems realised in a soil and climate lavish of their ungarnered wealth of fruits and spices, while veins of mineral deposits make the underworld a veritable Aladdin's Cave of gems and ingots. When its bowers of fragrance shelter happy homes, and its human inhabitants cease to emulate its great ape in leading the vagrant life proper to the "wild man of the woods," when its green-shadowed waterways are studded with Christian villages, and its tropical jungle is redeemed to cultivation, it will deserve, even more truly than in its present state, its poetical title of "The Garden of the Sun."

E. M. CLERKE.



## ART. IV.—ALBI AND THE ALBIGENSIANS.

THE city of Albi is built on the steep banks of the Tarn, which drains the high tableland—sloping gradually like a broad shelf from the Cevennes to the vast plain of Languedoc. The horizon of the broad vale of rich tillage is bounded by low hills, whose protruding limestone summits glitter whitely in the sunshine, save to the west, where, looking down the valley, the view fades in the purple of distant lowlands stretching away in unbroken sweep to Gascony.

The massive structure of the cathedral—the loftiest brick erection in Europe—dominates by its imposing grandeur the surrounding buildings, and adjoining it the old episcopal fortress crowns the cliff above the river. To the west of the church and occupying the extreme point of the cliff is a small group of houses, separated from the city, and now the only remnant left of the old *bourg* of Castel-viel. Perched high above the waters of the Tarn and its tributary stream the Verdusse, Castle-viel formerly was protected by an important fortress belonging to the Vicomtes of Albi, who held it from their feudal lords, the Counts of Toulouse.

The *bourg*, isolated on three sides by profound ravines and on the east side by a moat dividing it from Albi, was once the site of a Gaulish *oppidum*, and a Roman fort was erected on it at a later period.

Till the Revolution, Castel-viel, then a part of the County of Castres—with justice administered within its walls by a lieutenant in the King's name—maintained its independence of its powerful neighbour. Its consuls enjoyed the privilege of entering Albi in procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, clad in their robes of office, and to mark the antiquity of their town, were allowed precedence during the ceremonies of the day.\*

The close proximity of this independent *bourg*, outside the jurisdiction of the rulers of Albi, but almost touching their fortress and church, had an important influence on the structure

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\* Compayré, "Études Historiques sur l'Albigeois," p. 36.

of the present cathedral, which is built close to the boundary line, and consequently has no entrance at the west end of its nave. Here the great tower, forming a veritable donjon, is built over against the eastern gate of Castel-viel and was separated from the walls of that *bourg* by a narrow moat (recently filled in). From the slit of window in the lower chamber within its massive walls, now a chapel but long used as a guard-room, watch and ward could be kept on the territory of the Crown across the moat.

The cradle of the city of Albi seems to have been on the same bank of the river but eastward of, and at some distance from, the fortress on the cliff. In the sixth century, Gregory of Tours mentions it as a city, but in the middle of the seventh century its bishop, Constantius, in his letter to Desiderius of Cahors, calls it "*civitacula*," as if it were a place of little importance.\*

Nothing certain is known of the early bishops of Albi before Diogenien in the fifth century. At the close of the sixth century, S. Salvi, the friend of S. Gregory of Tours, occupied the see.† He was buried in that monastic church within the city whose dedication was afterwards changed in his honour, and from his day till 1230 it was customary for the bishops to be buried therein.

Unlike other bishoprics of Aquitaine, in the time of Charles the Bald this diocese possessed no lands or rights of justice within its bounds, and the bishop soon found himself dependent on the Count or Vicomte, as his bishopric became a fief at the disposal of these over-lords.‡

In 1037, Pons, Count of Toulouse, granted to his wife Majore, among other revenues, the bishopric, the city, the money, and the market of Albi.§ From a deed executed a few years later one is enabled to judge of the state of simony prevailing in the South of France. During the lifetime of Æmelius the bishop, the bishopric of Albi is sold to a certain Seigneur, Bernard Aimard, and to his son Guillem, who is to have the right of taking episcopal orders himself, or causing another to be consecrated in his stead—"ut si intus se fecerit

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\* "*Gallia Christiana*" (1715), i. col. 6.

† "*Greg. Turon. Hist.*" vii. 1 *et seq.*

‡ "*Hist. de Languedoc*," iv. 653 (edition 1874).

§ "*Gall. Christ.*" i. *Instrumenta*, p. 4, viii.

aut alium episcopum fecerit benedicere.”—In either case Guillem is to enjoy the revenues of the see during his lifetime, and if he die—“antequam sit benedictus ad episcopum”—Peter his brother is to have the bishopric. The vendors—who were Bernard Aton, Vicomte of Albi and Nimes, and his brother Frotaire, bishop of Nimes, acting jointly as Vicomtes of Albi—reserving to themselves the moiety of the lordship—“dominicatura”—save the rights of consecrations, masses, &c. The sum paid to the vendors was 5000 sols, and another sum of 5000 sols was to be payable after the consecration of the said Guillem, or his substitute, to their overlord, Pons, Count of Toulouse.\* One can imagine what sort of bishop such a purchaser would become, and what sort of independence the person consecrated in his stead would enjoy.

Again in 1066 we find a certain Frotard giving fifteen valuable horses to the above named Bishop of Nimes and to his brother the Vicomte in order to obtain the bishopric. He made away with the Benedictine Abbey of Vioux, which had been founded by Pons, Vicomte of Albi, about 990, when he gave his “vicum” of Viancium for a religious house to be for ever subject to the Cathedral. Frotard gave it to the Abbey of Aurillac—doubtless for a consideration—and it was not restored to S. Cecily till 1204.†

It is curious to find the same bishop endeavouring to reform the Chapter, which was at this period, like the bishopric, in evil case. Founded at an early date it was now in full decadence owing to simony, and the consequent dissolute lives of the canons, who lived as seculars and occupied themselves less with the celebration of Divine service than with a life of worldly pleasure. At the remonstrances of the bishop, the goods and benefices, which had been misappropriated by the dean, sacristan, and treasurer to the use of their families, were restored to the church, and Frotard himself made restitution of the archdeaconry on the right bank of the Tarn, and added it to the “mensa” of the chapter on condition that the canons should live in future in community under the rule of S. Augustine.‡

\* “Gallia Christ.” i. Inst. p. 5, vii.

† “Hist. de Languedoc,” iv. 190.

‡ “Gallia Christ.” i. Inst. p. 5, x.

This reform was effected in 1072, at the instigation of Cardinal Girard, the legate. The Roman See was unceasing in its efforts to remedy similar abuses in Gaul, and a few years later (1079?) Frotard was condemned at the Council of Toulouse for his simony, by the Legate Hugh.\* “Sententiam vero in se latam sprevit Frotardus.” His successor was not appointed till 1087.†

Hugh—in Gaul the *alter ego* of Gregory VII. to whom he was united by the strictest bonds of friendship, and, like that pontiff, filled with zeal for the purification of the Church and the reformation of abuses—had been elected bishop of S. Die in 1074, when his predecessor in that see was deposed by the legate Girard. He was consecrated in Rome by the Pope, and was appointed (1075) Legate in Gaul with full powers to put down the practice of simony and reform the abuses created by the usurpation by laics of ecclesiastical investiture. Hugh excommunicated the king on account of his union with Bertrada; and held throughout the country various councils where were deposed bishops and archbishops found guilty of simony; among others Humbert of Lyons in 1077, when he confirmed the election of Gebuin to that see, whom he himself succeeded in the Primacy of Gaul in 1082–3. Created cardinal in 1080, this great prelate, who was the intimate friend of S. Anselm of Canterbury during his banishment from England, exerted, by his sweeping reforms, a wonderful influence in restoring the Church of France from its state of degradation to something like its former lustre.‡

Before his time, however, heresy had already gained a stable footing in the country. As early as 1022 it was established in Orleans, to which city it had been brought by a woman from Italy;§ and where it was branded by the name of Manichaeism, at a council summoned by King Robert. Two priests and eleven perverts to its doctrines were condemned to the stake.|| One of the priests had been confessor to Queen Constance. A numerous train of clerks and attendants had accompanied her from Aquitaine to her new home in the

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\* Mansi. “Concil.” xx. 458.

† “Gallia Christ.” i. col. 12.

‡ “Gall. Christ.” iv. 97 (1728); xvi. 517 (1865).

§ R. Glaber, “Hist.” lib. iii. cap. viii.

|| Mansi. “Concil.” anno 1017, xix. 373.

North, which fact seems to point towards the southern part of Gaul as the source of these new opinions. About 1020 there was an outbreak of the heresy in Aquitaine, but it was promptly suppressed by the energetic measures of Duke William.\* Hither it had been brought from the East, and it is easy to trace the venom to its earlier homes.

But faint traces of the Neo-Manichæan doctrines are to be found in France before the twelfth century, during which they were condemned at Councils held at Toulouse by Pope Callixtus II. in 1119, at the II. Lateran by Innocent II. in 1139, at Rheims by Eugenius III. in 1148, and at Tours by Alexander III. in 1163.†

The abuses resulting from the practice of simony had led to the clergy being despised and their spiritual powers doubted; and it is a remarkable fact that the heretics of the twelfth century in the west of Europe were found precisely in those localities—Languedoc, Provence, Lombardy, and the north of Spain—where Arianism had flourished longest, until rooted out by the Franks. The extinct Arianism had probably left behind it certain traditions of scepticism and defiance of the orthodox clergy. In Aquitaine all that was indigenous was a strong anti-Church tendency, and the dualistic errors were possibly attracted to some detritus of ancient heresy.‡

Pure Manichæism was practically extinct in the West in the sixth century, but in the East was revived, in a modified form, in the seventh century by the Paulicians, an off-shoot of the Marcionites, who lingered in Armenia. Their tenets were rather Gnostic than Manichæan, and they were distinguished by their opposition to the whole polity of the Church. Banished to Thrace and Bulgaria by the Emperor Basil in 872, a fresh movement was created by them in the Greek Church. Known as Enthusiasts, or Euchites, the followers of this new sect were numerous in the eleventh century, and spreading westward they founded the Catharist or Albigensian system.§

The facility of communication between the East and West established by the military system of the Byzantine Emperors,

\* Adhèmar de Chabanois—"Recueil des Hist. de France," x. 154, 164.

† Mansi. "Concil.," vol. xxi. 225, 523, 711, 1167.

‡ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1874. (A cautious article by A. Reville.)

§ Smith & Wace, "Dict. Christ. Biog." iii. 794-819, iv. 219; Neander, "Kirchengesch.," vi. 425 (Clark's tr.); Giesler, iii. 2, part 3.

whose soldiers (recruited from the Paulicians) were constantly transferred to the Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily; frequent pilgrimages along the valley of the Danube—then the pilgrim track to Jerusalem; and the extension of commerce opened out by Venetian traders,\* led to the recrudescence of this Eastern heresy in western Europe, where, under new names, and with the tacit and sometimes open support of the lay powers, it caused so much trouble and disaster.

As the sectaries who overran the Southern provinces of France were more numerous and survived longest in the territory of Albi, they became known by the generic and comprehensive title of Albigeois or Albigenes, which seems to have been first applied to them at the Council of Tours in 1163, where the IV. Canon is entitled—"Ut cuncti Albigenisium haereticorum consortium fugiant." This name was henceforth applied to all the Cathari—or professors of the dualistic opinions—of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries found between the Rhone and the Garonne.

From the Acts of the Council of Orleans, it appears that the heretics, there condemned, in addition to the Paulician heresy, insisted strongly on the dignity of the unmarried state and abstinence from animal food. These were distinctive Manichæan doctrines.

The Henriciens, or followers of Henri (1116–1148), and his companion Pierre de Bruys (1104–1124), both of whom were animated by an iconoclastic fury against the Church, may more properly be classed with the Vaudois, Waldensians, or Poor Men of Lyons, founded in that city by Peter Waldo in 1160, as they do not seem to have taught any particular Manichæan errors. "Blinded by the pride of poverty," this sect may be regarded rather as dissenters from the Church, whose rites they derided, and whom they called the Apocalyptic Babylon, the Beast and Harlot.†

Notwithstanding the severe measures taken to repress the heresy on its first appearance, it still lingered on, gradually obtaining fresh recruits, until it became organised and over-spread Aquitaine one hundred years later.

Though the twelfth century saw the ravages committed by

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\* Gibbon, c. liv. Cf. Muratori—"Scrip. rer. Ital." v. 256.

† Rohrbacher, "Hist. de l'Église Catholique" (5th ed. 1868), viii. 610.

heresy in the ranks of the people, it was nevertheless an era of veritable grandeur for the Church in France. Her clergy roused themselves from the state of moral and intellectual degradation into which they had fallen during the period when simony was prevalent. The priesthood, having become independent, recruited its ranks from the most learned and capable men of the age, and the bishops, directed by the Pope and supported by the King, found their spiritual power preponderant, while at the same time they saw their temporalities increased.

A striking example of this improved state of affairs was the abolition of the "*jus spolii*," which entirely disappeared from the south of France during this century. At Albi, in the year 1144, the Vicomte Roger took before the high altar a solemn oath to abandon his right to pillage the episcopal goods and chattels after the death of the bishop.\*

In this city also about this time, the power of the bishops began to balance that of the Vicomtes, who finding themselves in need of the support of the clergy, granted a greater degree of independence to the Church than it had hitherto enjoyed. The Counts of Toulouse no longer exercised any suzerain authority over Albi, and the Vicomte, pressed by financial difficulties, gradually relaxed his domination over the bishop.

In 1193 it became necessary to appoint a commission to determine their respective jurisdictions—so far had the spiritual increased over the lay power. In the city two-thirds of the "*Haute Justice*" are found to belong to the bishop, and the remaining third to the Vicomte, who, however, is entitled to complete jurisdiction over Castel-viel, the *bourg* about his own castle. Twenty-five years later (1218), Castel-viel itself, then the last possession of the Vicomte Amauri de Montfort, is pawned by him to the bishop for three years; but it is stipulated in the deed that if the bishop die within that period then the domain shall revert to the Vicomte without contention.† In 1223, however, Amauri, finding himself powerless to keep his paternal heritage in Languedoc, returned to France; and in 1227 the bishop assigned to the provost of

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\* "*Hist. de Languedoc*," iv. 654.

† *Ibid.*, viii. 712.

S. Cecily part of the Honour of the Vicomte, apparently without any objection being taken to his act.

By the treaty concluded in 1229, at Paris, between the King and the Count of Toulouse, the possession of the territory of the Albigeois proper, *i.e.* Albi and Gaillac, was granted by S. Louis to Raymond VII.; but the rights of the new ruler and the ecclesiastical power, represented by Durand the bishop, were regulated greatly in favour of the latter. At the inquisition thereupon held by the vice-Legate, Pierre de Colmieu (afterwards Archbishop of Rouen 1236, and Cardinal-bishop of Albano 1244–1253), to determine the rights of the two parties, it was found that the bishop was entitled to the *whole* of the “Haute-Justice,” the right of confiscation, and the guardianship of the keys of the city. The “Basse-Justice” was found to be the common right of the king and the bishop.\* Each party thereupon appointed a bailiff for the due administration of the “Basse-Justice.” This convention was confirmed in 1264, by an agreement signed by S. Louis and Bernard the bishop, wherein is a clause inserted to safeguard the royal dignity, stating that the Kings of France shall not do homage to the bishops for the “Basse-Justice” exercised by them through their bailiffs in Albi. And it is specially stipulated that no subsidies for war can be demanded or levied by the Crown within the bishop’s territory.† It was in virtue of this amended convention that the bishops possessed, until 1789, their temporal lordship as Palatine princes. As the bishop’s power grew, so the freedom and privileges of the municipality of Albi increased. Already, in the tenth century, the city was surrounded by walls, and from the eleventh century various acts mention the burgesses of Albi, and distinguish them from those of Castelvieu.‡ Grouped around their church, the newer community owed to their ecclesiastical rulers their first charter of liberties, and by their permission were allowed to build, in 1035, the bridge across the Tarn, the passage across which was free to all, except Jews, who had to pay a toll of twelve *deniers* each.§

After the crusade against the heretics, the burgesses,

\* “Gallia Christ.” i. Instrumenta, p. 8, xvi.

† *Ibid.*, p. 9, xix.

‡ “Hist. Languedoc,” vii. 286.

§ “Las Costumas del Pont de Tarn, 1269,” quoted in Compayré, “Études Historiques sur l’Albigeois,” 1841.



delivered from the exactions of the vicomtes, enjoyed divers immunities and liberties, both municipal and political, and were assured of tranquillity under the patronage of their powerful prelates, whose pastoral staff, now planted definitely in their midst, henceforth served as the temporal sceptre of their ruler.

Though many of the citizens had embraced the Henrician heresy, they welcomed S. Bernard, whose fame and virtues commanded everywhere respect, on his arrival at Albi in 1145,\* to preach against its errors then rampant in their midst. Three days before his arrival a very different reception had been given to the Papal legate. The populace, in derision of his office, had gone forth to meet him, riding on asses, and had escorted him with drums and other rude instruments to his residence, and when he celebrated mass in the cathedral scarce thirty persons were present. S. Bernard's sermons were listened to by attentive crowds, and his eloquent remonstrances converted the people from the errors of Henri.† This apostate monk of Clairvaux, who had been sheltered in that monastery after his expulsion from Italy, imposed on the simple by his affected piety and eloquence. After having been expelled from Le Mans, he visited Poitiers and Bordeaux, but was compelled to retire from these cities.‡ Taking refuge first in Dauphiné, and afterwards in Provence, he associated with another heretic named Pierre de Bruys, and the two went preaching together throughout the country. They rejected baptism and such portions of the Bible as did not suit their views, denied the efficiency of the mass, railed against crosses, and scoffed at prayers for the dead. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluni, wrote to the bishops exhorting them to chase these men from their dioceses.§ His warning was effective, and the two escaped across the Rhone. The inhabitants of S. Gilles seized and burnt Peter, who had thrown down the cross in their town, and had committed other sacrilegious acts. Henri again escaped by flight, and entering the county of Toulouse, succeeded in pro-

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\* M. Eugene d'Auriac, in a note to his edition of de Boissonade's MS. on Albi (1857), correcting the date—1147—usually assigned to S. Bernard's visit.

† "Epist. Gaufridi ad Archenfredum," in Migne, clxxxv. 414.

‡ "Ex gestis Pont. Cenomannensium," ann. 1116, 1134; in "Rec. des Hist." xii. 449-547; Mansi. "Concil." (Pisa, 1134), vol. xxi. 485.

§ Petri Ven. Epis. adversus Petrobusianos (Migne, clxxxix. 719).

pagating therein his pernicious doctrines. Pope Eugenius III. when in France preaching the Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Places, was alarmed at the rapid spread of the heresy of Henri. He accordingly nominated Alberic—cardinal-bishop of Ostia—(a monk from Cluni) as Legate, with mission to combat in person the erroneous doctrines, and associated with him S. Bernard and other prelates.

S. Bernard, in his letter to Alphonse, Count of Toulouse, written to announce his approaching arrival, expresses his astonishment at the ravages committed by the heretics in the territory of that prince—"where churches are now found without congregations, and congregations without priests; the feasts not celebrated, men dying without the sacraments, and infants even deprived of baptism"—and goes on to reproach the Count for allowing this apostate to delude him.\*

In Languedoc S. Bernard went about preaching to the people, and by his teaching and miracles speedily brought back multitudes to the Church, but the heresy revived on his departure, as he failed to communicate his zeal to the native clergy.

Henri was condemned in person at the Council of Reims (1148), but at the prayer of the Bishop of Toulouse, Pope Eugenius, who presided, committed him to the care of that prelate.†

The political ambition of certain petty rulers gave the condemned opinions fresh force some years later, and their open espousal of the heretical faction in the country led to the civil war, by which the See of Albi, under the rule and guidance of its warlike and astute bishop, profited in the end.

In 1167 the Cathari held a council at S. Felix de Caraman, and arranged their discipline and organisation. It was presided over by Nicetas, a heretic bishop from the East, who represented a group of Oriental communities imbued with the same errors. The vulgar regarded him as their Pope, and his name became corrupted by them into "Pape Niquinta."

At this assembly, to which flocked "magna multitudo

\* "Divi Bernardi Epistolae," ccxli. (Migne, clxxxii. 434).

† "Hist. Gen. de Languedoc," iii. 746, quoting from "Chron. Alberici Trium Fontium," anno 1149, but the editors seem to have confounded his fate with that of the Breton heretic Eon.

hominum et mulierum" from the diocese of Toulouse, and representatives from France, Lombardy, and Spain, "Niquinta" proceeded to consecrate bishops for "the Church of the Franks" (*i.e.* the heretics beyond the Loire), Toulouse, Albi, and other places.\* As Michelet remarks: "C'était une église tout entière qui s'était formée contre l'église."†

The Neo-Manichæan doctrines were discussed and promulgated at this council. They may be briefly summed up as follows:

The Paulician theories of Dualism and Emanation still formed the basis of their speculative system, but the former had been toned down by contact with the Western mind and less impious sectaries. The idea of one primal God was recognised, though the creation of the present world was traced to the power of Evil. Christ was looked upon as merely an emanation from and inferior to the Father, and his body as an ethereal one in no way derived from Mary. The Holy Ghost was inferior to Christ, but chief of the heavenly spirits. The co-existence of good and evil was thus explained: God had two sons, Satanael and Christ; the former was invested with the government of heaven and creative power, but fell by pride, having aspired at dethroning his Father. He was chased from heaven, and after making the earth, and the first man and woman, and imprisoning in their bodies angelic spirits, became by Eve the father of Cain. God then proceeded to take away Satanael's power of creation, but left him ruler of the world, in the hope that mankind would escape his power owing to the divine principle inherent in their souls cast down from heaven. The fulfilment of this hope being delayed, He sent Christ down to earth under the appearance of a human body to accomplish the work of redemption, whereby Satanael lost the government of the world, but preserves his power of harm. Christ penetrated the ear of Mary under the form of a ray of light, and was born of her in appearance only. He never ate or drank, and His only mission was that of a teacher, and His miracles were all spiritual ones—no bodily evil being

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\* J. Percin, "*Monumenta Conventus Tolosani FF. Prædicatorum*," 1693. "*Rec. des Hist.*" xiv. 448. Also Bouges, "*Hist. de Carcassonne*," 1791, preuves. Besse, "*Hist. des Ducs de Narbonne*," 1660, p. 483.

† "*Hist. de la France*," IV. c. vi.

cured by Him. Jesus was said to have been a false Christ, a deceiver, and a sinner. They taught the most repulsive doctrines concerning S. Mary Magdalene, being the woman taken in adultery; and that S. John Baptist was one of the chief demons; but S. John the Evangelist was regarded as an angel—"et non de ista carne." The Creator of the world was asserted to have been a liar (Gen. iii. 3); a homicide on account of the Flood, &c.; and a juggler for making promises which He did not keep. Satanael being thus regarded as the author of the Mosaic dispensation, the Old Testament was rejected, and they taught that the souls of the patriarchs, prophets, and other holy persons living under its dispensation, had to pass through other bodies before attaining salvation, those of Adam and Eve being saved in the persons of Simeon and Anna.\* Admitting the relationship between God and Satanael, the eventual return of all fallen spirits to heaven was held to be true. The denial of the Incarnation involved the unreality of the sufferings of Christ, and every article of faith resting on that doctrine was repudiated, together with the whole sacramental system. The resurrection of the body was also denied, each human soul being regarded as one of the spirits cast from heaven with Satanael. Giovanni di Lugio, an Italian professor of Catharism (thirteenth century), taught that the war between the material and spiritual worlds was incessant, that souls were drawn down to earth by the power of the demon, and that each infant born was a demonstration of this theory.

The visible creation being the work of the evil principle, it followed that all love of creatures and all sensual inclinations were culpable *per se*. The slaughter of animals, and the use of flesh-meat, milk and eggs, was forbidden—"nos non manducamus carnes, ex illa ratione quod omnis caro nascitur ex adulterio" ("Thes. Nov. Anec." v., 1746). Curiously enough fish was allowed to be eaten, but this arose from ignorance of the way the species was propagated. These rules were the result of a belief in metempsychosis, as they held that the soul during its work of expiation might pass into the bodies of quadrupeds and birds.

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\* "Omnes ante Christum fuerunt fures et mali." "Thes. Nov. Anecd." v. 1718. Disputatio.

They regarded the Church as the harlot of the Apocalypse, and deemed its rites and sacraments as the invention of the Evil One. Marriage—from which came an increase of the number of slaves of Satanael—was strictly forbidden, and the state of sanctity was compatible only with strict celibacy, as no married persons who begat children could be saved.\* They used the terms of Catholic theology to cloth ideas altogether outside the Christian religion, and directed their efforts to make their dualistic system pass for primitive Christianity. The practice of such austere principles of course would have led eventually to the extinction of the sect, had it not contained within itself two classes—the “Perfecti,” who practised its precepts and formed a sort of spiritual aristocracy; and the “Credenti” or Believers, who lived ordinary lives in the world, and were only admitted on their death-beds to the rite of “Consolamentum,” whereby they received the Spirit or Divine force to regain heaven. The Perfect wore black robes, and professed to follow the strict rules regarding chastity and abstinence; while the Believers, relying on their good works, led lives of rapine, usury, murder, incest and adultery, being assured of salvation if they only received the final rite on quitting this world.†

The fourth Gospel was their favourite book, but they also received an apocryphal gospel attributed to S. John, and an Apocalypse entitled “The Vision of Isaías.” The bishops and deacons were chosen from among the Perfect, and these officers were constantly itinerant in their respective “dioceses,” preaching and administering the “Consolamentum”; each bishop on his journeys being accompanied by two deacons. The most pious of the sect were accustomed to kneel at their approach and ask their blessing, as if before the visible tabernacles of the Holy Ghost. This act, called “the Adoration,” was the especial object of inquiry by the Inquisitors later.‡ No trace

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\* Radulph. Ard. *circa* 1101 (Migne, 155, 2011); Acts of Council of Lombers, 1165 (Mansi, “Concil.” xxii. 158); Chron. Gaufredi, anno 1181, “Rec. des Hist.” xii.; Ermengardus, *circa* 1192 (Migne, 204, 1236); P. de Vaux-Cernai, “Hist. Albige.” cap. ii., who states that some held the old Paulician doctrine that Christ was never in the world save spiritually in the body of S. Paul, and accuses them of other errors and crimes; Moneta, “Adversus Catharos Libri V.” (Rome, 1743); Schmidt Charles, “Hist. de la Secte des Cathares,” ii. 24 *et seq.*

† P. des Vaux-Cernai, cap. ii.

‡ “Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosanae,” 1307–1333. Limborch, Amsterdam. 1692.

of any special cult of Manes appeared in their ritual, but a feast, celebrated in the autumn, called "Manisola," may have been a vague reminiscence of the heresiarch of Persia; but the exact meaning of this word is not now known.\* Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost were celebrated on the same days as the Church observed them; but the meaning of these festivals was interpreted in conformity with the allegorical principles applied by the sect to events narrated in the Gospels. The sole service book of these heretics, which has come down to us, is a *Rituale*, written by some Albigensian theologian in the early part of the fourteenth century, and annexed to a translation of their New Testament, which contains an epistle of S. Paul to the Laodiceans.† This MS. is now in the library at Lyons, and is written in the Romance language, but the prayers in the *Rituale* are in Latin. The latter contains the rites of Initiation of Believers, of the "Consolamentum" or admission to the Perfect, and of the "Consolamentum" of Believers on their death-beds. Great stress is laid on the due "reception" of the Lord's Prayer, and the laying-on of hands of the "bos-homes," who are also called "the Christians."

Many of the Perfect practised medicine, and thereby acquired great influence in the country.‡ The rapid dissemination of the heresy in Languedoc was assisted by the relaxed state of ecclesiastical discipline,§ the wealth and luxury of the citizens, and the licentious theories embodied in the poetry of the Troubadours, combined with the strong Jewish and Mahometan element found in the South. The goods of the clergy were everywhere encroached upon; the name even of priest was an insult, and ecclesiastics could hardly appear with safety in public.|| An historian, by no means favourable to the Church, thus sums up the state of moral degradation of the country: "Cet Judée de la France, comme on a appelé le Languedoc, ne rappelait pas l'autre seulement par ses bitumes et ses oliviers, elle avait aussi Sodom et Gomorrhe."¶

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\* Eckbert, abbot of Schönau, *circa* 1160, *Sermo* I. (Migne, t. 195), *v.* also Ducange, *sub* "Bema."

† "Ein Katharisches Rituale," edited by Dr. Cunitz. Jena, 1852.

‡ Arch. Inquis. Carcass. Fonds Doat. MS. xxiv. fol. 110.

§ Innocent III., *Epist.* i. 79, 80, 81, iii. 24, vii. 75, x. 68; and Concil. Avignon, 1209, in *Mansi*. vol. xxii. 784.

|| G. de Puy. Laur., 667 *et seq.*

¶ Michelet, "Hist. de la France," iv. c. 6; P. des Vaux-Cernai, cap. iv.; Schmidt, i. 66.

The Albigenian heresy (unlike that of the Vaudois, which was essentially democratic and in antipathy to the noblesse) proceeded on the principle of opposing its own tradition, clergy and ritual, to those of the Church. By its theories and episcopal organisation, and its pretension to be an aristocratic religion, it appealed to the feudal ideas of the twelfth century, and found its chief support among the nobles, the wealthy burgesses, and the brilliant society of the southern Courts. Supported by them it thrived, and when they were vanquished and crippled by war and confiscations, it gradually died a lingering death in obscurity.\* Meanwhile, the danger threatening the Church was great.† Raymond V., aghast at the progress made in his dominions by these pernicious anti-religious and anti-social theories and practices, and mindful of the former success of S. Bernard's mission, appealed to the order of Citeaux for help to combat the evil.

In his letter to the General Chapter assembled at Citeaux in 1177, he complains bitterly of the religious strife created in families by the sectaries, of the lapse of many into heresy, of the ruin of churches and general contempt of the sacraments; and asserts that it is become necessary in his opinion to resort to material weapons, as the spiritual arm seems powerless to overcome the evil everywhere rampant.‡

In response to his appeal many learned ecclesiastics were despatched to Toulouse, but being received in a hostile spirit by the inhabitants, little good resulted from their visit.

In 1167, the heretics at Beziers had massacred Raymond-Trencavel—Vicomte of Albi and Carcassone—in the Church of S. Mary Magdalene, despite the efforts of the bishop (whom they grievously assaulted) to save his life. His son and successor, Roger II., now thinking to aggrandise his power and possessions, made common cause with them, and threw into prison the Bishop of Albi. Reginald Fitz-Jocelin, bishop of Bath, and the abbot of Clairvaux were despatched with a strong force to the assistance of the imprisoned prelate; but they were unable to come to close quarters with the Vicomte, who took refuge in the most inaccessible part of his territory. After

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\* Reville, *ut sup.*

† Innocenti III. (I. Ep. 81, 94.)

‡ Gervasii Cantuar, i. 270 (Rolls Series), where his letter is given in full.

setting the bishop at liberty, the leaders of the expedition declared Roger II. a perjured traitor and heretic, and declared war against him on behalf of the Pope and the Kings of France and England.\* Roger thereupon entered into alliance with the King of Aragon, and with the Vicomtes of Nîmes and Narbonne, who were already in arms against the Count of Toulouse. It is not necessary to enter into the details of the long and bloody civil war which ensued. It was carried on with varying fortunes till 1191, when peace was made by Guilhem Peyre, bishop of Albi, who, forgetful of former wrongs, acted on behalf of Roger, and made terms for him with Raymond V.†

When Innocent III. mounted the Papal throne in 1198, he resolved to put an end to the heresy devastating Southern Gaul, and menacing the very existence of the Church in those provinces. This great Pope, who dominated the century which he inaugurated and succeeding ages by the influence of his genius, adopted pacific measures towards this purpose during the first ten years of his pontificate, but was hampered in his design by the miserable state of degradation into which the native Church had fallen. In 1203 his legates, Pierre de Castlenau and Raoul, Cistercian monks of the Abbey of Fontfroide, arrived at Toulouse, and devoted themselves zealously to the reformation of abuses and the conversion of the heretics. In 1205 the bishop of Beziers was suspended, the bishop of Viviers compelled to abdicate, and the Bishop of Toulouse, a creature of the Count, was deprived of his see.‡ The chapter of Toulouse elected (1206) Foulque, an ancient troubadour, who had embraced the monastic life in the Order of Cîteaux, and "had not his like in merit."§ Full of eloquence and zeal, and filled with a spirit of charity so generous that he was venerated by all, he was chosen as the one most capable to restore the diocese from its state of ruin. The legates, however, were so disappointed at the small result of their labours that they were on the point of resigning their

\* Rog. de Hoveden (quoting from Benedict of Peterborough), "*Annales*," anno 1178. (Rolls Series, I. 151-160.)

† Desazars, "*Evêques d'Albi au xii. et xiii. siècles*" (1882), and "*Gall. Christ.*" i. Inst. p. 6, xi.

‡ "*Gallia Christ.*" vi. 324; xvi. 558, and Inst. xii.; xiii. 21.

§ "*Que degus de bontat ab el no s'aparelh.*" G. de Tudela, 1027.



office, when they encountered the holy bishop of Osma, on his way back to Spain, accompanied by S. Dominic, who persuaded them to renew their efforts. The four forthwith set forth on foot in humble guise, preaching to the people wherever an opportunity arose, and holding public conferences with the heretics. They were joined later by the Abbot of Citeaux and thirty-two members of his Order on the same mission, and together evangelised the province of Narbonne.\*

At length Innocent summoned Raymond VI., a weak and vacillating prince, and one of the sect himself,† to put down the heresy in his dominions. The count hesitated as to the course he should pursue, and by his excuses and delay, incurred the sentence of excommunication. He then sent for the legates to meet him at St. Gilles, where he said he wished to be reconciled, but his real design was to obtain by force the annulment of the sentence, and he threatened them with death if they should dare to quit the city without giving him absolution. His threats were despised, and the legates quitted St. Gilles, escorted by the magistrates, but on reaching the bank of the Rhone Blessed Peter was assassinated by an esquire of the count (January 15, 1208). To slay an ambassador has always and in all places been regarded as a crime without expiation, and deserving a striking punishment in the interests of humanity. On the news reaching the Pope, he addressed letters to the king, the nobles and various prelates of France, and commanded the Order of Citeaux to preach a crusade against the heretics.‡ Innocent was always full of compassion for this misguided prince, as is proved by his acts towards him before and even after this murder. The severity of the language in his briefs was only the reflection of the reports sent to the Holy See by the legates, and the Pope is rather to be judged by his deeds than by his words in dealing with Raymond.

The national hatred of the North of France against the South was soon aroused. In a short time an army of upwards of 50,000 men had assembled at Lyons. They bore the red cross on their breast to distinguish them from the Crusaders in the

\* Rohrbacher, ix. 153 ; Acta SS. 4 Augusti. xxxiv. 399 *et seq.*

† P. des Vaux-Cernai, cap. iv.

‡ Innocenti III., Epist. xi. 26-33 (Migne, ccxv. 1354), P. des Vaux-Cernai, cap. viii.

Holy Land, who bore it on the shoulder. At their head appeared Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and numerous inferior lords. The supreme command was given to the Abbot of Citeaux, and the forces quitted Lyons by the middle of the year 1209, following the course of the Rhone. Meanwhile another army, gathered from Limousin, Auvergne and Le Quercy, with the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishop of Cahors, and other leaders at its head, fell on L'Agenais and ravaged that province.\* Raymond, in fright at the preparations made against him, made his submission and was reconciled to the Church by the legate Milo at S. Gilles. He then joined the army at Valence, and accompanied the crusade in person. The most prominent protector of the heretics, Raymond-Roger, Vicomte of Beziers and Carcassonne, who had vainly endeavoured to prevent the Count of Toulouse from making peace with the Church, now resolved to follow his example. He therefore met the legates at Montpellier, but refused to comply with their conditions, and on his return gathered his forces and organised in his two cities a desperate resistance. But for this act of folly, which brought ruin to himself and entailed a long and cruel war on the country, there is no reason to doubt that the object of the crusade might have been gained by peaceful measures, and effected without the bloodshed which followed.† Before the crusaders commenced the attack on Beziers they invited the Catholic inhabitants to quit the city. Many refused to do so, but negotiations were entered into with the besiegers by the leading citizens for the purpose of saving those left behind. While the chiefs of the crusade were deliberating at their headquarters, at some distance from the town, on the best means of effecting the safety of the Catholics within the walls, an unexpected sortie was made by a party of the besieged. This was repelled by the irregular troops in the vicinity, who drove back the inhabitants, and seizing their opportunity followed closely in their rear, and after three hours' hard fighting made themselves masters of the place. "These mad ribald beggars" then began a general massacre and pillage, which were both over before their leaders reached the spot, and on being made to give up their booty set fire to the city in

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\* G. de Tudela, 300 *et seq.*

† Rohrbacher, ix. 163.

revenge to spite the "French" crusaders.\* The story, dear to Protestant historians of this siege, relating how the legate led on the troops and incited them to massacre the populace by exclaiming, "Kill all! The Lord will know His own!" rests, unfortunately for them, on the sole authority of a credulous writer far away in Germany, gossiping old Cesarius of Heisterbach, who is, however, careful to state that his anecdote rests on mere hearsay evidence.† The unexpectedness of the sortie, and the absence of the leaders of the crusade completely disprove the truth of this story.

After the surrender of Carcassonne, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was appointed Governor of the country (1209). The new ruler was warmly welcomed at Albi, and all the castles and towns in the neighbourhood were reduced to subjection by 1211. Simon presented the castles of Rouffiac and Marsac to the Bishop, and to the Chapter an annual charge of twenty libras levied on the lands of the castles of S. George and Marcaill.‡ The following year Raymond VI. took the offensive, and succeeded in recovering more than fifty castles, and established himself in Gaillac. The Earl of Leicester, while repelling a sortie from Toulouse in 1218, "fell to earth dead," being slain by a stone cast from a mangonel erected on the roof of S. Sernin, and worked by "ladies and young girls."§ His son Amauri succeeded him in his titles and possessions in the South, but soon found himself compelled to retire to France, where he did homage to the king for all his rights within the County of Toulouse. About this time the Bishop of Albi—the same who had pacified the country in 1191—made terms with Raymond VI., for in 1219 Honorius III. requested his legate to invite him to resign the see, and ordered an inquisition to be held regarding the crimes of which the bishop was accused. It is not known now what accusations were brought against Guilhem Peyre, who had always shown the greatest zeal for the interests of the Church. The matter, however, was dropped, and he continued to keep his see.|| After receiving the fealty of Amauri de Montfort in

\* G. de Tudela, 440-530, P. des Vaux-Cernai, c. xvi.

† "Dialogus Miraculorum." Colon. (ed. 1851) I. p. 302.

‡ "Gallia Christ." i. 17, and "Inspeximus" by Philip III. in 1277, Inst. xx.

§ G. de Tudela, 8448.

|| Desazars, *ut supra*.

1223, Louis VIII. took up arms against Raymond. His war-like preparations were on such a grand scale that many towns and seigneurs of Languedoc hastened to send in their submission to the king, as soon as he arrived in the camp before Avignon (1226). Guilhem Peyre, abandoning Raymond, went in person to the king, and the principal citizens of Albi followed the example of their bishop, and presented the keys of the city to Louis, who gave them a favourable reception, and visited Albi on his way to Paris, after receiving the submission of the greater part of the province. It was reserved for Queen Blanche, the mother of S. Louis, to effect by her energetic conduct the final conquest of the South, but it was not till 1271 that the king took possession by solemn act of "saisimentum."

Like the ancient Gnostic sects, the heretics excelled in the art of concealing, when necessary, their true opinions under an orthodox exterior; following the practices of the Church outwardly, but reviling them in secret. A special tribunal was needed to remedy the evil, and this want led to the establishment of the Holy Office. The episcopal inquisitions, already established in the dioceses by decrees of various Councils from 1163, and confirmed by the General Council of the Lateran (1215), were not sufficiently organised to carry out their work in an efficacious manner. Their method of procedure had been formulated at the Council of Avignon in 1209, but the civil authorities, though nominally obeying its decrees, contrived to evade the due fulfilment of the sentences pronounced by these courts. It was not until 1229 that the Council of Toulouse, by fifteen of its canons, established in a definite and regular way, under the control of the bishop, the Inquisition in that city.\* Louis VIII. had already introduced (1226) the inquisitorial statutes of the dioceses of Arles and Narbonne into Agen, Cahors, Rodez and Albi.† The influx of French nobles into Languedoc and the fusion of the two races in the next generation combined to efface the hold on the country by the sect, the chief members of which took refuge in Lombardy;‡ while the zeal and earnest teaching of the

\* Mansi, "Concil." xxi. 1177; xxii. 232, 667, 689, 739, 783, 986, 1203; xxiii. 18, 24, 191.

† Percin, "Mon. Con. Thol." pt. II. c. vi.

‡ Schmidt, I. p. 335.

Order of S. Dominic were more effective in combating the heresy than all the forces of the secular power.

The Pope did not approve of Guilhem Peyre's defection in 1218, and he was compelled to resign his see in 1227, after an occupation of forty-two years. He died in 1230, and was buried before the high altar of the old cathedral according to his express wish.\* From this date the collegiate church of S. Salvi was deprived of its old privileges of receiving the bishops on their first entry into Albi and of preserving their mortal remains after death. This bishopric was exempt from Papal nomination and collation, owing to the conduct of the chapter in 1130, when they opposed by force their bishop, who sided with the anti-pope Anacletus. Innocent II., as a reward for their fidelity, accorded them the exclusive right of electing their bishop and provost.†

At the close of the twelfth century the city was divided into six divisions. The citizens in each elected annually two consuls, who, after once serving, were for a space of four years ineligible for re-election. The twelve consuls (reduced to six in 1402) managed all municipal affairs. Their election had to be ratified by the bishop, now sole ruler of Albi, and in his presence they took oath never to employ against him any funds of which they had the disposal, and to preserve carefully the rights of the Church and city. They then received from his hands the keys of the city gates and took possession of the municipal residence. They were careful in preserving their privileges, for in 1269, when the king called upon them to grant a subsidy towards the expenses of the crusade to the Holy Land, in which he was engaged, they took care to declare, in voting it, that it was a simple gift and not a legally levied tax—"cum simus homines ecclesiae, et ab omni servitute liberi."‡

One of the sources of revenue of the bishops was the right of coining money, which they had inherited from the Vicomtes, who themselves held it originally from their overlords the Counts of Toulouse. This money played an important part in all transactions in the South of France, and is known by the

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\* "Gallia Christ." i. 17, and Inst. p. 6, xiii.

† Desazars, *ut sup.*

‡ "Bib. Nat. Fonds Doat." MS. 107.

name of Raimondens. Its origin dates from an early period, certainly before 1037. The gift by Pons to his wife at that date (mentioned above), implies the existence of a mint at Albi—"Dono episcopatum albiensem et civitatem et *moneta* et mercatum." In 1248, it was stipulated in an agreement made by Durand the bishop, Raymond VII. and his minister, Sicard d'Alaman, that this money should be coined in future at Sicard's castle, Castelnau de Bonafos, four miles distant from Albi; that a third part of the coinage should belong to each of the contracting parties; that the coinage should be current in the dioceses of Albi, Rodez and Cahors; that the coins should bear the initial letters of Raymond, the episcopal crozier, and the name of Sicard's castle.\* This tripartite association, with the co-operation therein of a simple individual, forms a curious and perhaps unique fact in numismatic history.

All that is now known respecting the old cathedral is that it was situated "infra muros Albie civitatis," and "in declivi ripae Tarni;" and that its foundation dates at latest from the ninth century.

A donation was made to it in 920, and the church was then called "ecclesiam sancte cecilie matris ecclesie." The vexed question of its dedication may now be considered as definitely settled by the recent discovery of some memoranda on the fly-leaf of an eighth-century MS. of the Dialogues of S. Gregory, preserved at Albi. The first note reads—"M.CC.I. Hic liber est ste cecilie et ste crucis." The second—"Anno Dni M.CC.III. restauratum est scrinium ste cecilie." Originally dedicated to the Holy Cross, the cathedral before the tenth century received its second dedication to S. Cecily, and the double dedication was preserved to the thirteenth century when the new church was placed under the chief patronage of that virgin-martyr. In 1247 the canons solicited offerings for the restoration of their ancient cathedral, then "ruined by war and devastated by heretics." It fell gradually into complete ruin, as the chapter in 1297 gave its site to the bishop.†

When Bernard de Castanet was appointed to the see in 1275, he resolved to build a new cathedral opposite the old

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\* Desazars, *ut sup.*

† "Hist. Languedoc," v. 1360.

feudal stronghold of the Vicomtes. To provide the necessary funds he imposed on himself and his clergy a tax of the twentieth part of their revenues. From the goods confiscated from the heretics—half of which went to the king and half to the bishop—additional funds were provided for the building. By a special privilege, granted by S. Louis, and confirmed by Philip III. in 1277, all the real estate confiscated from the heretics to the use of the King, if not sold the same year, was to revert to the bishop, who was to have an absolute title to these “immobilia” at the end of the third year, if not claimed meanwhile by the Crown.\* The large sums thus coming in daily to the treasury enabled the works to be undertaken on a magnificent scale. The plans provided not only for the new church with its dependent buildings but also for a strong line of fortifications, enclosing and connecting them with the enormous fortress designed for the future episcopal palace. Up to this date the bishops had resided in a house near S. Salvi. On the hill-side, sloping to the river, Bernard erected his mighty keep and walls flanked with towers, and surrounded them and his new church with a line of cleverly contrived outworks.

This gigantic work was not only a monument of ardent faith and brilliant triumph over vanquished heresy, but was also capable of serving as a place of refuge against any reverse of fortune in the future. For the bishop and his immediate successors had three parties to guard themselves against—(1) the heretics who were not likely to pardon their overthrow, and, though now vanquished, might profit by political changes to gain power once more: (2) the citizens becoming daily more independent and exacting in their demands: (3) the English forces who menaced the southern provinces with their incursions and devastations.† By the wise foresight of this prelate, endowed with an initiative genius and a keen knowledge of his times, Albi was henceforth saved from hostile attack without and heresy within. The introduction into the city, by its vigilant bishop, of the three Orders of S. Dominic, S. Francis, and Mount Carmel, probably did more towards the extirpation of heresy than his display of temporal force as feudal lord.

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\* “Gallia Christ.” i. Instrumenta, pp. 9–11, xix. xx.

† Desazars, *ut sup.*

Bernard died in 1308 and the works were carried on by his successors, a description of whose shares in completing and adorning the cathedral (consecrated in 1480) would far surpass the limits of these pages.

His and their chief title to renown is this magnificent church, which stands as the symbol of their faith, the result of their generosity, and the manifestation of their power—built, embellished and adorned by each of them according to his taste, fortune and aspirations.

R. TWIGGE.

NOTE.—There are three contemporary accounts of the Crusade against the Albigenses besides the official documents relating to it:—1. The History by Pierre des Vaux-Cernai, partly written before 1216, as the book is dedicated to Innocent III., who died in that year. Pierre was the nephew of Gui, abbot of Vaux-Cernai, who was appointed bishop of Carcassonne in 1212. He accompanied his uncle to the Crusade, and was till 1216 an eye-witness of most of the events which he describes, and had besides every opportunity of obtaining correct information from trustworthy sources concerning those incidents at which he did not assist in person.

2. "*Le Chanson de la Croisade*," an arbitrary title affixed to the poem of Guillem de Tudela, a clerk and troubadour, who began his work in 1210. It contains an account of events to 1213, with information not found in other writers, and was continued from that year to 1219 by an anonymous poet, whose style is far superior. The two poets seem from internal evidence to have honestly chronicled the events which they describe.

3. The narrative by Guillaume de Puy-laurens, carried down to 1272, has some particular information about Raymond VI. His rather vague descriptions seem derived from good sources, as he was chaplain to Raymond VII. from 1242 to the death of that prince in 1249.

The Doat MSS., preserved in the Bib. Nationale, Paris, are a mine of facts and information concerning the history of the South of France. They contain copies of the archives of Albi, Carcassonne, Toulouse and other places made in the year 1669 on behalf of the Crown by Jean Doat, deputed by the king for that purpose, and are now of special value since the destruction of the original documents during the Revolution. From the MSS. xxii.—xxxvi., containing transcripts of the archives of the Inquisition at Toulouse and Carcassonne, many particulars may be extracted relating to the Albigensian heresy, its doctrines and practices, and the means taken to extinguish it throughout the country.



## ART. V.—THE MISERICORDIA OF FLORENCE.\*

WHO that has ever passed a winter in Florence has not observed with a start of surprise, perhaps even with a slight thrill of terror, the procession of black-robed, black-hooded figures, of whom nothing is visible but the eyes, carrying to the hospital in a black litter those who have been hurt by some accident, or have been taken suddenly ill in the street? Still more solemn is the effect of this mournful procession when seen at night bearing, by torch-light, the dead to their last resting-place.

Few, perhaps, are aware that those black-robed figures belong to the Society of the Misericordia of Florence, one of the most celebrated among the many confraternities which were founded in Italy in the thirteenth century, and which has come down to our day from the Middle Ages unchanged in its constitution, its rules, its objects—thus connecting by an unbroken chain modern Florence with the renowned mediæval city, famous not only for its long struggles for liberty, and for the artistic treasures produced within its walls, but also for the piety of its inhabitants and for the many charitable institutions with which the city was endowed.

In studying the history of the Church we cannot fail to remark that at certain epochs a new spirit, a new life, seems to have taken possession of the people, when communities, cities, nay, sometimes entire nations, have felt the revivifying breath; when men, forgetting earthly things, animated by a stronger faith, a more intense energy, a greater desire of sacrifice, were ready to give up all, even their lives, for the love of Christ.

By such feelings was all Christendom moved at the commencement of the Crusades, when at the cry "*Dieu le veut*" thousands, hundreds of thousands, left all—home, family, riches—ready to sacrifice their lives for the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre. When, as Rutebeuf says: "God came with outstretched arms stained with His blood to call upon His own,"

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\* This article is based upon the works of the ancient writers, Ghislieri, a priest; Padre L. Fichi; and the more modern writer, Landini; and especially on the ancient records and MSS. of the Society itself.

and the call was obeyed, and all were ready to set out at His word.

In the same way a great wave of religious feeling swept over Italy in the early years of the thirteenth century, which doubtless had its origin in the preaching of the two great Saints whose inspired words stirred the hearts of the people to their very depths.

St. Francis d'Assisi, when quite young, renounced all—title, riches, honours—that he might devote himself entirely to the service of God and the poor; he founded the well-known Order of the Franciscan Friars in 1208, and during many years preached in every part of Italy, but most frequently in Tuscany and Umbria; thousands flocked to hear him, and his passionate eloquence touched to its depths every heart.

St. Dominick carried on the great work in other parts of Italy about the same time (the Order of Dominican Friars was founded in 1216).

The holy example and the ardent zeal of those illustrious men produced great results; the history of the thirteenth century is full of great deeds and noble sacrifices. It was at this time that seven young men belonging to the noblest families of Florence, feeling that the occupations and amusements of their daily life hindered them from devoting themselves to the service of God, left the city and established themselves in a solitary place, giving themselves up altogether to prayer and good works; these seven were the founders of the Order *Dei Servi*, or the servants of the Blessed Virgin, which still exists at Florence.

At this epoch also the faith and piety of the people were manifested by the magnificent Basilicas, the splendid churches which were constructed in every city, their slender spires and sculptured towers seeming to spring up to heaven itself. In Florence alone were built during the century the Churches of Santa Maria Novella (for the Dominicans), of Santa Croce (for the Franciscans), of Santissima Annunziata\* (for the *Servi*).

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\* The story of SS. Annunziata is particularly interesting. The youngest of the seven young men who retired from Florence was Alessio, of the noble house of Falconieri. So great was the effect produced by his example that his niece, Giuliana Falconieri, a girl of 20, made a solemn vow, with her father's consent, to enter a convent and to devote her fortune to the building of a church. Her father, Chiaro Falconieri, not only consented but added a large sum to his daughter's munificent gift, and personally superintended the building of the

And before the century closed the venerable *Duomo* itself was commenced. Great was the liberality of the people at this period, many devoting the greater part of their fortune to the erection of temples worthy to be called the House of God; at the same time the most celebrated artists consecrated all their talents to the decoration of these temples, and produced works which have excited the wonder and admiration of every succeeding generation, not only because they are masterpieces of art, but also because they were inspired by a living faith, the hand only executing what the soul had already perceived and loved. Thus they could not fail to touch every human heart in a manner to which no modern art can ever attain.

It was then in the midst of this remarkable period, when the minds of men were still influenced and subdued by the preaching and miracles of the great Saints, that the Society of the Misericordia had its beginning.

Some authors give the date of 1240, others, and we believe more correctly, state that the Society commenced in 1244. Some little obscurity exists owing to the loss of the ancient records in a great flood which inundated Florence in the year 1557.\*

But although some of the MSS. were lost, the history of the Misericordia was well known to the members of the Society, and faithfully preserved by them; it also lived in the hearts of the people for whose welfare the confraternity was instituted. In 1550, about 200 years after its foundation, the story of the Misericordia was written by Ghislieri, a Florentine, who took his information from the most authentic sources; this work, written in the old Gothic, was translated into Italian, about fifty years later, by Padre Fichi. Towards the close of the last century Landini, a Florentine writer of some note, produced a new history of the Society taken from the ancient records of the city, which in all important particulars agrees entirely with that of Ghislieri already mentioned. From these sources, as well as from the MSS.

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magnificent temple, which was given to the Servites. Alessio lived to the great age of 90, and was for many years superior of the new Order *Dei Servi*.

\* At that time the banks of the Arno were low and without parapets, so that inundations were frequent; the Piazza del Duomo, where was situated the oratory of the Society, was much lower than at present. In great floods it was completely under water.

preserved at the Misericordia, the following account taken.

The history of the foundation of the Misericordia we shall give as nearly as possible in the simple touching words of the ancient manuscript :

About this time [1244] the manufacture of wool had been brought to great perfection at Florence, and was in request all over Europe.

Twice a year a great fair was held in the city, to which flocked not only the rich merchants of Italy, but also those of many other countries ; so great was the commerce carried on that woollen manufactures to the amount of fifteen or sixteen millions of florins was often bought at these fairs. During the period of this immense traffic a number of porters (*facchini*) were constantly employed. These men, whilst waiting for orders, assembled in great numbers on the south side of Piazza S. Giovanni (now Piazza del Duomo), which place had been allotted to them by the Florentine Republic ; near the spot was a large cellar belonging to the Adimari family, which was always open, being unused as, during the inundations, it was often flooded. In cold or rainy weather the porters took refuge in this cellar, where they lighted a fire and amused themselves in the intervals of labour. The seventy or eighty men who assembled there were much given to swearing ; amongst their number was one Piero, son of Luca Borsi, a man no longer young, and very devout, having the "fear of God and a great reverence for His holy name."

Piero was greatly shocked at the blasphemies which he heard on every side, and, as the oldest amongst them, spoke to them of the great sin of which they were guilty, and proposed that henceforth any one who took the name of God in vain should be obliged to put into a box prepared for the purpose a *crazia* (a halfpenny), hoping thus gradually to extirpate this evil habit. The proposal was accepted by all Borsi's companions, who promised solemnly to adhere to it for the greater glory of the Divine Majesty.

After this pious resolution had been in force for a long time, and the box contained a great deal of money, it appeared well to Piero Borsi to make another proposal, and at the hour when all the porters were assembled, he said, "Let us do some good with the money which has been collected ; in the streets of Florence there are many accidents, working men are often hurt or wounded, sometimes killed ; let us have six *zane*\* constructed, one for each division of the city, † large enough to hold a grown-up person, and let us choose the youngest and strongest amongst us to go every day into all parts of the city, to carry the sick and wounded to the hospital, and to bury those who have died suddenly

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\* *Zane*, a kind of long chair or litter made of wicker-work, very strong, with projecting poles, easily carried, even when occupied, by four men. The same litter is still used by the Misericordia.

† At this time Florence was divided into six parts.

in the streets, and the poor who have no one to care for them." In fact, all who suffered and were in want of human aid were to be the objects of their compassion.

Piero Borsi's discourse pleased the whole assembly; they all, without one dissentient voice, made a solemn promise to unite together and begin at once the good work.

Piero Borsi was unanimously chosen Director of the new Society, and he divided the *facchini* into different bodies, each of which, in turn, was to go forth day by day on the errands of mercy.

We quote again from the old chronicle :

And they [the *facchini*] continued with all diligence their works of charity, tending the sick, burying the dead, and that without any reward, because charity must be rewarded by God Himself. The citizens of Florence, touched by the piety and good works of these men, would willingly have rewarded them with sums of money, but the excellent Director of the Society refused it, as he wished for no reward but that which comes from God.\*

Such was the humble origin of the famous Society of the Misericordia, which, like Christianity itself, had its beginning amongst the poor and the homeless.

Our Saviour had chosen as the Founders of His Church the simple fishermen of the Galilean Sea, and one of the most ancient and most famous of the charitable societies of Christendom had its origin amongst the humble porters of Florence! destined ere long, however, to attain so wide a fame that the great and noble of the world deemed it an honour to be admitted into the Order. In remembrance of the never-to-be-forgotten origin, it was established that, in the governing body, the number of workmen should be double that of the nobles. This rule has always been strictly adhered to.

Two or three years after the foundation of the Society the good Piero Borsi was called away to a better life.

After his death the Society seems to have become more widely known amongst the poor, and demands for help were very frequent. The porters gave their time, their strength, the labour of their hands, but they were poor themselves and had but little money to bestow.

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\* However [the old MSS. continues] one of the company had a kind of Divine inspiration.

On the great feast of *St. Giovanni*\* (St. John) he had a table placed near the entrance of the cathedral; on this table was a crucifix, and at the foot of the crucifix a box, round which was the inscription "Give alms in aid of the poor and infirm of the city."

So many devout persons crowded the church on the feast-day that the box was not large enough to hold all the money which was placed at the feet of the Saviour for the suffering poor. More than five hundred florins were thus collected.

The Society decided that a part of this sum should be set apart for the building of an oratory, as well as a large hall which should serve as a place of reunion for the members.

Up to this time their only chapel and place of assembly was the damp cellar,† often flooded, of which we have already spoken.

In mediæval Florence several lofty towers had been erected in different parts of the city (traces of which still exist); during the long civil wars these towers had served as fortresses, and on account of their great height and strength had been of great advantage to those who possessed them.

One of the highest of these towers stood exactly over the Adimari cellar. In 1248 the Florentine Republic ordered this tower to be demolished, fearing, if the civil war recommenced, that it might fall again into the enemy's hands, and be used against them.‡ In the same year 1248, four years after the foundation of the Society, the Government granted the piece of ground which the tower had occupied to the confraternity of the Misericordia, and on that spot their oratory was erected by Niccolò Pisano, the celebrated Florentine architect.

Every one who has visited Florence must have remarked

\* At this time the *Duomo* had not yet been erected; St. Giovanni was the patron saint of Florence, and the church of St. Giovanni (now the *Baptistery*) the cathedral.

† This cellar is still to be seen under the oratory, which was built for the Misericordia, and which remained in their possession until 1480. In 1425 another charitable society became incorporated with that of the Misericordia; the oratory took the name of the Society Bigallo, which it still retains. Painted on the wall of the old cellar there is still to be seen the image of the Madonna before which Borsi and his comrades prayed. For a truly Catholic heart Florence contains nothing more deeply touching.

‡ This account of the tower is taken from the MSS. of Masnardi in the archives of the Strozzi family. The *Ghibelline* party was then ruling in Florence; the tower had belonged to the *Guelfs*, which was the cause of its destruction. It was about 225 feet high and strongly built, especially the foundations, which were enormous.

the *Loggia* forming the corner of the *Via Calzaioli* and the *Piazza del Duomo*; this was also designed by Pisano, and formed the entrance to the oratory or chapel. It is a perfect gem of mediæval architecture in the Tuscan Gothic style. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the arches, nor the grace and delicacy of the spiral columns. This oratory belonged *exclusively* to the confraternity of the ancient Misericordia from the time of its foundation,\* 1248, until 1425, when, as will be seen further on, it passed into other hands.

In the following years the Society prospered greatly, and its works of charity becoming more generally known, many of the devout citizens wished to become members, and share in the labours. But the *facchini* refused; as the confraternity had its origin amongst them, they did not desire that any other class should take part in their work; the old record observes that "after this refusal the zeal of the Society increased twofold."

In the year 1325 a dreadful plague broke out in Florence,†

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\* The chapel or oratory was built on the enormously strong foundations of the ancient tower. As the tower was demolished in 1248, this is a convincing proof that the Society must have existed some few years at least before this date, and quite destroys the theory of *Passerini*, who gives the date of the origin a *hundred years later*, and is thus at variance with all the other historians.

† From this time (1325) for nearly two hundred years Florence was frequently devastated by the plague. In 1340, again in 1344, in 1348 (this plague is described by Boccaccio), and in 1363. During the fifteenth century the plague visited Florence many times and caused fearful ravages. Again, in 1509 and in 1522 a terrible pestilence commenced which lasted for six years. It did not quite die out until 1528. After this Florence had a long rest. The city was free from the plague for more than a hundred years. In 1630 the plague broke out at Milan, so ably described by Manzoni in "*Promessi Sposi*." From Milan it spread to Bologna and thence to Florence. During two summers it raged in the city and neighbourhood, and many thousands fell victims to it. This plague, like many of the former, had its origin in the long civil wars which desolated every city in Italy during the Middle Ages. The ground being left untilled during the war, famine invariably followed, and after the famine the pestilence. Since 1633 the plague has disappeared from Italy.

At the present time, when the laws of health are so well understood and sanitary arrangements brought almost to perfection, it is curious to read how these things were managed in the Middle Ages, and how fruitless were the severe quarantines then imposed to arrest the progress of the infection.

During the great plagues at Florence, once the quarantine was proclaimed, no one was permitted to leave their house under any pretext whatsoever. Those who were poor and obliged to work for their living were supported for the time from the public treasury. Any one who transgressed the order was sent to the galleys and excommunicated by the archbishop. Not a soul was seen in the streets but those who carried food to the inhabitants, the confraternity of the Misericordia who nursed the sick and buried the dead, and the priests. In every street and square an altar was erected, and the mass celebrated every morning. The people heard mass at their windows, afterwards

the first of which we have any historical record; it lasted many months, and devastated the city. It is computed that more than 100,000 persons died of it in Florence alone. It broke out after a long war between the Florentines and the city of Lucca, which was followed by famine.

It was at this time that the work of the Misericordia shone forth in all its splendour. The heroism and self-sacrificing devotion of the members were admirable, never sparing themselves, labouring day and night in the good work of carrying those attacked to the hospitals or *Lazzaretti*; and in burying the dead the humble *facchini*, by their ardent zeal which knew no repose, became the benefactors of the city. But as the mortality increased, their number was too small to suffice for all the work. (From its foundation the number of members had been limited to seventy-two, and up to this date (1325) had not been increased.)

Now for the first time the confraternity consented to increase its number, and to receive members from other classes. During the continuance of the plague the additions to the Society were very numerous, and many of the new members belonged to the most aristocratic families of Florence. We find in the archives of the Society at this time the names of Ginori, Pitti, Salviati, &c. All the citizens of Florence, from the highest to the most humble, thought it an honour to enrol themselves in the confraternity; and from this period the Misericordia consented to receive all who desired to become members. Two things only were necessary—first, that they should belong to the Catholic Church; and, secondly, that their lives should be blameless.

And now the Society, which had hitherto done its work humbly, quietly among the poor, and was but little known out of the sphere of its labours, became suddenly illustrious, and

the priests passed up and down the streets hearing confessions and administering the Holy Communion to those who desired it, kneeling at the doors of their houses. In the evening the parish priest, attended by his clergy, passed through the streets of his district reciting prayers.

The great plague of 1465 first broke out at Rome. When the Cardinal-governor of the city, a very energetic man, heard that it had appeared in a certain quarter, he sent for all the masons of Rome, and that very night had a high wall built all round the infected district. Alas! poor Cardinal, he knew not that the infection was in the air itself, and that no wall, however high, could shut it out. In fact the morbus soon showed itself in every part of the city. (See Palmieri on "The Plagues of Florence," also Rondinelli and G. Rossi, and the registers in the archives of the Misericordia.)



its fame extended to all parts of the country. As the little rill issuing from the mountain-side remains long unnoticed until it swells into the noble river, when all speak of its beauty, so, after the plague of 1325, when its charity and noble deeds had become known to all, did the Misericordia receive the highest honours. Not only, as we have said, did the Society become exceedingly numerous, the Pope himself spoke of it in the highest praise; not only was it well known at Florence, but the rulers of the different Italian States with one accord united in sending laudatory messages for all the good that had been done.

At this period also many citizens of Florence who had been witnesses of the heroic deeds of the members, left legacies of sums of money and lands for the benefit of the Society, which had thus ample resources to help all who were in need.

A very important event in the history of the confraternity occurred in 1425. In order to explain the change that then took place a slight digression will be necessary.

About a century before, an Order had been instituted at Florence to combat a heresy which at that time prevailed in the city; the heresy extirpated, the Order was no longer needed, and was therefore transformed into a charitable institution, whose special work was *to attend the sick in the hospitals*,\* where also *hospitality* was given to the pilgrims and strangers who came to the city. This Society took the name of *Compagnia Maggiore di Santa Maria*, to which they some time later added *del Bigallo*.† This Order in the beginning of the fifteenth century had much declined—it fact, it had almost ceased to exist.

At this epoch (1425) Cosimo dei Medici, called “*the Father of the country*,” was all-powerful at Florence; though not nominally, he was in reality the ruler of the Republic; Cosimo was one of the captains or heads of the Society of *S. M. del Bigallo*, and naturally wished to restore it to its pristine vigour and fame. As we have said, the confraternity of the *Misericordia* was then in great repute, counting amongst its members some of the noblest names in Florence and abounding in

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\* Two hospitals were founded at Florence by this Society in the early part of the fourteenth century.

† A hospital at some short distance from Florence was left to the Society. This hospital, from the place where it was built, was called *del Bigallo*, hence the name.

charity and good works. Cosimo conceived the idea of uniting the two societies, and had no difficulty in persuading the Republic to accede to his wishes; that very year (1425) the order was given that the two societies should become one under the name of "*La Compagnia di S. M. del Bigallo e della Misericordia.*"

Of course, the oratory or chapel, with its lovely *loggia* or porch, and the adjoining Hall of Assembly, built for the Misericordia, became common property: hence the name del Bigallo, which it still retains.

The union of the two societies proved fatal to the Misericordia; gradually the confraternity began to decline, the members fell off, and those who remained lost their zeal; the traditions and good works of the early years were forgotten, and some forty or fifty years after, although the name was retained, the Misericordia had almost ceased to exist. The other society, *del Bigallo*, did not adapt itself to the carrying the sick and wounded to the hospital, nor in burying the dead, so that these good works were greatly neglected.

The revival of the Society took place in 1475 under very curious circumstances, which are thus related by Filippo Tornabuoni:

In January, 1475, a man fell down dead in Via dei Macci; the body remained for some time lying in the streets, until a charitable person passing by took it on his back and carried it to the *Palazzo Vecchio* (the Town Hall and seat of the Government).

The *Gonfaloniere* (Governor of Florence), greatly surprised, asked, "What does this mean?" "This," said the man, "is the effect of the non-observance of the ancient customs of the city which it is your duty, as it was that of your predecessors, to maintain." And leaving the dead body at the feet of the *Gonfaloniere*, he went his way.

The fact was soon known in the city and caused great consternation. The *Gonfaloniere* took counsel what should be done to prevent similar disorders; he commanded that the great bell of the *Palazzo Vecchio* should be rung; as this bell was never rung but on the most important occasions, "the whole city flocked into the square of the *Palazzo Vecchio* to know what had happened. The *Gonfaloniere* made a most touching appeal to the assembled multitude, exhorting them to revive the ancient Society of the Misericordia which in time of need had always shown such self-sacrificing courage and devotion, and whose charity had ever been boundless."

This address acted like the tiny spark which kindles a great

fire ; in a very short time the ancient Society was restored, numerous members were enrolled, the old rules were enforced, and soon, animated by a new spirit and an ardent zeal, the confraternity regained all that it had lost, and as ever abounded in works of mercy. All classes of the community were to be found amongst the members, and the archives of this time contain many of the noblest names of Florence : Aldobrandini, Antinari, Strozzi, &c.

Soon after this revival the highest qualities of the Society were put to the test, for in 1494, another terrible plague devastated Florence, the Misericordia showed itself worthy of its ancient reputation. Rich and poor alike sought its aid, for their members alone had the courage to attend the sick at the peril of their own lives, and on them devolved entirely the burial of the dead ; with untiring efforts, with unflagging zeal, they were ever ready as long as life lasted.\*

The Government decreed a vote of thanks for the great public services they had rendered, and gave the Society a right to certain taxes, so that they might never want money for their works of mercy ; many private individuals also left legacies of money as an acknowledgment of their admirable conduct during the plague.

In 1525 the Misericordia resolved to separate themselves altogether from *the Society of the Bigallo* ; they left to the latter their oratory, &c., and took possession of the church of St. Christofano given by the Adimari family.

The adjoining house became the residence of the *Provveditore* (President), and the little square in front of the church, the burying-ground of the Society.† The confraternity remained in this church until 1576. But the church, or rather chapel, was small and not in a central position, standing back from the Via Calzaioli, in a little square of its own. The Grand Duke Francesco I., then reigning at Florence, found‡ that a Society which had done so much good ought not to be hidden away in a corner ; he granted the confraternity a house of his

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\* During all the plagues which afflicted Florence, both before and after this period, the Misericordia had never failed : the greater the need the brighter appeared their devotion and abnegation.

† During recent excavations many remains were found in this spot.

‡ Landini.

own in the *Piazza del Duomo*, which they have ever since occupied; the adjoining houses were afterwards added.

Their oratory is now a large handsome church containing several very good pictures; there is also a splendid *Spogliatoio* (robing-room), where the members keep the black robes which they put on before proceeding on their missions of charity.

No account of the *Misericordia* would be complete without some notice of Passerini's history of the Society. In some important particulars he is at variance with all other writers, and even with the records and traditions of the Society itself.\*

Passerini says that the Society was *not* founded in 1240 or 1244, but nearly 100 years later, in 1325, at the time of the first great plague. As we have seen, the beginning of the Society was very humble, and their works of charity confined entirely to the very poor, so that for many years they remained unknown. At the time of the plague the Order became so numerous, and its works of mercy so extended, that it was impossible it should remain hidden, hence probably the mistake of Passerini. The building of the oratory of the *Misericordia* on the foundations of the old tower which was demolished in 1248, is a convincing proof that the Society existed at least some years before that date. Again, Passerini remarks that Piero Borsi was not the founder of the Society, that he was not a *facchino*, and lived a hundred years later than the date given. Here again he has been misled, for all the old writers—Ghislieri, Fichi, Lastri—agree that Piero was the son of Luca Borsi; Passerini, on the contrary, says he was the son of Matteo. There were then *two* Piero Borsis, one a *facchino*, who founded the Society, the other, probably of the same family, who lived nearly a hundred years later, also a member of the Society, but *not* its founder. Passerini says, in the third place, that the confraternity was *not* founded by *facchini*, but by the Capitani (or heads) of the order *Or San Michele*! This also is contrary to the testimony of all the old writers, to the records of the Society itself, to the traditions which live in the hearts of the people! This error probably arose from the fact that in 1325, when a great number of new

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\* A Florentine writer who lived towards the close of the last century and beginning of the present century, author of a well-known work on "The Charitable Institutions of Florence."

members joined the Society, many of them belonged to the order of *Or San Michele*, and being of a higher worldly position would naturally occupy a more prominent place than their humbler brethren, and at length were supposed by some to be the founders of the Society.

Since the cessation of the great plagues in 1633, the work of the Misericordia has not been so arduous as in former times.

But in all emergencies the Society has always shown itself equal to its ancient reputation; this was fully proved when the cholera visited Florence in 1855. Then they laboured exceedingly, as in the old days of the plague, tending the sick, carrying them to the hospitals, bearing the dead to their burial; unflagging in zeal, they were always ready at any hour, day or night, for the errands of mercy; counting their own lives as nothing in their work of love,\* continued from century to century for more than six hundred years.

M. ZUCCHI.

\* The rules of the confraternity are admirable. Framed by the wisdom of the ancient times they have come down to the present day unaltered. As we have seen, the Society in the early days consisted of seventy-two members (in remembrance of the seventy-two sent forth by our Saviour). When it became numerous it was ordained that seventy-two *Fratelli* (brethren) should be chosen, who should form the governing body. They are called *Capi di Guardia* (chiefs or captains), and are chosen from different classes—ten prelates, fourteen nobles, twenty simple priests, twenty-eight workmen (double the number of the nobles). There is no distinction of class, each member has the right to vote. There is also a *Provveditore*, or president, chosen by the *Capi di Guardia* from their body. His term of office only lasts a few months; under him a vice-president and chancellor. There is also what we may term an upper council, to decide in all important affairs, composed of eight *Capi di Guardia* (two of each class), who are chosen by reason of their age, experience and merits. Their office is for life.

For many centuries the members of the Society have been very numerous. They are divided into two classes: the *Giornanti* (or *daily workers*), who are what may be called the regular staff of the Society, and the *Probationers*, who work also, but who remain on trial, until by their zeal and services they deserve to pass into the class of the *Giornanti*. The *Giornanti* are about 203, the *Probationers* about 180. Besides these a number of members are admitted as *Voluntaries* (*buone voglie*). Altogether the confraternity numbers at present between three and four thousand members.

The bell of the Misericordia rings twice a day—shortly after sunrise and at the *Ave Maria*. All who are on duty arrive immediately, and putting on their black robes go forth on their daily errands. The sick poor who are not taken to the hospital are nursed by the brethren in their own houses who, if necessary, watch by them all night, sometimes for months together. In case of any accident or sudden death the bell is rung at *any hour of the day or night*, and immediately the *Giornanti* hasten to the scene of the disaster, always accompanied by a *Capo di Guardia*, who gives the orders, also by a priest should one be required, in case of sudden or impending death.

## ART. VI.—THE CHANSONS DE GESTE.

## PART II.

IN an article which appeared some three years ago in the DUBLIN REVIEW, the present writer endeavoured to give a general idea of the mediæval French narrative poems which are known as “*Chansons de Geste*,” but want of space made it then impossible to touch on that aspect of them which has most interest for us to-day : namely, the pictures which they afford us of life and manners in France during the later Middle Ages.

The “*Chansons*” are the productions of what was, with all its faults, a deeply religious age. It is true that the heroes in many respects fall short of the ideal of Christian perfection ; they have little reverence for the Gospel precept of forgiveness of injuries. The command, “*thou shalt not kill*,” they observe only with large limitations ; they deem it no shame to spend whole nights in carousals. Yet through all, they hold fast their trust in God, turning to Him in their need, and relying on His assistance with simple faith, like that of little children. “*Help me, Son of Mary*,” they cry. “*Thou who didst suffer a bitter Passion ; Who didst raise Lazarus from the dead ; Who didst deliver Daniel from the lions’ den*.” “*Take these hundred marks*,” says a father to his son, in the “*Chanson d’Aiol* ;” “*when they are spent God in Heaven will send you what is needful*.” And in the same poem, when Aiol is mocked by the citizens for his poverty and mean dress, he rebukes them, saying, “*If I am poor, God has enough ; whilst He has care of me I shall not want*.”

Faith was the virtue of virtues in the eyes of the mediæval Christian. One who believed in the doctrine of the Church, and attended to all the external observances of religion, could scarcely fail to be saved, and indeed could hardly do wrong. In the very ancient *Chanson* called “*Le Voyage de Charlemagne*,” the emperor and his twelve peers are the guests of “*Hugh, King of Constantinople*.” When they retire to their room at night, they amuse themselves by relating to each other *gabs* or wonderful tales ; each boasting what extraordinary

feat he will accomplish on the morrow. Thus one will blow down a town with his breath; another with one hand will shake a palace to pieces; and so on. A concealed spy hears all this, and makes his report to the king, who, next morning, calls on his guests to fulfil their boasts. In vain they protest that they were intoxicated when they uttered them, Hugh will take no excuse; so, summoning their courage, they make the attempt. God, having pity on them, sends an angel to their assistance, and, to the astonishment of the king, they accomplish everything with the greatest ease. The intervention of an angel to extricate the Christians from a difficulty in which their own folly had involved them is bad enough, but what is infinitely worse is, that one of these *gabs* thus fulfilled by divine aid, is of a nature which renders the very mention of it unfit for modern ears.

To the Christian knight of the "Chansons" Death had few terrors; indeed if it overtook him on the field of battle, when combating for his faith, it was looked on as a gain, as the threshold of another life where, his labours over, God would place him "amidst the holy flowers of Paradise. If we contrast the account of the death of Sifrit in the *Nibelungenlied*, with that of the death of Roland quoted in my former article, we shall easily see how Christianity, which is the very life of the song of Roland, is in the great German epic a mere veneer covering an original paganism.

Sifrit, like Roland, perishes through treachery, and whilst still in his early manhood, and like Roland, he dies bravely, as a hero should, but he seems scarcely to think of a future life; in his heart is the old heathen love of "the fair mid-earth." Leaving wife and child, going he knows not whither, the spirit of even the strong Sifrit is saddened, and he casts a longing look backwards. When at length, "having long struggled with death," he lies lifeless amidst the blood-stained flowers, no word is said of the destination of his immortal soul, nor does the widowed Kriemhilde, in her lamentations for her husband, express any hope of a reunion beyond the grave, nor pray, as does the wife of Aimeri of Narbonne, to die, that she may go to join him "in the safe place of paradise" ("La Mort d'Aimert de Narbonne").

Feudalism was, next to Christianity, the greatest motive

power in the mediæval world. Second only to his duties to God were a man's duties towards his liege-lord. God Himself was indeed often regarded in a kind of feudal aspect, as the supreme liege lord of the whole world, and the dying Roland lifts his right-hand glove to Him, in sign of homage; even as by the same gesture he would have expressed homage to an earthly suzerain.

The prevalence of this idea enables us to understand the extreme importance attached, by even the most abandoned and criminal, to the performance of the external duties of religion. There were feudal services and homages due to the Supreme Being, and these performed, the vassal looked for His help and protection as of right, no matter how faulty his own conduct might be in other respects.

Nothing could absolutely justify, though circumstances might palliate, the actual rebellion of a vassal. "My lord is more wicked than Judas, but he *is* my lord. I will not be false to him," says Bernier, in "Raoul of Cambrai." "He is a bad man who takes land or castle from his lord," we read in "Girartz de Rossilho." And again, in "Le Charroi de Nîmes," "Your duty is never to menace your lord, but to defend him against all." In "Elie de St. Gilles," the squire will not leave his wounded master: "I wish rather to die with you than to return to France without you," he tells him. The serf Haymes ("Amis et Amiles") sells himself to the captain of a ship to pay his lord's passage. But the most striking examples of feudal fidelity and devotion, which the *Chansons* present to us are the vassal Renier and his wife Eremburg, in "Jourdain de Blaives." Their infant lord is in their charge, and the traitor, who has slain the father, orders Renier to give up the boy to them. On his refusal, he is thrown into a dungeon, where Eremburg visits him and encourages him not to yield.

"I pray you, my husband," she says, "do not give up Girart's son; rather be torn limb from limb. . . . If you give him up, you cannot appear anywhere without hearing it said, 'See the man who betrayed his lord and through fear yielded him up to die; and even when it is forgotten here, on the Great Day of Judgment it will be brought in evidence against you.'"

At length, driven to extremity and fearing that the traitor



will find means to seize the child by force, the heroic Eremburg proposes to her husband that they should give up their own little son, pretending that he is the young Jourdain. Renier agrees, and the mother takes leave of her child with piteous laments; but does not falter in her resolution, and the boy is brought to the traitor, who slays him before his father's eyes.\* The same story is repeated in the Provençal version of "Daurel et Beton," which was published a few years ago.

Friendship or brotherhood-in-arms was a recognised institution, and involved obligations of mutual assistance, both in peace and war. The "*Chansons de Geste*" furnish us with numerous instances of such friendships; as that of Roland and Oliver ("*Chanson de Roland*"), of Duke Beuve and Count Guy ("*Daurel et Beton*"), of the young Hugh and Antoine of Cologne ("*Parise la Duchesse*"), and others too numerous to mention; but the ideal friends of mediæval story are Amis and Amiles.

An essay of Mr. Walter Pater ("*Two old French Stories*"), whose account is however taken, not from the "*Chanson de Geste*," but from a later prose romance founded on it, has probably made many English readers familiar with the history of the two comrades, whose attachment has in it something mystical, for they resemble each other exactly, and however far they may be separated, each feels when the other is in trouble or danger. The most striking incident in their story is the devotion of Amiles who, Amis being stricken with leprosy, slays his own two little sons that he may cure his friend by washing him in their blood. An angel has been sent to inform him that this is the only remedy which will be effectual, and God, to reward his fidelity of friendship, not only cures Amis, but afterwards restores the children to life.

Here, as elsewhere in the "*Chansons*," the absolute right of the father over his offspring is assumed; even the mother seems rarely to have had a voice in deciding the destination of her children.

Very seldom indeed do we find in these French poems that

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\* The story of "*Jourdain de Blaives*" is probably of Eastern origin. An early Indian tale, containing a similar incident of the substitution by a mother of her own child for the young prince of whom she was in charge, exists, and has been treated by Sir Edwin Arnold in his poem "*A Rajpoot Nurse*."

reverence for women which pervades the old Scandinavian and German epics. Their attitude is generally passive, their position, as regards their husbands, decidedly that of inferiors.

The folly of asking a woman's advice, or of trusting to her is often remarked on. "I hold the man a fool who takes counsel from a woman. Go rest in your room and make yourself fat with eating and drinking, that is your proper occupation." Thus rudely does Raoul of Cambrai receive his mother's proffered advice. "Women are foolish beings and he who pays much heed to them is lost," says Elie de St. Gilles. "If you should wish to conceal any matter, do not tell it to your wife . . . for the first time you vex her you will have reason to fear her on account of it," advises Guy to his son Doon (Doon of Mayence).

Husbands did not confine themselves to abusing their wives, often in the coarsest and rudest language, they sometimes proceeded even to blows. In spite of this ill-treatment, certain malicious persons might say partly on account of it, the ladies show no small affection for their lords. The intriguing, deceitful wife of the "Fablieux" is unknown in the "Chansons de Geste." Seville in the "Chansons des Saisnes" (a late work) and Lubias in "Amis et Amiles," are the only exceptions to the general rule of conjugal fidelity with which my recollection furnishes me.

In "Berte aus Grans Pies," "Macaire," and "Parise la Duchesse," innocent women are accused of abominable crimes and banished from their country; but none of them utter a single reproach against their too credulous husbands. "I have erred greatly regarding you. In the name of all the saints pardon me," says Duke Raymond to Parise, when at length her innocence has been established. "Gladly and willingly I do so, my lord," she answers. Very different from this is the conduct of Shakespeare's Hermione. The excessive meekness of these Patient Grissels borders indeed on mean-spiritedness.

In "Aliscans" and in "Girartz de Rossilho," there are instances of wives who hold a deservedly high position, and whose advice is followed by their husbands. Guibourc, the wife of Guillaume au Court Nez, is perhaps the noblest figure in the former chanson.

Flying from the battle-field of Aliscans, Guillaume comes to the gate of his own castle and demands admission. Guibourc is summoned by the porter and asks who he is; he replies that he is Guillaume Fierabras, at the same time raising the visor of his helmet that she may see his face. "You make me wait too long," he cries. "See, the Pagans are on the heights." "Little do you resemble William," answers Guibourc, "never did I see him fear a Pagan." The Count, thus reminded of his duty, turns back, and having routed the enemy, presents himself again at the gate, and is at once admitted by his wife.

The courtship of these times was short and summary, when indeed there was any courtship at all. The suzerain had the right of disposing of the hand of an orphan heiress, and on these occasions it is rather the fief with the woman, than the woman with the fief, that is offered to the man of his choice. Sometimes, a vassal bribes his liege-lord to grant him the hand of wealthy ward or widow, as does Milon in "*Aye d'Avignon*," and Count Guy in "*Daurel et Beton*." In other cases, a girl's nearest male relative, whether father, brother, or uncle, could give her in marriage to whom he pleased, but usually subject to her consent, at least nominally. In the "*Chansons*" we rarely find the ladies objecting to even the most hastily arranged unions, and often they come to solicit their suzerains to find them a husband.

In the later "*Chansons de Geste*," the tone of morals is decidedly lax, the conduct of the young girls being, strange to say, in most cases far worse than that of the men. We can only entertain a hope, for which indeed the blameless characters ascribed to the wives gives us some warrant, that the *Flor-dipas*, *Esclarmontes*, and *Fleurdepines* of the *trouvères* are, as M. Leon Gautier conjectures, rather creations of their own brains than pictures taken from real life.

Even when nothing worse, the conduct and language of the damsels is often "forward" to the last degree. "I will take you for my husband," says Eglantine to Gui de Nanteuil (who has not expressed the least desire to take her for his wife), "your beauty has made me love you." Absolutely comic is *Flor-dipas'* appeal; "Kiss me, gentle knight, and I shall be as satisfied as if I had eaten a peppered fowl" ("*Fierabras*"). In

short, protestations of affection, promises of eternal fidelity, &c. &c., come from the side of the lady in the "Chansons de Geste," almost as invariably as they do from that of the gentleman in our modern novels.

Hospitality was extensively practised at the baronial castles, and the stranger was usually received at the gate by the chatelaine or her daughter, who divested him of part of his armour, and presented him with a cup of wine.

The care of the sick and the wounded usually devolved on the women, who were expected to have some knowledge of the preparation of medicine and salves. Only occasionally do we hear of regular (male) doctors, called *mires*. The literary attainments of the ladies are often represented as considerable, and sometimes as even extraordinary; thus Mirabel, in the "Chanson d'Aiol," knew thirteen languages, and Berte in "Girartz de Rossilho," was quite a prodigy of learning, being acquainted, amongst other things, with "Chaldee, Greek, Latin and Hebrew."

It may, however, be remarked, in passing, that it would be very rash to draw from these examples any general conclusion regarding the actual state of female education in mediæval France; even as it would be absurd to believe that the real flesh-and-blood knights of that day could, like Roland or Oliver, slay eight hundred or a thousand men single-handed. The *trouvère* exaggerated the learning of his heroines, as he did the powers of his heroes. At most, we can only gather from his statements, that learning was valued in women, as courage was in men, and that some at least of the barons' wives and daughters studied foreign tongues, as well as the pseudo science of astrology, and empirical medicine.

The beauty of women is frequently compared to that of flowers, and allusion is often made to the whiteness of their arms. White, well-shaped hands seem to have been highly valued, even in men; doubtless because they indicated freedom from manual labour, and consequently noble birth.

The hair of both sexes is usually described as fair; sometimes as "slightly curled," and their eyes as "vair," a word which probably means bluish-grey. The men generally wore long moustaches and sometimes beards.

Rich and bright-coloured clothes, gold chains, rings, and

jewelled buckles were worn both by men and women. The veils of the ladies and the tunics of the knights were richly embroidered, and the armour itself often ornamented with precious stones.

Within the castles too, there was much luxury displayed in regard to furniture and decorations. We hear of tables laden with gold and silver plate ; of walls hung with tapestry ; and of gilded beds covered with embroidered silk counterpanes or with furs.

Detailed descriptions of natural scenery are never attempted by the *trouvère* ; he knows, as it has been remarked, only one season—spring—and, at least out of doors, usually only one locality—a forest. Not, of course, that all the “action” of his tale is supposed really to take place in a forest ; but in cases where it does not, he commonly gives us no note of locality at all. Moreover, the *trouvère’s* spring is always the same ; it knows neither clouds, nor rain, nor wind ; hardly even noon or evening or night. With him it is constantly morning ; “the woods are putting forth their leaves,” “the meadows are growing green again,” and the birds are always singing “with their full soft voices.”

In time of peace, the regular daily life of the castle was, for the men at least, a somewhat idle one. It was customary to hear Mass every morning, and on church festivals, to attend other services. We constantly find Charlemagne, even during a campaign, attending a Mass celebrated by the Pope, whom the *trouvères* seem to like to represent as a mere chaplain of the great emperor.

During the day, the baron administered justice to his vassals, or amused himself with hunting, hawking, or tilting. In the late afternoon, the chief meal of the day was served, and, if we may judge by the accounts of their prowess given in some of the *chansons*, many of the heroes seem to have been as mighty at table as in the field. Excessive fondness for good cheer, money, or material comfort was, however, looked on as a sign of plebeian birth or low education. Knightly children, such as little Vivien (“*Enfance Vivien*”) and Beton (“*Daurel et Beton*”), show an aristocratic extravagance and contempt for base lucre.

Chess and “tables,” a sort of backgammon, were favourite

indoor games, and children were early taught to play them. In "*Parise la Duchesse*", we hear that young Hugh "first learned his letters and then he learned to play at chess and tables." In a few other chansons the author mentions that his hero was taught reading and writing, sometimes, too, astrology and music; while, as regards religion, boys seem to have been taught orally some of the chief facts of sacred history, and the leading doctrines of the church, and made to commit to memory the Pater, Ave and Credo. This was the extent of their literary education, and this much they probably learned in early boyhood, before their regular martial training began.

The children of the "*Chansons de Geste*" are singularly unchildlike; indeed, they are not properly children at all. We hear certainly that they are only three, seven, ten or twelve years old, but they have all the wisdom, the self-possession, the courage and the strength, too often also the brutality, of grown men.

Young Roland escapes with his companions from the castle, in which they have been shut up, to prevent them from following Charlemagne to the wars. He stuns the porter, seizes some horses from a party of merchants, joins the army and performs prodigies of valour ("*Aspremont*"). An almost similar story is related of little Guicardet ("*Li Covenant Vivien*") and of Guibilin ("*Prise Narbone*"); Girart, the son of Amis, when seven years old, kills at a single blow, a cook who has refused him food for his starving father ("*Amis et Amiles*"); Aymenet, a boy of the same age, gives sage advice to his grandmother ("*Gaufrey*").

The son of Amiles, whose age we are told is three, on hearing that he and his brother are to be slain to heal Amis, says to his father, "We are yours, you can do with us as you please; cut off our heads quickly, for the God of glory will receive us. But salute for us the fair Bellissant, our mother." This imputation of mature wisdom and superhuman strength to mere infants, is no doubt partly due to the poet's wish to exalt his hero, by attributing extraordinary qualities to him, even in his early years; but partly it may be ascribed to that lack of power to differentiate or to observe proportion, which is a characteristic of most mediæval art. As in the stained-glass windows, and in the illuminations of the time, so too in the "*Chansons de Geste*," a child is merely a miniature man.

War was at once the chief occupation and the chief recreation of the upper classes in those days. It is scarcely possible for us now to understand the savage love of combat which filled the souls alike of old and young. Even the women shared in these feelings, to some extent. In "Gui de Nanteuil," Eglantine gives to her lover a lance, on the silken pennon of which she has embroidered a lion, and tells him to let the lion drink, and that he drinks only blood.

Nothing was so much dreaded as an imputation of cowardice, nothing so much desired as the fame of a valiant champion. "Let not the Jongleurs sing ill songs of us," cries Didier, exhorting his companions in "The Taking of Pampaluna," and in "Fierabras" we read, "Lords," said Ogier, "honoured knights, take heed least an ill song be sung of us."

A death on the field of battle was regarded as the only fitting ending for a warrior. In "Girartz de Rossilho," when the hero laments his slain relatives, his nephew reasons with him, saying, "For this have we been brought up. Not one of us has had for a father, a knight who died in house or room, but in battle. I do not wish to have the reproach of ending otherwise."

The knights fought always on horseback, clothed in mail and armed with spear and sword. The swords of celebrated heroes have generally special names, as Durendal, the sword of Roland, Joyeuse, that of Charlemagne, and many others. So, too, has the war-horse or *destrier* (Low Latin *dextrarius*), who is regarded by his master almost as a friend, and who plays an important part in many *chansons*. His history, and sometimes even his pedigree, are given; and often we meet detailed and minute descriptions of horses: "Well-shaped feet," "long sides," "flat legs," and "small ears," seem to have been regarded as the chief points of equine perfection. Bayard, the wonderful steed of the four sons of Aymon, is a notable character in the *chanson* that bears their name. In "Aliscans," Count William, when flying from the battle-field, feels his horse Baucent fail, and addresses him in words of affectionate encouragement, which the animal understands "as well as if he had been a wise man." In "Fierabras," Richard the Norman, when bidding farewell to his horse, commends him to "the God of Glory."

The style of the *trouvères* is plain and direct. They relate great events and small in equal detail, and without any apparent sense of their relative importance. They never strain after effect, and their heroes say whatever the occasion requires without circumlocution; but, unfortunately for the reader, they often say what is substantially the same thing three or four times over, in slightly different words. There is little reflection and no analysis of feelings or motives.

Little scraps of sententious wisdom are frequently introduced, either by the author, speaking in his own person, or put into the mouth of one of his characters. Such are, for example, "He has learned much who knows suffering well" ("Chanson de Roland"); "The heart is not to be found in the ermine, but in the breast; he is a great fool who holds a man in low esteem on account of his shabby clothes" ("Aliscans"); "What a deep valley he will descend, what a high mountain he will climb, who awaits another's death" ("Couronnement Loos"); "The old man who loves a young girl is a fool" ("Prise d'Orange").

Epithets are very common and are often repeated; so Charlemagne is "of the grizzled beard"; Raoul of Cambria and many other heroes, "of the bright countenance," and Bordeaux is "the great town."

A few French scholars, carried away by patriotic feelings, have so greatly exaggerated the literary value of the "Chansons de Geste" as to claim for some of them, or at least for "The Song of Roland," confessedly the finest of all, a place but little below that of the immortal epics of classical antiquity.

But, whilst admitting the folly of such extravagant praise, we may still assert confidently that the "Chansons de Geste" are well worthy of attention, and will well repay the student already acquainted with modern French for the slight extra trouble needed to obtain a sufficient mastery over the dialects of the *Langue d'Oïl* to understand and appreciate them. They are interesting, not only as presenting to us pictures of a long past and hitherto little known epoch, not only as the first literary productions of a great people, not only because their language is the connecting link between one of the most perfect of modern, and one of the most perfect of ancient



tongues ; but also because they show us how, in a rude and barbarous age, Christianity shed her refining and softening influence over the wild races which had overthrown the old civilisation, and taught those, whom imperial Rome herself could not subdue, to prostrate themselves before "the Son of Mary," the Saviour who for them "had suffered a bitter Passion on the Cross."

MARY HAYDEN, M.A.

## ART. VII.—THE ACACIAN TROUBLES.

ONE of the injuries done to the Church by the misinterpretations of history which found acceptance with certain Gallican writers, such as Fleury, Nicole, and Tillemont, has been that of placing in the hands of others a weapon which was sure to be used on behalf of theories about the independence of National Churches, which they would have heartily repudiated.

Nicole, in spite of his heretical proclivities, lays down (in treating of the Communion of Saints, cap. i.) as a dogma of the faith that “we must adhere by express communion to the supreme Pontiff, the head of the Church;” whilst Fleury, in his historical Catechism (2, 2, 9), says that the Catholic Church is called Roman, because “communion with the Holy Roman See is a mark of the Catholic Church.”

But, in spite of this, they lent their talents to interpretations of history which opened the way for a denial of this dogma. One such misinterpreted passage in history is concerned with the troubles that arose in the East about the acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon, which centred round the name of a Bishop of Constantinople, named Acacius.

The false interpretation put on the history of that period by the above-mentioned writers, was ably exposed in the last century by the Ballerini in their invaluable treatise on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs (cap. xi.); but its repetition by a recent writer, whose arguments have been warmly espoused by the Bishop of Lincoln in a book which was noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW of July last, seems to call for a more extended refutation of these arguments than it fell within the scope of the Ballerini's work to give. This writer, in the concluding chapter of this book,\* appeals to the history of the troubles that ensued after the fourth General Council, and thence arraigns the dictum of Cardinal Wiseman, in his celebrated article in the DUBLIN REVIEW, that “it is easy at once to ascertain who are the Catholic Church and who are in schism

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\* “The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome,” by Rev. F. W. Puller, M.A. With Preface by the Bishop of Lincoln.

by simply discovering who are in communion with the See of Rome and who are not." I will give his account of the matter in his own words :

St. Macedonius and St. Elias and St. Flavian II. sat on the great patriarchal thrones of Christendom and knew perfectly well that they were out of communion with Rome, and that they, as patriarchs, were responsible for the separation of the whole East from Rome; and St. Sabas and St. Theodosius and St. John Silentiarius were among the shining lights who rendered illustrious the lauras and monasteries of Palestine. The united testimony of these, and others like these, of whom I have spoken [a list is given on pp. 288-290] proves conclusively that the saints of the Eastern Church, in the time of the Acacian troubles, knew nothing of Cardinal Wiseman's dictum, &c. (p. 303).

The separation between Rome and the East was, according to Mr. Puller (and this is necessary for his thesis), "complete" (p. 279), and the one proof which he gives (repeated on p. 303) is derived from the anathemas passed by Misenus the Papal legate who had fallen at Constantinople and was restored in 495, and their ratification by Pope Gelasius on that occasion. And a list of saints is given who were, according to Mr. Puller, "absolutely cut off from fellowship with the Roman Church" (p. 281), having lived or died or both, out of communion with Rome, because, as in the case of Euphemius and St. Macedonius, they shrank from removing the name of Acacius from the diptychs, or because they communicated with these prelates—the last cause being that which concerns the greater number of the saints in the said list. "They were content to remain outside the Church," according to what Mr. Puller calls the Roman theory, "for thirty-five or thirty-seven years. Nay, more, some of them were content to die in that appalling condition. They took no pains to get back into the Catholic unity," as that unity is interpreted by Cardinal Wiseman's dictum.

In a word, the existence of so many saints out of communion with Rome is held to be a proof that communion with Rome cannot be the test of being within the Catholic Church. Such is Mr. Puller's *pièce de résistance*.\*

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\* The writer of this article had intended to include the following arguments in a book on "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter," which he hopes to publish in the spring. But this book has grown to a size which has made it advisable to treat "The Acacian Troubles" by themselves.

Now in order to appreciate the arguments of this writer at their true value, it is necessary to have very clearly before our minds the historical context, of which we propose to give at once a short summary.

The whole question hinges on the relationship of two bishops of Constantinople, named Euphemius and Macedonius, to the Holy See; and that relationship can only be properly understood when we bear in mind the history of Acacius, their predecessor in that see, the treatment of whose memory was the matter which Rome had at heart throughout the struggle.

After the Council of Chalcedon, such was "the degeneracy of the oriental Church" (says Dr. Döllinger),\* that the Eutychians soon gained possession of all the chief sees, except Constantinople. But the chief confusion was at Alexandria, the scene of Dioscorus' labours against the orthodox doctrine, where it was reported that St. Cyril, its former patriarch, had been condemned at Chalcedon, and a false translation of St. Leo's tome was industriously circulated. The Patriarch, Proterius, was murdered, and Timothy Ælurus,† a pronounced Eutychian, succeeded, and deposed all the Egyptian bishops who ventured to oppose him. The Council of Chalcedon was condemned, and the Emperor was induced to moot the question of another council to decide upon the decrees of Chalcedon. The Pope and the Bishop of Constantinople stood firm, and Timothy was exiled.

The scene now changed to Antioch, where Peter the Tanner succeeded in getting himself consecrated, and proceeded to consecrate Eutychianising bishops, but he, too, ended with being exiled.

When, however, Basiliscus usurped the throne, the heretics, Timothy and Peter, returned to Alexandria and Antioch, and the new emperor, for the first time in the history of the Church, assumed the right (acting on the instigation of Acacius and Timothy) to lay down, as Emperor, the terms of the faith.‡ He condemned the Council of Chalcedon and the tome of Leo. "So low"—to use the words of Dr. Döllinger

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\* "Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte," Döllinger. Regensburg, 1843, vol. i. p. 91.

† Sometimes called Timothy the Cat.

‡ Cf. "The Holy See and the Wandering of the Nations," by T. W. Allies, p. 65.

—"so low had the oriental Church now fallen, that five hundred bishops obeyed this iniquitous injunction; only Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, stood firm."\* Basiliscus' usurpation was of short duration, and on the return of Zeno to the Imperial throne all that he had done was annulled, and Timothy of Alexandria poisoned himself. In his place the party of Dioscorus (*i.e.*, the Eutychians) elected Peter Mongus (or the Stammerer), the true bishop being Solofaciolos. When the latter died, John Talaia, whose name stands out honourably in those times, was elected Patriarch. But Peter the Stammerer, on Zeno's restoration, concealed himself in Alexandria for awhile, and then made his way to Constantinople. There he found Acacius in the highest esteem for his defence of the Council of Chalcedon. In great favour with Emperor and people, he had acquired a semi-imperial position. He had been on good terms with Rome, and had himself acted as executor of the decrees of the Holy See against Timothy and Peter the Tanner.†

But one little incident led to a change of policy and to his fall. John Talaia had not announced to Acacius his election to Alexandria,‡ and when Peter the Stammerer arrived at Constantinople, he found Acacius' mind favourably inclined towards him in consequence of the prejudice he had contracted against John Talaia. Acacius had been exercising much more than patriarchal rights during the last three or four years, and he now proceeded to interfere with the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Peter the Stammerer, with a view to depreciating the Council of Chalcedon, induced the Emperor and Acacius to believe that a document might be drawn up which would unite all parties by containing true doctrine, but omitting all mention of Chalcedon. Acacius threw himself into the idea, and Zeno, the Emperor, published a formulary which all were to sign in accordance with this view of union. It was called the *Henotikon* (*i.e.*, Formulary of Union). Acacius himself signed it, and allowed Peter, whom he had once de-

\* *Loc. cit.* He appears to have hesitated at first, but to have been induced (reluctantly, Tillemont thinks) to refuse his signature through the influence of St. Daniel Stylites and other monks.

† Tillemont thinks he acted hypocritically; but Pope Gelasius gives him credit for having been sincere up to this point. *Cf.* Simplicii Ep. viii. ad Zenonem.

‡ The letter probably miscarried.

nounced to Pope Simplicius as an adulterer, a robber, and a son of darkness, to sign as Patriarch of Alexandria. From this time Acacius' career was one of mad partnership with the enemies of Chalcedon.

In 483 Felix succeeded to the Papal throne. John Talaia, like St. Athanasius in the previous century, had appealed to Rome. Felix summoned Acacius to attend a council at Rome, as Julius had summoned Athanasius and his opponents. Acacius took no notice of the summons, in direct contradiction to the action of St. Athanasius. The Pope sent legates to the Emperor and to Acacius with letters, bidding the former remember what he promised his predecessor in the Holy See—viz., the defence of the Council of Chalcedon, and saying to the latter that to neglect to do anything when opposition to the Council of Chalcedon arises, is to cast himself out of the Church.

The Papal legates were imprisoned by order of the Emperor and Acacius, and threatened with death unless they accepted the communion of Acacius and Peter the Stammerer. Their papers and letters were taken from them, and they were induced to yield. One of them was named Misenus.

The orthodox monks of Constantinople now withdrew from the communion of Acacius, and sent an account to Rome of all that had taken place at Constantinople.

The Pope excommunicated Acacius, in a synod of sixty-seven bishops, who wrote to him: "You are condemned by the judgment of the Holy Ghost, and by apostolic authority, and are never to be released from anathema." In order to avoid the necessity of sending two bishops with the letter (for the approaches by land and sea were watched), it was signed by the Pope alone. In the following year a synod of Rome wrote to the clergy of Constantinople:

The 318 holy fathers assembled at Nicæa acted in obedience to this word (i.e., "Thou art Peter, &c."), and left (or deferred) the confirmation and authority of matters to the holy Roman Church,\* both of which

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\* Mr. Puller translates the words *confirmationem verum atque auctoritatem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ detulerunt*, "granted the right of confirming and initiating [ecclesiastical] proceedings," &c. ("Primitive Saints," &c., p. 276). But the word "detulerunt" only signifies what they did on that occasion—i.e., in obedience to our Lord's words to Peter they sent their decrees to Rome for confirmation. There is nothing about granting a new right, so that Mr.

things all successions to our own time by the grace of Christ maintain. What, therefore, the holy council assembled at St. Peter's have decreed, and the most blessed Felix, our head, has ratified, that has been sent to you by Tutus.\*

The Pope also wrote to the Emperor immediately after passing sentence on Acacius, and used these all-important words :

This Acacius, who has committed many atrocities against the ancient rules, and has come to praise one whom he affirmed ought to be condemned (*i.e.*, Peter the Stammerer), and *whose condemnation he obtained from the Apostolic See*, has been severed from apostolic communion.†

From this we gather that so long as Acacius stood firm to Chalcedon, he also stood firm to the Holy See, acknowledging its authority to depose the Patriarch of Alexandria, of which authority he consented to be himself the executor. The act of authority which St. Felix exercised over Acacius himself was not really greater than that which Acacius had recognised in Pope Simplicius over the See of Alexandria.

Neither Zeno the Emperor, nor Acacius, heeded the excommunication, and the next four or five years were occupied, so far as ecclesiastical policy was concerned, in consolidating the ultra-patriarchal power of the See of Constantinople, and in enforcing on the Eastern bishops subscription to the Henoticon—the Formulary of Union which ignored the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. They were, in fact, to hold the truths there enunciated, but to disregard the authority of the Church's living voice. Acacius went as far as to remove the name of the Pope from the diptychs of the Church. Four years afterwards he died, and in 491, Zeno, the Emperor, came to an untimely end. Euphemius succeeded Acacius in the See of Constantinople, after Fravitas had held it for a few weeks.

Such was the state of things when Anastasius ascended the Imperial throne. The new Emperor entered at once on a career of persecution, and Euphemius was soon afterwards exiled. He had refused to crown the Emperor until he promised to recognise the authority of Chalcedon. He had restored the name of the Pope to the diptychs, and renounced

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Puller might have spared himself the trouble of seeking for a Canon which could be supposed to decree or "grant" this right (p. 277).

\* Mansi, vii. 1139.

† *Ibid.* 1065.

communion with Peter the Stammerer. He had done all that he considered possible to avow his communion with Rome. But he subscribed the Henoticon, as the necessary condition of obtaining the See, and he came to the conclusion that, considering the strong feeling in Constantinople on the subject of Acacius, it was simply impossible to remove (as the Pope demanded) the name of Acacius from the diptychs. Accordingly, the Pope, whilst acknowledging him as personally orthodox, and in communion with the Church, refused him the ordinary episcopal letters. We gather from Gelasius' *Commonitorium* to the imperial agent from Rome at Constantinople named Faustus, that Euphemius made some attempt to defend himself on the ground that St. Felix's excommunication of Acacius was not synodically pronounced, and (for so we may presume the argument to run) therefore not so binding as it would otherwise have been.\* But there he was mistaken, as Gelasius pointed out. The argument, be it remembered, would not affect Euphemius' belief in the power of the Pope to excommunicate Acacius; it would only amount to a demurrer on the score of technical insufficiency. But, as we have only half a sentence in Gelasius' directions to Faustus on the subject, we cannot be sure of the nature of his plea. Anyhow his real defence was not this, but the difficulty of the situation.† He held that the state of excitement was such, that whilst personally he condemned Acacius, he could not remove his name from the diptychs for fear of a popular tumult. It would endanger his maintenance of the Council of Chalcedon. Acacius had made a great name for himself in Constantinople, and his tremendous secular position was connected in the minds of the citizens with the glories of New Rome. They were determined to resist the erasure of his name from the diptychs, and Euphemius did not feel that he could withstand their opposition. When Gelasius succeeded St. Felix

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\* The letter having been sent by *one* messenger gave a colour to Euphemius' suggestion that it was not a communication of the highest rank. But this, though sometimes a sign that a letter was not issued with the solemnity of a synodical utterance, was in this instance due only to the disturbed state of things in the East. Mr. Puller has slipped in the idea that Euphemius objected to "an Italian council." But the above reason is all that can be gathered from Gelasius' *Commonitorium*. And there seems to be no other evidence.

† Cf. Gelasius' letter to Euphemius. Mansi, viii. 6.



on the Papal throne, Euphemius at once wrote to him and *acknowledged him as the Divinely appointed head of the Church, and indeed as the infallible guardian of the faith.*

You say [replies Gelasius] that we—by the favour of Divine Providence, as He (Christ in the Gospel) pointed out—do not fail in charity to the holy churches, because Christ has placed me in the Pontifical seat, not needing, as he says, to be taught, but understanding all things necessary for the unity of the Church's body . . . . to return to your words; if you have in truth ascertained that these gifts have been conferred on me by God. . . . If, then, you pronounce that I am in possession of such privileges, you must either follow what you assert to be Christ's appointment, or, which God forbid, show yourself openly to resist the ordinances of Christ, &c.\*

Thus Euphemius acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope as of Divine institution; but he held that, in this instance, the Pope was commanding the impossible.

Gelasius was succeeded at Rome by Anastasius, and Euphemius at Constantinople by Macedonius, whose name finds a place in the Calendar of Saints. Pope Anastasius wrote to the Emperor defending the sentence of Pope Felix, and pointing out that its motive was zeal for God and the holy faith. St. Macedonius, unlawfully appointed, placed himself in communication with the Pope, and held a synod to confirm the Council of Chalcedon. But he, too, felt himself unequal to the removal of Acacius' name from the diptychs in the present disturbed state of matters. Consequently, the orthodox religious of Constantinople refused to communicate with him, as they had previously held aloof from Euphemius. St. Macedonius, however, made a bold stand for the Council of Chalcedon. When the Emperor insisted on his proscribing that Council, as Elias, Bishop of Jerusalem, perhaps had practically done,<sup>†</sup> St. Macedonius replied that "he could effect nothing without an Œcumenical Synod, having the Bishop of Great Rome as its President."<sup>‡</sup> When the Emperor required him to give up the original of the Acts of Chalcedon, he hid them under the altar, whence, however, they were taken

\* Mansi, viii. 7.

† For a defence of St. Flavian and St. Elias, see the "Acta Sanctorum" for July 4, cap ii. sec. 11.

‡ Τούτων γνωμένων σφόδρα ὁ βασιλεὺς Μακεδονίῳ ἐπέκειτο πράξαι τὰ ὅμοια· ὁ δὲ, χωρὶς οἰκουμένης συνόδου ἐχούσης πρόεδρον τὸν τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, οὐδὲν ποιεῖν. Theodorus Lector, "Eccl. Hist.," lib. ii. sec. 24.

and burnt. Macedonius himself died in exile. His was, it must be admitted, a hard case. His sympathies, as we have just seen, were with the Holy See, but he was required to do something which he felt to be right in itself, but which, as it seemed to him, the circumstances of the case did not permit. Things had grown from bad to worse, and the persecution of Catholics had become more fierce than ever. St. Macedonius doubtless justified himself on the ground that if the Pope realised the state of things in the East, he would relax his demands, and allow them to drop the question of the diptychs, whilst fighting for the Council of Chalcedon and opposing the line of conduct adopted by Acacius. The Pope, however, had to consider the Church as a whole, and the future as well as the present; and, moreover, he judged that there was some lack of faith lurking in the idea that they could maintain the doctrine of Chalcedon, whilst they allowed the impugner of the Council, or at least the supporter of its foes, to be mentioned in the diptychs of the Church. The Pope knew that the only security for the faith lay in the recognition of the judgments of its guardian, the successor of St. Peter.

It was at this crisis that the Eastern Church addressed itself to the successor of Anastasius, Pope Symmachus.

As an affectionate father for his children, seeing with spiritual eyes how we are perishing in the prevarication of our father Acacius, delay not, sleep not, but hasten to deliver us, since not in binding only, but in loosing those long bound, the power has been given to thee; for you know the mind of Christ who are daily taught by your sacred teacher Peter to feed Christ's sheep entrusted to you through the whole habitable world.\*

The whole letter is in the same strain. But relief was to come not from Symmachus, but through his successor, Hormisdas, acting in concert with a new Emperor. Anastasius for a brief moment, when in danger of his throne through his general Vitalian, addressed the Pope, asking him to hold a council and to become "a mediator, by whom unity might be restored to the churches." The Pope sent legates, but only to discover the unreality of the Emperor's address. He did, indeed, promise all but one thing, and that was the removal of Acacius' name from the diptychs. That, however, was an essential condition of peace. But the Emperor said he dared

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\* Mansi, viii. 221, *seq.* "*Ecclesia Orientalis ad Symmachum.*"

not do it, it would produce a revolution. The negotiations fell through, and on the removal of danger, the persecution of Catholics set in afresh.

But Anastasius died and Justin ascended the throne, prepared to defend the Catholic faith and to enter into negotiations with Pope Hormisdas. A wild scene of joy ensued at Constantinople; and Justinian, the future emperor, now a count, wrote to the Pope, asking him that he "would deign to come to Constantinople for the restoration of concord, or at least send bishops hither, for the whole world is impatient for the restoration of unity."

Pope Hormisdas held a council at Rome and drew up a formulary, which was committed to the legates, who were to see it signed by the bishops. The adhesion to this formulary was the real conclusion to the whole matter. It contained the emphatic contradiction of Acacius' pretensions. It defined the privileges of the Holy Apostolic See as over against the position of a merely imperial city, such as Constantinople. The adhesion to it on the part of the bishop of this latter See involved the express renunciation of its claims under Zeno and Acacius to supply the East with the rule of faith. It was the end of the Henoticon. It was the public, solemn, emphatic declaration that the Pope was by Divine institution the infallible guardian of the faith. It ran thus :

The first condition of salvation is to keep the rule of right faith, and in no way to deviate from the tradition of the Fathers; for the decree of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed over, who says, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My Church." These words are proved [true] by the issues of history (lit. the effects of things), for in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has been ever inviolably guarded.\* Desiring, therefore, not to be separated from this faith, and in all things following the ordinances of the Fathers, we anathematise all heresies.

Here follows a list, and a declaration of adhesion to the Council of Chalcedon. And then :

To these we add Timothy the parricide, surnamed *Ælurus*, and his disciple and follower, Peter or Acacius, who continued in the fellowship of their communion, and because he mixed himself up with their com-

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\* We have here used the version in Denzinger's "Enchiridion," n. xx. quoted by Jungmann, "Diss. Hist.," vol. ii. p. 323. Ratisbon, 1881. There are various versions, differing not in substance but slightly in form.

munion he earned similar sentence of condemnation. Nevertheless Peter, the Antiochene, we condemn, and his followers, and the followers of all the above-mentioned. . . . We approve and embrace all the epistles of blessed Leo [not merely his tome] of the City of Rome, which he wrote concerning the Christian religion. Whence, following in all things the Apostolic See, we both proclaim all things which have been decreed by it, and on that account I hope \* that I shall be in one communion with you, [that communion] which the Apostolic See proclaims, in which is the entire and perfect solidity of the Christian religion. And we promise that in the future the names of those who have been separated from the communion of the Catholic Church—that is, those who do not in all things agree with the Apostolic See, are *not to be* recited in the sacred mysteries. . . . I have subscribed with my own hand to this profession, and directed it in writing to thee, Hormisdas, my holy and blessed brother,† and Pope of Great Rome, &c.

But the Bishop of Constantinople not only signed this formulary “ordered” by the Pope (as Justinian spoke of it), and to be directed to him, but he appended a preface in the form of a letter, which probably, as Mr. Allies suggests,‡ saved the appearance of a fall. But the same preamble contained in one sentence the pith of the whole matter. He said: “I accept as one the most holy Churches of God, yours of elder, and this of new Rome; yours the See of the Apostle Peter, and this of the imperial city, I define to be one.”§ It was the teaching of St. Cyprian and of St. Optatus: there is one chair, all chairs or sees being identified with the See of Peter, with whom—to be chairs or sees at all—they must be in communion. But the important point is the renunciation of the apostolic character of the See of Constantinople (except, of course, in the sense in which all sees are apostolic) conveyed in the distinction drawn between Rome as the See of the Apostle, and Constantinople merely of the “Imperial City.” It was a formal renunciation of all that had been contended for by Zeno and Acacius.

The Bishop of Constantinople did even more than this.

\* This paragraph was added by the Bishop of Constantinople, and became common in the East. It explains the words of John, about Constantinople being one with Rome.

† In the most thoroughly Papal formulary ever signed by the Eastern Church the Pope is still called “brother,” for although declared to be the Ruler of the Church and the infallible guardian of the faith, he is such in *the Christian brotherhood*. This explains the objection urged in “Prim. SS.,” p. 51.

‡ “Holy See,” &c., p. 166.

§ Mansi, viii. 451.

For the ending is partly his, beginning from the words: "I hope, &c.," which are not Hormisdas' dictation, but John's spontaneous addition. They contain the most express and emphatic acknowledgment of the jurisdictional superiority of the See of Rome that it would be possible to put into language. From which it may be seen how untenable is the position, that John's addition took "almost all the point" out of his signature to the formulary.\* In reality, his addition emphasised the completeness of his subjection to the Holy See in matters of faith.

But besides anathematising Acacius, Hormisdas insisted on the names of Euphemius and Macedonius being erased from the diptychs. For although he never anathematised those two holy bishops, he considered that since they refused to expunge the name of Acacius from the diptychs in deference to the crazy enthusiasm which the Constantinopolitan populace had for his name, they ought not to be mentioned by name in a way that implied a sort of canonisation. Moreover, the formulary which he had sent for signature had a permanent and a variable portion. The preamble about the supremacy of the See of Rome and its infallibility, and the conclusion to the same effect, were invariable. But the centre portion was meant to vary according to the persons to whom it was offered for signature. Bossuet,† in the "*Defensio Cleri Gallicani*," pointed this out. The heretics and heresies to be condemned did, as a matter of fact, vary in different places and at different times.

Now the greatest difficulty arose about the names inserted in some copies of the Formulary of Hormisdas. In one the names of Xencias of Hieropolis, Cyrus of Edessa, and Peter of

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\* Mr. Puller ("*Prim. SS.*," p. 310) speaks of the Bishop of Constantinople (John) "identifying in some curious fashion his own See of New Rome with the Papal See of Old Rome," and says that John "managed to claim for the Constantinopolitan See a share in all (*sic*) the special privileges which in the formulary were assigned to the Western Apostolic Chair." This is exactly what he renounced. To say that two sees are one, and two churches one church, is not saying that they are both equal in privileges, any more than to say that we are one with our Lord is to say that we are equal. And the distinction given in John's words is exactly the distinction which, according to Papal teaching, differentiated the See of Constantinople from the See of Rome. The former was that of the imperial city, the latter that of the Apostle Peter. Does Mr. Puller think that John was capable of asserting that the See of Constantinople had kept the faith immaculate, as he did of the See of Rome?

† In the first issue occurred the names of Euphemius and Macedonius.

Apamœa, were inserted.\* But whilst the Formulary of Hormisdas in its substance created no surprise and no difficulty, the greatest troubles arose over the command to erase the names of Euphemius and Macedonius from the diptychs. The bishops, willing as they were in most cases, complained to the Emperor that it was "difficult and impossible" to enforce the injunction.† Hormisdas gave instructions to his sub-deacon that if the bishops were afraid of doing it themselves, they might leave it to their clergy to do.‡ But in other cases it was not only the populace they had to fear, but the inferior clergy themselves, and the bishops felt unequal to the task.§

Accordingly, they petitioned the Emperor on this matter, and he forwarded their petitions to the Holy See. These bishops showed no signs of discontent at having to sign a document which proclaimed the unique and Divinely bestowed prerogatives of the Holy See. On the contrary, in the only specimen which we possess of their "deprecations," they speak of the Church as "resting on the rock of the chief of the apostles,"|| in evident allusion to the language of the Formulary of Hormisdas. But they could not enforce the particular part of the Papal injunction referring to Euphemius and St. Macedonius for fear of a revolution. The Emperor Anastasius had told St. Gelasius that he simply daren't do it for fear of "disturbance and bloodshedding." The present Emperor, therefore, pleaded that the Pope might let them off the names of some, contenting himself with the condemnation of "Acacius, both the Peters, Dioscorus, and Timothy," and urged that the Apostolic See had itself appeared to sanction the dismissal of the rest in reference to a letter of Pope Anastasius, in which he thought it would be enough to condemn Acacius.¶ Justinian urged the same.\*\* There is no trace, as Mr. Puller assumes, of any attempt to get out of signing the formulary itself; and all the declarations as to the Petrine privilege. The Bishop of Jerusalem seems to have had special trouble in his district;

\* Mansi, t. viii. p. 1028.

† *Ibid.* p. 505.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 408.

§ Mr. Puller, in his account of the Acacian troubles, has created the utmost confusion through mixing up "bishops" and "clergy," and the signature to the substances of the formulary, with the command to erase the names from the diptychs.

|| Mansi, viii. 510.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 509.

\*\* *Ibid.* p. 504.

and no one in those regions liked to be out of communion with the See of Jerusalem.\*

Hormisdas, accordingly, made Epiphanius, the Bishop of Constantinople, his vicar in the matter,† and dictated a form of faith to be inserted, at least in substance, in the formulary.‡ By this means the essential features of the formulary would be preserved, and yet it would be adapted to the case of each. This was the rule adopted with regard to this formulary for the next three centuries.

Thus, every bishop in the East was to send in his profession of faith to the Pope, to the occupant of that see, in which "religion has been always kept inviolate," as Constantinople had proclaimed, "promising that those who in future are severed from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, who do not in all things agree with the Apostolic See, shall not have their names recited in the sacred mysteries."

We may conclude this portion of the subject with Bossuet's estimate of the value of this Formulary of Hormisdas, in the "Defensio Cleri Gallicani":

And this profession, dictated by the Pontiff Hormisdas, was accepted by all the Eastern bishops and their leaders, the patriarchs of Constantinople. On which account the Western bishops, especially the Gallic, rejoice much,§ so that it is certain that this formula was approved by the whole Catholic Church. Justinian the Emperor sends the same profession of faith twice over. His second subscription ran thus: "Wherefore, as we have said before, following in all things the Apostolic See, we proclaim what is ordained by it, and promise that the same be kept without fail, and we promise to compel all bishops to make their profession according to the contents of that formulary, so that the most holy patriarchs should make it to your Holiness, the metropolitans to the patriarchs, and the rest [of the bishops] to their own metropolitans."

Therefore [concludes Bossuet] all churches by their signature to the formulary professed the Roman faith of the Apostolic See, and that the

\* Mr. Puller (p. 312) emphasises the statement of Epiphanius as though it meant that the See of Jerusalem claimed to be, or was thought to be, the centre of communion. Epiphanius, as Bishop of Constantinople, considered himself far above the Bishop of Jerusalem. But in Palestine it was otherwise.

† Pagi, "Critica," ii. 515, ed. 1727. "Cui ideo Vicariam sedis Apostolicæ Præfecturam delegavit."

‡ This was evidently the meaning of the Papal direction. The *libellus*, to be signed in substance, was *interpositus*, not in the Pope's letter but in the formulary. (Mansi, t. viii. p. 1032.) Such was the constant rule in the employment of that formulary.

§ The bishop is, of course, alluding to the letter of St. Avitus.

faith of the Roman Church is of complete and perfect solidarity, and lest it should ever fail, is built firmly on the sure promise of the Lord. For this profession of faith had to be sent by the bishops to their metropolitans, by these to the patriarchs, by the patriarchs to the Pope, so that one man should receive the confession of all, and in return for their confession of faith should bestow communion and unity on all. This profession, with the same beginning, and the same ending, the heresies and heretics being added who in their own [several] times disturbed the Church was, as we know, usually made through the following centuries. All the bishops made it to Pope Saint Hormisdas, to Saint Agapetus and Nicolas the First; so also we read it was made in the same words to Hadrian II., the successor of Pope Nicolas in the Eighth Œcumenical Council. This, then, which was sent everywhere, propagated through all ages, consecrated by an Œcumenical Council—what Christian would repudiate it?

Who indeed?

Mr. Puller ("Prim. SS.," p. 315) has accused Father Bottalla of an "enormity" in supposing that, when Rusticus speaks of 2500 bishops having at this time "confirmed" the Œcumenical Synod of Chalcedon, that writer is alluding to the signatures appended to the Formulary of Hormisdas.

We have no doubt that Father Bottalla is perfectly correct. Rusticus is avowedly alluding to the professions of faith sent us "after the schism of Peter (Mongus) of Alexandria, and of Acacius of Constantinople." Now we know that Hormisdas sent the "formulary," given above, to be signed by way of maintaining the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. It was for depreciating the authority of that Council, by holding communion with its foes, that Acacius was condemned. We know, also, that this formulary was in constant use for a long time afterwards, as Bossuet says, particular heresies being inserted, and thus making this *libellus* in one sense one, in another, many. The professions of faith (*libelli*) varying as to the names to be inserted, but all containing the part about the Petrine Prerogatives and some allusions to the faith and Council of Chalcedon, were to be sent in signed to Hormisdas, the Pope. Consequently, we may quite fairly assume that the Formulary of Hormisdas was signed by these 2500 bishops, with the variation only of the insertions. The "enormity" committed by Father Bottalla is thus a fair inference from the historical context. It is an inference made by Döllinger, Hefele, Jungmann, Hurter, and many other



historians. Mr. Puller calls it the "Ultramontane way of writing history."

We have now before us the context of the point which Mr. Puller presses as militating against the doctrine that to be in the Catholic Church we must be in communion with Rome. His argument is that Euphemius and St. Macedonius were excommunicated for refusing to erase the name of Acacius from the sacred diptychs, and that a long list of saints consequently lived and died, or both, because they remained in communion with those two bishops. He also maintains that Felix, the Pope, had no right to excommunicate Acacius, and that these bishops were in consequence justified in resisting the Papal injunction.

From what has gone before, it will be evident that the latter position cannot be maintained. The whole Eastern Church accepted the deposition of Acacius by the Pope, when Imperial persecution, so often too much for these Eastern prelates, was removed. No one will pretend that Justin used the same sort of influence for the faith as Zeno and Anastasius used against it.

Neither can the first part of this writer's contention be successfully maintained, if we consider the facts with care.

The one proof which he tenders as to the nature of the separation between Rome and the East during those thirty-five years, is derived from the anathemas passed by the Legate Misenus on his reconciliation to Rome, and the acceptance and confirmation of these anathemas by Pope St. Gelasius in 495. This is his proof of the *complete* separation, and nothing less than a complete severance will serve his argument. From these anathemas passed on certain Easterns, he concludes (p. 279, *seq.*) that all who "in any way" communicated with Acacius were themselves under anathema.

But these anathemas were passed before St. Macedonius had ascended the episcopal throne of Constantinople, which was in A.D. 496. They, therefore, could not anyhow implicate St. Macedonius, or those who communicated with him, unless they were considered to possess a prospective force. But this, it will be seen presently, is impossible.

But, further, these anathemas did not affect Euphemius, as Mr. Puller assumes. This will be abundantly clear if we  
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consider the words of Pope Hormisdas' Formulary on the occasion of the restoration of the East to perfect fellowship with Rome in 519. In that document Hormisdas speaks of Eutyches, Dioscorus, Timothy, and Peter, as under anathema, and proceeds to

Similarly anathematise *their* accomplice, Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, who became *their* follower, and those, moreover, who persevere in *their* communion and fellowship; for if anyone embraces the communion of *these* persons, he falls under a similar condemnation with *them*.\*

This was what Acacius did; and this was the ground of his condemnation—viz., that he was an accomplice and in fellowship with Timothy Ælurus and so, indirectly, with Eutyches. As Natalis Alexander has pointed out, the possessive pronouns in the above sentence do not include Acacius, but give the reason for his condemnation, because *he* held fellowship with *them*.† Hormisdas says nothing in this place about those who hold communion with Acacius, however blameworthy they might be; much less does he anathematise those who refused to erase his name from the diptychs. He did blame these and he did visit them with a penalty, *but not the same as he dealt out to Acacius*. He did, by a separate act, insist on their being refused the honour, which would otherwise have been their due, of having their names inscribed in the diptychs, but he did not visit them with anathema or with excommunication. He refused them episcopal communion, but he acknowledged them as orthodox Christians.‡ He held some fellowship with them as such, but he refused them the honours of the episcopate. Mr. Puller appears to confuse together these two things—anathematism and erasure from the diptychs—and in consequence of this confusion his whole indictment misses its aim. He can only maintain his case by identifying two things that are perfectly separate. The insertion of a bishop's name in the sacred diptychs was a sort of canonisation and involved the invocation of his intercession; whilst, therefore, the insertion of a person, like Acacius, in the

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\* I give this copy, which was one of those in circulation, as being most favourable to Mr. Puller's theory. The one I have given above from Denzinger in no way involves those who were in communion with Acacius.

† "Hist. Eccles.," sæc. v. pars ii. diss. xx. ed. 1786. Bingii ad Rhenum.

‡ "Ut orthodoxum virum non tamen ut Episcopum," Mansi, t. vii. p. 1175.

diptychs was a great scandal, the endeavour to keep Euphemius' name out of these tablets was not equivalent to an excommunication. St. Augustine is most express on the difference between the two.\*

Mr. Puller, therefore, offers no proof whatsoever that those who communicated with St. Macedonius were in that kind of schism which is implied in his argument. For, granting for the moment that the anathemas pronounced by Misenus included his predecessor Euphemius, they could not, except constructively, include Macedonius himself. I am aware that Gelasius includes in his anathemas, not only Eutyches, Timothy, Acacius, but "their successors;" and this might at first sight seem to include St. Macedonius, who succeeded Acacius (after Fravitas and Euphemius) in the See of Constantinople. But this expression could not possibly be meant to apply to "their successors *in the various sees*." For then John Talaia, the successor of Timothy, who was received at Rome and was orthodox, would be included; whilst, on the other hand, what could be the meaning of the word as applied to Eutyches, the prime offender, who had no see? And how could it possibly be understood to include the successors in future? Could Gelasius mean to anathematise every Bishop who should succeed to the See of Alexandria to the day of doom? No; if by "successors," he meant "successors in the see," he could only have meant those who, as he goes on to say, "follow and communicate with them"—and this is precisely what Euphemius did not do, and still less St. Macedonius. Their conduct was diametrically opposed to that of Acacius; they cut themselves off from Timothy, Ælurus and Peter the Fuller. In point of fact, the word "successors" means simply the same as "*fautores*," a word which Gelasius does not use. In that Pope's *Commonitorium* to Faustus a precisely similar use of the word occurs in a similar context. He says that Acacius needed no new trial, but could be cut off from communion by any *one* bishop (not merely by "the Apostolic Prelate"—*i.e.*,

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\* Cf. Pagii, "Critica," ad 519, n. 3 *seq.*, who adopts Natalis' opinion that Euphemius and Macedonius were not schismatics; and Avitus of Vienne, Ep. 3; also "Acta SS.," *loc. cit.* Natalis draws attention to the fact that Gelasius addressed Euphemius as "*dilectissimo fratri*," and refers to "Niceph. Call." lib. 16, c. 19. See also Hormisdas' letter to the Bishops of Epirus Vetus, and to the Spanish bishops.

himself), because he had brought himself under the ban of the sentence of the Council of Chalcedon, which sentence "the author of the error had received together with his successors."\* The author of the error was Eutyches; and Eutyches had no see to which any one could succeed, but his "successors" were those who yielded to the same error as himself.

There is, therefore, no iota of proof that St. Macedonius ever came under an anathema. Natalis Alexander and Mansi (who, acting as censor, passed this contention of Natalis) are strictly correct in saying, to use the words of the former, that

No anathema was ever passed by the Church on Euphemius and Macedonius: Gelasius inflicted none, Symmachus none, Hormisdas none. The Pontiffs dealt with them by admonitions and exhortations; but they by no means pronounced them separated from communion . . . Communion was suspended rather than broken off.†

Thus we have shown that it is not true that Euphemius came under the anathemas of Misenus and Gelasius; and the case as to St. Macedonius has not even the shadow of proof which might be thought, by mistake, to apply to Euphemius. Mr. Puller's case has, therefore, fallen through. None of the saints he mentions were out of communion with Rome, in the complete sense. Communion was suspended but not broken off.

It is important, however, also to draw attention to the fact that there is an important difference between material and formal schism. Now if these saints, exercising their judgment to the best of their ability, came to the conclusion that whatever the crimes of Acacius, it was a more difficult matter than the Pope supposed to remove his name from the diptychs, and that Euphemius was justified, or any rate not to be too severely blamed for his course of action, they would indeed be taking a great responsibility upon themselves, but still might be very far removed from the formal sin of schism. If they felt that separation from Euphemius would wear the appearance of opposing the Council of Chalcedon, for which Euphemius was contending, and that the circumstances were such, that in this death-struggle for that Council, which was, after all, the

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\* Mansi, t. viii. 17.

† "Hist. Eccl.," diss. v. pars ii. diss. xx.; also cf. "Acta SS." i. Aug. Prologue.

point of the several Popes' contention, any severance from Euphemius would have disastrous results, who shall say that theirs was anything more than an error of judgment?\*" There is no evidence that any of them meant to deny the jurisdiction of the Pope in principle; whilst there are glimpses of an opposite conviction. For instance, the one Eastern historian whom Mr. Puller adduces,† as to the last degree reliable, gives us one such glimpse.

Cyril, of Scythopolis, in a paragraph preceding that from which Mr. Puller quotes, seems to indicate a full acceptance of the Papal jurisdiction over Antioch. For he speaks of St. Sabas (one of Mr. Puller's selected saints, supposed to witness against the Papal theory) as repudiating the addition to the Trisagion, which Peter the Fuller championed, because this same Peter "had been anathematised by Felix the Pope."‡ This Eastern historian does not seem to have doubted the jurisdiction of the Pope over Antioch, and, if not over Antioch, how much less over Constantinople? Euphemius himself, in his letter to the Pope Gelasius, did not say "you have no jurisdiction over Constantinople and you could not anyhow excommunicate its bishop;" but whilst he seems to have thrown out the idea in Constantinople, as an excuse for resisting the Papal order, that the deposition of Acacius needed a more formal and synodical judgment on the part of the Pope, he pleaded to the Pope himself the enormous difficulty of withstanding the popular *furore* in favour of that ambitious prelate. The Pope replied that fear did not become a bishop, except the fear which he himself felt, namely, that of the judgment of God, if he did not do his duty in reproving Euphemius for his fear of man. Euphemius, however, and St. Macedonius after him, persisted in holding that the circumstances were such as to justify them in resisting the demand of the Pope, which was not on a matter of faith, but as to discipline only, a matter on which the Pope was not, according to the teaching of the Vatican Decrees, infallible. Eventually, the Bishop of Constantinople, and all

\* Ballerini, "De Primatu Rom. Pont.," cap. xi. § 1.

† "Prim. SS.," p. 285.

‡ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάπα Ρώμης Φίληκος ἀναθεματισθέντος . . .

"Ὅθεν δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Σαβας, &c.

Cyr. Scyth. "Vita S. Sabas," sec. 32.

the surrounding bishops and the Eastern Emperor concurred in obeying the Pope on the express ground that our Lord had committed to him the care of the Church, in the person of the Apostle Peter, whose successor in the See of Rome he was held to be. For they signed the Formulary of Hormisdas, and the Emperor did his best to enforce it on his subjects, in spite of the natural, but most unspiritual, enthusiasm that had gathered round the name of Acacius, a prelate who had lorded it over the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch, and appointed heretics to each, and induced an Emperor to issue the doctrinal formulary that ignored one of the Œcumenical Councils. The Pope gained his point and Acacius' name had to disappear for ever from the list of worthy bishops, at the bidding of the Holy See and by the submission of the Eastern Episcopate.

Nor is it to be supposed, as Mr. Puller asserts, that St. Macedonius and the rest of the bishops were "content" to live and die in this state of separation from the Holy See, however much it fell short of actual excommunication. When Faustus came to Constantinople, he induced the Church there to celebrate the Feast of St. Peter and Paul with greater splendour than usual. It is needless to say what this meant. And St. Macedonius thereupon endeavoured to send a synodical epistle to the Pope, *but was prevented by the Emperor*.<sup>\*</sup> This little incident gives a glimpse of his yearning after full communion with Rome; and his statement to the Emperor as to the need of a Council presided over by the Pope, affords another.<sup>†</sup>

But there is another fact concerning Macedonius which seems to us decisive, viz., that Pope Hormisdas actually commissioned his legates to do their best to obtain his restoration to his see, when he had been exiled by the Emperor.<sup>‡</sup> *Knowing what we do of Hormisdas*, this single fact is conclusive as to Macedonius having *at least* repented of any reluctance to obey the Papal injunction, and it may be fairly urged as showing that he was not excommunicated, seeing that there is no hint to the legate of any reconciliation to the Church.

Nor must we forget the strange state of confusion in which the East then was, and the difficulty of knowing how things

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. "Acta SS.," April 25, sec. 3.

<sup>†</sup> Theod. Lector, "Eccl. Hist.," lib. ii. 24.

<sup>‡</sup> Tillemont, "Mémoires," vol. xvi. p. 806.

really stood in the outlying districts.\* Again, persons like St. Sabas would feel that under the difficult circumstances of the case, his obedience lay first to Elias, the episcopal head of his Cœnobium, and that the responsibility lay with him, whilst St. Elias might feel that since his immediate foes were those of the Council of Chalcedon, he must take his part in the struggle for that in the way that Euphemius thought best. It is quite clear that Euphemius did believe in the jurisdiction of the Pope over the East, nor did he think lightly of any degree of severance from Rome; but he had to take his choice between leaving his flock to an heretical teacher or obeying the Holy See. He made the mistake, or, if anyone choose to consider it such, he committed the sin of disobeying the Pope in this particular. In his exile he may well have reflected that he would have done better to have avoided that mistake. Anyhow, both he and St. Macedonius, at a time when they were no longer able to correct their error, suffered death rather than renounce the authority of that Council, which Acacius had practically repudiated, whilst St. Macedonius must have satisfied Hormisdas that he was not in a state of rebellion before the latter could have negotiated for his return to Constantinople.

So that our conclusion must be this: Although there was *estrangement* between the East and West, the Easterns were not *excommunicated* by Rome. Euphemius and St. Macedonius were not anathematised, but the Pope would not at first allow their names to remain in the diptychs, for refusing to expunge the name of Acacius from the same, on the ground expressed by Euphemius, and stated also by the Emperor Anastasius—viz., the fear of “bloodshedding and disturbance.”

Mr. Puller exaggerates the estrangement into a condition of greater excommunication;† whereas the letters that passed between Gelasius and Euphemius show that the alienation was

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\* Mr. Puller underrates the state of confusion in the East at this time (p. 275). Evagrius (lib. 3, cap. xxx.) gives a graphic account of the “thousand troubles” that then beset the Church in the East. This is a very important consideration in estimating the character of the separation. At one time the Emperor put watches by sea and land to prevent any communication with Rome. Mansi, vii. 1139.

† For a good account of the value of the removal of a bishop's name from the diptychs, see *Diptycha Episcoporum*, in Ducange's “Glossarium,” tom. ii. (Paris, 1733). Cf. also Hergenrother, “Geschichte,” Periode i. § 163.

of that lesser kind, which did not prevent some of those who found themselves involved in it, through no fault of their own, attaining to great sanctity. They did not live in the nineteenth century; they had not our easy means of intercommunication; they had endless difficulties in knowing what had taken place; they had not even the advantage of having had the limits or extent of obedience defined as clearly as they have been in the course of the Church's life. Their state of estrangement was of that lesser order, and, in most cases, of that purely material nature, which led them, after the strain, to rebound into the entire subjection to Rome implied in the acceptance of Hormisdas' Formulary.

There is, however, one more remark which it may be well to make in conclusion. The necessity of communion with Rome is not greater than the necessity of baptism, or of believing the Catholic faith. But Mr. Puller would probably admit that there are circumstances of a special nature when the baptism of desire suffices, and when a very rudimentary idea of the Catholic faith will save a man from the anathema of those who do not hold that faith. The same principle applies to the necessity of communion with Rome.\*

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\* Cf. Ballerini, "*De Primatu Rom. Pont.*," cap. xi.

LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A.



## ART. VIII.—PENAL TIMES IN HOLLAND.

STUDENTS at all familiar with the facts of Dutch history during the last three centuries will have read with raised eyebrows a paragraph in Mr. Lilly's otherwise valuable article on Alexander Pope which appeared in the DUBLIN REVIEW for last January. Mr. Lilly is speaking of the "practical toleration" which he considers English Catholics enjoyed from the Revolution in 1688 to the passing of the first Relief Act in 1778. "This practical toleration," he remarks, "was due to several causes. In the first place, William III. personally approved of the *full religious liberty existing in Holland.*" The words which I have italicised are those to which I take exception. If Mr. Lilly merely means to say that full religious liberty existed in Holland because the Dutch had proclaimed it in theory and had practised it so far as all sorts of sects, infidels, and even Jansenists were concerned, I have no fault to find with Mr. Lilly's assertion. But when he goes on to say that one curious result of this "full religious liberty existing in Holland" was "that some four thousand Catholics were among the troops whom he (William III.) brought over with him from that country to the rescue of endangered Protestantism" in England, he would lead the reader to imagine that Catholics in Holland likewise enjoyed "full religious liberty."

It will therefore be well to see what measure of religious liberty Dutch Catholics enjoyed, especially during the lifetime of Mr. Lilly's favourite, King William the Third. And at the outset of our inquiry it will be a surprise to find how the views of some of the best historians of the Continent and those of Mr. Lilly differ on this subject.

The Belgian historian, the Baron de Gerlache, whose impartiality and ability have been recognised even by his opponents, in the Introduction to his great history,\* describes in these terms the persecution of Dutch Catholics by their Government:

The earliest edicts published by the States of Holland were designed to extirpate Catholicism by persecuting its priests, by forbidding all its

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\* "Histoire du Royaume des Pays-Bas," tome i. p. 213.

acts of worship either in public or in private, and by enforcing these prohibitions by fines, by confiscation, by imprisonment, by banishment, and even by menaces, in certain cases, of capital punishment.

Canon Claessens, who devoted much of his life and labours to a close study of the ecclesiastical history of the Netherlands, sums up in the following words the method by which Protestantism took root, and maintained itself in the northern parts of the Netherlands.

It was by despotism and intimidation [he writes]. It is true that from the middle of the seventeenth century, the persecution became less cruel and more calculated, but all the advantages of civil life were kept for Protestants. Catholics were systematically shut out from all its honours and from all public offices. Moreover, they could not open churches, nor hold any public religious ceremony except within the walls of some private oratory. In almost all country places they were obliged to meet in barns, sheds, or lofts, or even on barges, in order to be present at Holy Mass, to receive the Sacraments from the hands of a priest, to hear the faith of their forefathers preached. The Church of the Low Countries was still in the Catacombs. In the towns the divine offices were celebrated in more or less spacious houses (*huiskerken*) to which it was necessary to give the appearance and even the signs of a private house in order to avoid the insults of the mob.\*

It was thus that at Amsterdam there were Catholic chapels at the sign of the Star, of the Parrot, and so forth.† Of the character and effects of the persecution endured by Dutch Catholics in the seventeenth century, Cardinal Hergenroether speaks in these emphatic terms: "The fanaticism and intolerance of the Protestants of Holland weighed down the Catholics of the country—two-fifths of its population—with an unbearable yoke."‡ Speaking of the edicts of persecution which the States of Holland launched against Catholics in the seventeenth century, Cardinal Pitra, who had searched, with the eyes of one accustomed to such work, the archives of the Netherlands, says:

There are no proconsular acts that present such a series of oppressive measures, and the much decried severity of the Spanish Inquisition, repelled by the United Provinces with such energetic and national repug-

\* "Gouvernement Ecclésiastique de la Hollande," par le Chanoine Claessens, in the "Précis Historiques," tome xxvii. p. 242. Brussels, 1878.

† See *Revue Catholique* for 1849-50, p. 472.

‡ Hergenroether, "Histoire de l'Eglise," tome v. p. 495.

nance, is but a laughing matter beside these edicts against religion. Their High Mightinesses and the Provincial Legislatures have exhausted every possible combination imaginable.

Of course, in face of Mr. Lilly's assertion, founded no doubt on sure sources of history best known to himself, these authorities have small weight. Let us therefore abandon them without multiplying what are, after all, only opinions, and come to facts.

Nothing is more consoling to the Catholic who may visit Holland than to note the present flourishing state of the Catholic Church there. The Catholic churches of recent construction in almost every large town and in numberless villages will strike him by their number and beauty. Even at the Hague, the seat of government and the centre of a Protestant country, Catholicity flourishes, and one of its newest churches there is the most finished that I have ever had the good fortune to see. And if the traveller inquires into the condition of Catholics he will find it most satisfactory. "All our Catholics," said a priest of a large parish at the Hague to the writer, "in this town are practical ones, frequenting the Sacraments regularly, and this is the case all over the country. Bad Catholics," he added, laughingly, "and bad Protestants become Jansenists." In public life the Dutch Catholics take a share that we in England may envy them, and not do amiss if we were to try to imitate them. But this flourishing state of things was not attained, as Mr. Lilly's words might lead us to imagine, by any long years of full religious liberty. It was only at the close of the last century that the emancipation of Dutch Catholics began, and their real enjoyment of full religious liberty only dates from the year 1848. The Church in Holland has had its martyrs and its long years of dreary persecutions. That Church has sprung from soil enriched by the blood of martyrs, by the blood of the martyrs of Gorcum, and by that of many less known to fame who died or suffered for the faith. The atrocities which the friends of William the Silent inflicted on Catholics may, for the sake of argument, be put aside as the outcome of the heat of the contest between Spain and her revolted provinces, and as being an exceptional state of things. What we have to show in order to disprove Mr. Lilly's statement is that there was in Holland not a brief

and bloody persecution of Catholics, but a long continued systematic persecution before and during and after the reign of William the Third, stadholder in Holland and king in the British Isles. If we find that after the first fury of the revolution of the sixteenth century had subsided the rulers of the northern provinces of the Netherlands had left their Catholic subjects to live in peace, then we will withdraw our objection to Mr. Lilly's sonorous phrase. We will not even insist on the injustice which Catholics suffered by the outburst of the Iconoclasts which robbed them of their religious edifices in the Seven United Provinces for ever. Throughout the land, as Prescott remarks, "cathedral and chapel, monastery and nunnery, religious houses of every description, even hospitals, were delivered up to the tender mercies of the Reformers." In the southern provinces Catholics recovered their own; in Holland never.\* Nor should we even complain had the lavish promises of religious toleration made by William the Silent and his friends been even tardily fulfilled. When the union of Utrecht virtually welded the seven provinces of Holland—Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overijssel, Groningen and Drenthen—into the Dutch Commonwealth in 1579, as Motley takes care to remind us, "it guaranteed religious liberty,"† but it was a guarantee that the bonded provinces never saw fit to put in force, at least so far as Catholics were concerned. It was forgotten, just as were similar clauses in the capitulation of several cities, as soon as it had fulfilled its purpose. When Amsterdam agreed to throw in its lot with the provinces, its Catholic magistracy, its Catholic citizens, and the many monks and nuns within its walls, were promised full freedom of worship and their maintenance in possession of their property. But the two great churches that then stood and still stand in the heart of the city are silent witnesses to how those promises were kept. For three centuries no Catholic has worshipped within their desecrated walls.

In order to understand the vicissitudes of the Church in Holland it is necessary to recall briefly the changes that country has undergone in its political and ecclesiastical geography. In 1559, Paul IV., at the prayer of Philip II., had

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\* See Prescott, "Reign of Philip II.," vol. ii. p. 32.

† Motley, "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," vol. ii. p. 349.

divided the whole of the Netherlands into three ecclesiastical provinces. The northernmost one, that of Utrecht, had five suffragan sees, those of Leeuwarden, Groningen, Middelburg, Haarlem, and Deventer, organised by Pope Pius IV. These sees had but a brief existence, and were extinguished amid the troubles of the closing years of the sixteenth century. Only one of the archbishops of the metropolitan see was able to take possession of it; Haarlem only saw two bishops. The second and last saw his cathedral ravaged by the Iconoclasts, and went away to Deventer to die. The remaining sees saw only their first bishops; those named to succeed them were unable to obtain possession of their sees. With the extinction of the Spanish power in Holland, its new hierarchy became extinct, and the Holy See formed the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht into the Dutch mission. It subsisted under vicars-apostolic or under the nuncios at Brussels and Cologne from 1583 until 1853, when the present Dutch hierarchy was erected by Pius IX. But by the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, the Seven Provinces secured large additions to the territory that their arms had already won. These additions were called the *Staatslanden*, and, roughly speaking, comprised the towns of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and s'Hertogenbosch, with their adjoining districts and a strip of Flanders along the left bank of the Scheldt. These lands were under the jurisdiction of the different bishops of the Spanish Netherlands, who, until the erection of new vicariates-apostolic early in this century, exercised their powers as best they could in the separated portions of their dioceses. The town of s'Hertogenbosch, or as it is commonly called 'sBosch, known better to Englishmen by its French name of Bois-le-Duc, had its own bishops, and seven of them in succession ruled their diocese until 1645, when the last was transferred to Cambray. It was then placed under vicars-capitular until 1662, when the chapter died out and Alexander VII. made the see into a vicariate-apostolic.\*

The *Staatslanden* comprised a population that was almost wholly Catholic. Nevertheless they underwent, when incor-

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\* For full details concerning the erection of ecclesiastical government of Holland and the erection of the three ecclesiastical provinces of the Low Countries under Philip II., see Naméche, in his "Histoire Nationale," vol. xiii. chap. iv. ; also Chanoine Claessens, in the "Précis Historique" already quoted.

porated with the seven provinces forming the Dutch mission, the same depressing persecution that their brethren of those provinces had to endure. Let us now see what that persecution was after the more acute phases of it, during which Iconoclasts pillaged churches, destroyed monasteries and convents and pious foundations, and the "Beggars" of land and sea hunted down priests and religious, had passed away. How did the chiefs of the Church in Holland fare? Vosmeer, the first vicar-apostolic, in 1603 was banished by order of the States-General, his patrimony confiscated, and he was only able to revisit secretly his country. Van Rooven, his successor, was likewise banished and his patrimony confiscated, March 10, 1640. The eighth vicar-apostolic, De Cock, in 1702, at the instigation of the Jansenists, was driven out by the Dutch Government and a price of three thousand florins put on his head. Daemen, his next successor but one, was not even allowed to enter the country. His successor in 1717, Van Bylevelt, was banished and condemned by the courts to a fine of 2000 florins. With him the line of vicars-apostolic ended. The nuncios at Brussels then assumed the direction of the Dutch mission until Holland was overrun by the armies of the French Republic in 1794. They were able to do little for the mission until the internal discords of Holland had relaxed the intolerance of their Protestant rulers, and obliged them at last to respect the freedom of conscience of their numerous Catholic subjects. In 1792, the Brussels nuncio was able to visit Holland and administer Confirmation at the Hague, at Utrecht, and at Amsterdam. How many thousands were awaiting that Sacrament is shown by the fact that two French prelates, flying before the fury of the French Revolution, confirmed between them, in two localities, over 25,000 persons.\*

The Dutch Government were not content to strike at the pastors in order that the flock might be scattered. Its placards aimed at depriving the flock not merely of its guides, but of its very means of subsistence. A placard issued by William the Silent on December 20, 1581, forbade, under pain of a fine of 100 florins, any act of Catholic worship in any place or by any person whatsoever. This was a good inauguration of

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\* See Claessens, in *op. cit.* tome xxvii. pp. 244, 245, 305, 593; also Picot, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle," iii. 225.

religious liberty by one who had rebelled in its name against his lawful sovereign. In the seventeenth century placards—as such edicts were called—succeed each other with bewildering rapidity. On September 13, 1601, one forbade any foreign priest to set foot on Dutch territory under pain of being imprisoned on bread and water for six months. Eleven years later Catholics were forbidden to meet to hear Mass or to practise any “papistic superstitions.” The officiating priest ran the risk of exile, the assistants, of fines. Any one married before “a Papist priest” might be fined 100 florins. Any one frequenting any Jesuit college, or who in taking a university degree had sworn to defend the Catholic religion, was unable to hold any public office. In 1629 new edicts were aimed at the Catholics in the *Staatslanden*, edicts which were renewed in 1641–49. No priest might enter or reside in the country; the Jesuits were declared enemies of the fatherland and were to be treated accordingly; no collection might be made in favour of any Catholic institution; parish priests were forbidden to perform any act of Romish worship; the Catholics of the country around Bois-le-Duc were ordered to hand over their churches to ministers of the Reformed religion; Catholic schoolmasters were dismissed their schools. In 1639 all priests, whether native or foreign, were forbidden to exercise their sacred calling, and ordered to quit within fifteen days the country around Bois-le-Duc and the districts of Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda. Here and there Catholics were allowed to meet and their priests to officiate in spite of the edicts, but they had to pay dear for the privilege. The ransom often went as high as 1000 florins. When the Treaty of Westphalia had brought peace to the country, after eighty years of war, it brought no peace for Catholics. All the edicts against them were renewed and enforced. Mr. Lilly will be, perhaps, glad to know that this was the case in the years 1655 to 1662, and again in the years 1666–69–98–99, all years falling within the lifetime of William the Third. These placards, from which no doubt William imbibed his notions of religious liberty as Catholics should enjoy it, Mr. Lilly can peruse in the “*Kerkelyk Placcaetboek*” of Willens, published at the Hague, in two volumes, in folio, 1722.

These placards are not pleasant reading. They are as

ponderous as the heavy Dutch magistrates who elucubrated them. Yet now and again they afford us a pleasant glimpse of Catholic life in penal times in Holland. Take, for instance, the edicts cited by the late Cardinal Pitra fulminated against the "knocking sisters" in Holland. These good women were mostly members of the Third Order of St. Francis. They busied themselves with teaching poor children their alphabet and the catechism. But oftentimes, wrapped in their hooded cloaks, they might be seen in the stillness of the night going from house to house, knocking at the doors—hence their name—leaving a brief message, and usually bringing away under the folds of their long cloaks a package. Then they met at some house of the locality. Their packages would be produced, and ere those they had summoned by their message that a Catholic priest had arrived to celebrate the Holy Mysteries had assembled, all was in readiness for the celebration. The packages contained all that was needed for the occasion. When the Mass was over, all the ornaments were in like manner carried back to the faithful, who guarded them separately. Is not the picture here suggested by the edict that forbade these pious women to live in common as agreeable to look on as anything a Gerard Dou ever painted?

Sometimes these dull Dutch magnates of the States-General unwittingly strike a comical note. These pious women, for instance, in an edict dated November 28, 1655, are confounded with Jesuitesses, and these Jesuitesses are declared to have been condemned by Pope John XXII., by Clement V., and by a Bull of Pope Urban VIII. As Cardinal Pitra suggests, this preamble to the decree seems as if some wag of a Catholic had imposed on the pompous ignorance of magistrates who knew more about groceries than about Church history and canon law.\*

It were impossible to go into the question in these pages as to who were the wire-pullers of this pitiful yet not the less galling persecution. The more orthodox Calvinists on the one side, and the Jansenists on the other, combined to keep it alive during most of the seventeenth, and nearly all the eighteenth century. Nor can we even here touch on the relations of the

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\* See "*La Hollande Catholique*," par Dom Pitra, pp. 201-203. Paris, 1850.



seculars and regulars in the work of keeping alive the faith in Holland. We can merely conclude with asking Mr. Lilly in Cardinal Pitra's words to M. Guignard, to whom he had sent a letter on the Dutch persecution of Catholics by means of placards :

What think you, my dear friend, of this edifying list of acts of Protestant tolerance? Nevertheless it is still agreed [adds the great Benedictine scholar], and I fear we are not yet thoroughly disabused of the belief, that during the epoch when fanaticism still kept up the Inquisition in Spain, and in France revoked the Edict of Nantes, the only land that enjoyed full freedom was that which, while hurling these placards against Catholics, welcomed Protestant refugees and Jansenists banished from France, together with Bayle, the Coryphaeus of the philosophers.

WILFRID C. ROBINSON.

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I am indebted to the courtesy of the Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW for an opportunity of perusing this interesting paper in proof. Certainly, the words of mine which were the occasion of it might well have been more guarded. My meaning was, as Mr. Robinson rightly suggests, that "the Dutch had proclaimed full religious liberty in theory"—a theory which commended itself to William III.—and had largely practised it. And, unless my memory is at fault (I am writing in the country, and at a distance from my books and papers), the works of Sir William Temple, not to mention more recondite authorities, sufficiently show this. I am well aware that Catholics in Holland did not so fully attain the benefit of the religious toleration guaranteed by the union of Utrecht as did the various sects of Protestants. And, human nature being what it is, this is hardly to be wondered at, if the history of the Seven Provinces and the country previous to their union be borne in mind. I could wish that my language had been more precise. But I may be permitted to say "O felix culpa," since it has led Mr. Robinson to write his learned and valuable article.

W. S. LILLY.

*Easter Tuesday, 1894.*

## ART. IX.—WARHAM, AN ENGLISH PRIMATE ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION.

THE subjoined document (for the indication and elucidation of which I am indebted to the Rev. F. A. Gasquet) is preserved in the Record Office, but has hitherto remained unpublished. Mr. Gairdner, in vol. v. p. 12 of the *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, has given a summary of its contents. The interest which it possesses to all students of Reformation history, and the light which it throws upon the character of the writer, warrant the assumption that there may be many who would be glad to read it *in extenso*. The document is a draft of a defence drawn up by Archbishop Warham to meet an impending charge which under the Act of *Praemunire* was being prepared against him. From a reference within the document itself, it seems certain that it was written but a few months at most before the Archbishop's death.\* It was probably amongst the last written acts of his episcopate. That the Archbishop was thus put in danger of his life in his old age, and in the eleventh hour of his day upon earth, is a fact which does not seem to be generally known, nor to have found any published record outside the summary in the volume of State Papers just referred to. Neither in standard historical works nor in the official sources of the time is any allusion to be found to it. But that the charge was in fact being actively prosecuted, and had already practically proceeded so far as the offer to provide counsel, and that the Archbishop on his side had anxiously prepared his defence, this document remains to testify. The silence of historians and the absence of contemporary mention find their most probable explanation in the fact that the prosecution cannot have gone beyond the preparative stage, when the death of the Archbishop put an end to the proceedings. Like Wolsey, he was fortunate enough to escape by passing to a higher tribunal.

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\* In paragraph 33. As Mr. Gairdner points out in his summary, 1164, the date of the constitutions of Clarendon, plus 400 = 1564. This—31 years = 1533—Warham died in August 1532, so that the 400—31st year had already begun in 1532.

## II.

Why was the aged Primate thus threatened? Readers who are at all familiar with the history of the great crisis under Henry VIII. will have little difficulty in making a fair guess at the answer. From the year 1528 the king had for his objective the divorce and contingently the religious policy which was subsequently engrafted upon it. In all the consciousness of his strength, he proceeded, as we know, to work his will upon the nation. With Thomas Cromwell for his counsellor, his method of dealing with those who resisted, or who showed signs of resistance, was sufficiently simple. The formula might be stated as follows. First, propose to them the royal pleasure, and do what can be done to win them to compliance. Secondly, if they refuse, overawe them with the threats of the royal displeasure. *Ira principis mors est!* was often on the lips of the terrified courtiers. Thirdly, if they persist, enter against them a charge of high treason or breach of praemunire, going back, if need be, into the years of the past to find real or fictitious grounds for the indictment. Then, brought thus under the dark shadow of the scaffold, with the axe suspended over their necks, the recalcitrants will have leisure to consider in a clearer light the prudence of being of one mind with their sovereign. If they remain still unconvinced, the axe has only to fall, and the obstinate cease from troubling and the survivors are impressed.

The document we publish was written in the early part of 1532, when the royal reign of terror had already begun. When we hear of Archbishop Warham being threatened with a prosecution, we recognise that the policy of Cromwell is at work, and that the Primate is but one upon the long roll of its unhappy victims. Praemunire was the king's weapon, and this he was wielding all round to enforce compliance and to silence dissent. The English clergy in Convocation but a few months before had praemunire held over them until they had yielded up both their money and their grudging and guarded assent to the supreme headship. Wolsey had sickened with fear and died before the blow could reach him. The turn of More and Fisher and so many others was still to come. What in the midst of such a setting of events could a praemunire launched

against Warham mean, save that he, too, had entered upon the black list of the opposition, and that the moment had arrived when the king's interest required that his adhesion should be secured, if need be, by the same instrument. This explanation of the proceedings is borne out by the purely ostensible character of the grounds of the indictment. To bring the clergy under *praemunire*, the king had not hesitated to make use of the almost laughable charge that they had pleaded in the Legatine Court, which he himself had helped to establish. In the charge against Wolsey, the royal disregard of ordinary ideas of justice was if anything more splendid, for the Cardinal was indicted for accepting a post which the king himself some years before had procured for him. In the case of Archbishop Warham, the king had actually to go back no less than fourteen years—back to the quiet days of 1518—to rake up a supposed delinquency on which to base his breach of *praemunire*. In that year, Archbishop Warham had, it was contended, consecrated Henry Standish to the See of St. Asaph before the latter had shown the Papal Bulls of appointment to the king, taken his oath of fealty to the Crown, and had sued out his temporalities. Both the charge and the offence were entirely novel. From this circumstance as well as from the lapse of time during which it had been left unnoticed, it seems obvious that the prosecution was merely a means to an end, and that the king was seeking not a penalty for a crime, but a crime for a penalty. The name of the Primate of all England was evidently wanted as a patron and abettor of the king's policy, and the screw of *praemunire* was to be applied for obtaining it. The value of this document, given below, is that it bears witness to the fact that in the face of this ominous threat the Archbishop seems to have well weighed the consequences and to have deliberately chosen his part. The day of compromising and word-splitting was over. His resolution to stand at all hazards by his oath of obedience to Rome is to be found in paragraphs 19, 20, and 33.

### III.

This consideration leads to another, which to Catholic readers may invest this document with a special importance.

The sixteenth century, which at its incoming found Eng-

land a Catholic country, left it at its outgoing anti-Papal and Protestant. This change, in its organic sense, may be said to have been practically effected inside the six years, 1528–1534. There is a theory which pretends to predate the Reformation, by assuming that the final separation of this country from Rome, under Henry VIII., was merely the culmination of a tide of anti-Papal feeling which had been steadily rising for centuries, and that the final severance was the natural outcome of a gradual alienation, by which for a lengthened period the nation had been drifting apart from the Apostolic See. Undoubtedly the separation found predisposing causes which prepared the way, in the sense at least of having weakened resistance to its advent, in the social, religious and national dislocation, due to the schism of the West, to the Black Death, and to the Wars of the Roses. No doubt, England had its share of that anti-clerical and anti-curial feeling which was seething through Europe of the early sixteenth century, and which, in fact, as far as human nature goes, is never altogether absent at any period of church history. But otherwise, the theory we have mentioned seems to have but slender foundation in historical evidence. Less than twenty years before the rupture—in 1518—the relations between the Holy See and England were just as close and as cordial as they ever had been, and in fact as they are between the Holy See and any Catholic country at the present time. The Crown was writing to the Pope in terms of respectful loyalty, and England was receiving her bishops by presentation in Consistory and by Papal provision just as Catholic Spain or Belgium are doing at the present day.\* There is, therefore, some reason for applying, with certain modifications, to the Reformation in England, the description that Dr. Creighton, in his most recent volume of the “History of the Papacy,” applies to the Reformation in Germany, namely, that the religious revolt “fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky.”

If this be true, the responsibility of the change is narrowed and fixed upon a given period and group of persons, and our interest naturally centres upon the conduct of the ecclesiastical authorities who were in charge when the crisis arose. That,

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\* See Appendix B, C.

apart from the time-spirit and the friction of old and new learning, the change was largely the result of coercion on one side, and of weak or unwilling compliance and compromise on the other, is the staple of history. That there was much confusion of mind and of self-illusion as to the gravity and the permanence of the issues, may be freely conjectured. But in gauging the nature of the change, and in placing the responsibility, we especially seek to know what was the action and attitude of him who, as Primate of All England, sat in the chair of St. Augustine, and wore upon his shoulders the Roman Pallium as the sworn defender of the See Apostolic in England.

#### IV.

When the Divorce Question had reached its acute stage, Warham was already an old man and full of years and infirmities. He had behind him the record of a long and honourable life, rich in manifold service to Church and State. He had been appointed to the See of London in 1502, and was, by Pope Julius II. in the following year, raised to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. His primacy had been to a large extent overshadowed by the splendour of Wolsey's Legatine authority, which he seems, despite some friction about testamentary jurisdiction, to have gracefully and dutifully accepted. It allowed him to remain outside the main current of events, and left him free to follow the quiet routine of administrative duty which must have been more grateful to the peaceful and scholarly bent of his character. The whole tenor of his long episcopate was above reproach, and he commanded the respect and veneration of both the Court and the nation. His relations with the Holy See were both loyal and cordial. The letter which Convocation addressed to the Holy See in 1514, describes how earnestly the Archbishop pleaded the Papal cause, and how he had assured them that they could confer upon himself personally no greater favour than to grant all that the Pope had asked of them.\* In 1527, the Duke of Bourbon had laid siege to Rome, and the position of the Sovereign Pontiff was one which demanded the succour of the Christian Powers. Catholic England was preparing to move in the matter, and Wolsey, writing to the

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\* Given in "An Account and Defence of the Protestation made by the Lower House of Convocation," by F. Atterbury.

king, describes the joy of Archbishop Warham when the Legate was able to confide to him the intention of his Majesty to prepare an expedition of relief to the Holy Father.

The burthen of the negotiations and intrigues of the divorce had fallen upon the shoulders of Wolsey, the Bishops of Worcester and Winchester, and others. To the Primate belonged the significant and honourable distinction of having been omitted from the list of active agents who could be trusted to handle and push this unsavoury part of the "king's business." But when the prospects of the royal cause began to darken, and the indications at Rome began to set in steadily in the direction of failure, the king, as we know, at Cromwell's suggestion, resolved upon a counterstroke, and planned an attempt to intimidate the Papacy into compliance with his wishes, by threatening to assume the chief control of the Church in England. To convince the Curia that the menace was intended to be something more than mere words, and to give an earnest that the king meant what he said, it was required that the threat should be put, at least partly, into execution. Whereupon it was felt to be necessary to wring from Convocation a recognition of the king as supreme head of the Church in England. Archbishop Warham was the natural chief of Convocation, and thus he, who had so long stood comparatively apart, found himself directly drawn into the midst of the struggle, and standing in the very forefront of the combat. It seems to us who see the issues more clearly in the light of results, that he had given to him in this the hour of his trial, a glorious opportunity of re-enacting the splendid traditions of his See, and of "speaking in the face of kings" in the voice in which St. Anselm and St. Thomas à Becket had spoken to the tyrants of their day.

## V.

The Primate's action was on a lower and more commonplace level. It was no doubt the result of deliberate and conscientious calculation. He had to gauge the strength of the Crown with its servile Court and Commons arrayed against him. He had to reckon with the *morale* of the forces of the English Church in Convocation assembled behind him. He had to guard—and the peaceful and prudent bent of his character would probably do more than help him to guard—against the

danger of precipitating a disastrous conflict, or of unwisely exaggerating the issues at stake. He had to give due weight to the fact that both he and Convocation were evidently being asked to play a part in the construction of a diplomatic menace that might in all likelihood never be carried into effect, or pushed to its ulterior consequences. Many minds must have sagely measured the probable duration of the crisis by its cause, and have concluded that it was bound to dissolve in the very first hour of the king's disillusionment. In such a situation we can readily conceive how the average member of Convocation of that day would emphasise the necessity of acting according to the dictates of prudence as well as of principle ; how he would appreciate the wisdom of counting upon time, and the duty of staving off schism by exhausting the resources of *economia*, and by going to the uttermost lengths of legitimate concession. There is little to show that Warham with his bishops and his clergy in 1531 realised that they were actually standing at the parting of the ways, or that they recognised in the issue they had laid before them, one of those questions, *stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*, in which a Catholic must needs take his life in his hands, and answer Yes or No at peril of his soul's salvation. They could hardly be expected to foresee what was to happen three years later, and they were not improbably in the position of men who wished to get themselves as soon and as safely as they conscientiously could out of their difficulty, who hoped to do their duty whenever the occasion demanded it, but who felt that the hour of actual test was not yet come. Consequently we miss from Warham's hands the historic weapons of excommunication, interdict, and exile, with which St. Anselm, St. Thomas and St. Edmund baffled the oppressors of their day, and with which they had fought so well the battle of the Church in England. But that the Archbishop had these sacred examples present to his mind, that he treasured and revered them, and that he was firmly resolved, God helping him, when the day of trial should arrive to be inviolably true to them, is recorded with all possible plainness in the document which we now put before our readers.

## VI.

In the meantime, the Archbishop and Convocation on one



side, and the king and Cromwell on the other, measured their strength in a fierce fence of words and of formulæ. This battle of Church and State was fought decisively upon two dates—Thursday, February 11, 1531, and Thursday, May 16, 1532—two Thursdays that must remain for ever sadly memorable in the history of the Church in England.

On both of these occasions Archbishop Warham was, if we may use the figure, in command of the Church's forces. On the first, was made that guarded and qualified recognition which was afterwards, in the wily hands of the king, unscrupulously changed into an open and almost unqualified recognition of the king as supreme head of the Church in England. On the second, Convocation practically signed away its independence, or at least consented to put its liberties in abeyance, and pledged itself to make no new canons except by the assent of the Crown. It would be useless to pretend that these two black Thursdays did not carry the English Church fatally far on the path which eventually led to complete separation from Rome. Nor can we acquit the aged Primate nor those who acted with him of their share in the responsibility of their acts. They bequeath to us the lesson that prudential compromises made upon the shifting groundwork of equivocal terms and meaningless provisoes can lead to nothing but irreparable mischief. At the same time, simple justice to the Archbishop demands that he shall be judged according to his lights and intentions. That the separation of this country from the communion of the Apostolic See flowed from or followed upon these acts of Convocation over which he presided, can hardly be questioned. That result is clear to us in the past, as it could hardly have been to him while it was yet in the future. If he foresaw and intended it, he would be undoubtedly schismatical. But if he neither foresaw nor intended what was to happen some years later, we, from our point of vantage, may marvel at his want of foresight, and mourn his lack of judgment, but we cannot impugn his Catholicity nor can we put him into the dock with Cranmer. This distinction rests upon a basis, not of mere charitable conjecture, but of solid historical fact. The whole movement of the English Reformation, both as initiated by Henry VIII. and moulded by later sovereigns, took for its ground and fundamental idea the forma-

tion of a purely national church, and the uniting of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, in the supremacy of the Crown. As Henry VIII. and Cromwell and Cranmer understood it, the English Church was to have for its jurisdictional axis the king instead of the Pope. Now this Anglican confusion of the two powers, which ought each to be distinct and supreme in its own order, and the consequent schismatical casting off of the Pope, was no part whatever of the belief or intention of Archbishop Warham any more than it is that of Cardinal Vaughan at the present day.\* The document we publish (and which, as written just before his death, we may accept as his final and decisive doctrinal utterance), proves clearly that he not only disbelieved in, but that he utterly abhorred this placing of the spiritual and temporal supremacy in the royal hand. It also bears witness that far from rejecting the authority of the Pope, he was prepared, if need be, to suffer the penalties of *praemunire*—forfeiture and death—rather than swerve for an instant from his allegiance to the Holy See, as set forth in all its fulness and clearness in his oath of consecration.†

## VI.

If this was the mind and attitude of Warham, who presided over Convocation, may we not safely assume that it was shared by the bulk of those who, in 1531–2, stood shoulder to shoulder with him.

This assumption is borne out by the proceedings of the synod which, on both the occasions referred to, bear upon their face the evidences of a keen and prolonged struggle; the king and his party on one side seeking to impose, under threat of *praemunire*, a formula which was pregnant with the Anglican principle of the union of the two powers, and the bishops and clergy on the other parrying the thrust, and seeking by every device to safeguard the opposite principle of the radical independence of spiritual jurisdiction. The friction of the two principles is shown in the duration of the debates (7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th February; 12th, 29th April; 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th May, 1532), and by the lengthy negotiations, and by the repeated and significant modifications made in the test formulæ.

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\* See paragraphs 10, 11, 12 of document.

† See paragraphs 20 and 33 of document.

This will be shown more clearly if we put some of the latter side by side.

## THE KING PROPOSES.

## 1. The formula—

The English Church and clergy, of whom he [the king] alone is the protector and supreme head.

## 2. The formula—

The English Church and clergy, of whom he [the king] alone, *after God*, is the protector and supreme head.

## 3. The formula—

The English Church and clergy, of whom we recognise his Majesty to be the singular protector and supreme lord, and even, *in so far as the law of Christ permits*, supreme head.

## 4. The formula—

Our most invincible king . . . . . has provided that we may be able in quietness and peaceful security to minister to God and to duly serve in the *care of souls committed to his Majesty* and to the people committed to him. (Ut in quiete et securâ pace Deo ministrare, et curae animarum eius *Majestati commissae* et populo sibi commissio debite inservire possimus.)

[N.B.—Here the actual care of souls is directly ascribed to the king.]

## THE CLERGY.

## 1. Reject it absolutely.

## 2. Remain firm and reject it absolutely.

## 3. Accept it, first of all in silence, and finally ratify it in form.\*

## 4. The clergy dexterously turn the phrase so as to reserve the care of souls to their own keeping, and thus keep the spiritual and temporal charge distinct. They amend the formula, and make it read:

Our most invincible king . . . . . has provided that we may be able in quietness and peaceful security to minister to God and to duly serve in the care of the souls of the people committed to his Majesty. (Ut in quiete securaque pace Deo ministrare, et curae animarum *populi eius Majestati commissi* debite inservire possimus.)

[N.B.—Equivalent to saying: His Majesty has committed to him the people, but we have the care of their souls.]

In like manner, during April and May, 1532, the proposals of the king for the muzzling of Convocation and repealing of former canons were firmly rejected. It was again Warham who secured from the king the modification

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\* When Archbishop Warham, after three days' debate, on Thursday morning, February 11, brought down this formula and read it to Convocation, the clergy received it in sullen silence. "Whoever is silent gives consent," said the Archbishop. Some one answered, "Then we are all silent;" and so the formula was accepted (Wilkins, iii. 725). The king was dissatisfied with this silent vote, and in the evening session it was more formally ratified.

of his demands, which in its final form was adopted as a compromise on May 16. It was Warham's last act in Convocation. He died in the August following.

## VII.

It is surely difficult to study these negotiations without feeling that the clergy, far from affirming spontaneously their belief in the union of the ecclesiastical and temporal supremacy in the king, were fighting hard, at the peril of their lives, to exclude it. That neither they, nor, for that matter, even the king himself, considered that the formula passed with such provisos could be decisive and tantamount to a rejection of the authority of the Pope, is shown, first, by the king's own assurance to the Nuncio and to the Convocation of York; secondly, by the official Protests of Archbishops Warham and of Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of Durham, declaring that they meant thereby nothing "to the derogation of the Roman Pontiff, or to the injury or prejudice of the Apostolic See;" and thirdly, by the fact that for some time afterwards English Archbishops continued to be presented as usual in the Roman Consistory and appointed by Bulls of Provision from the Pope.

To this protestation, which the Primate made to clear himself before all posterity of schismatical or anti-Papal revolt, the document we publish comes as an interesting supplement and a forcible confirmation. We may deplore the false steps which Convocation under his guidance took in conciliating the wilful monarch—steps which were made the starting-point for a much wider departure—but, with this document before us, we may, in fairness, acquit both the Archbishop and his Convocation of beliefs and intentions which were consciously anti-Roman or anti-Catholic.

Finally, the document furnishes us, in paragraphs 10, 11, 12, and 16, with a remarkably clear affirmation of the Catholic doctrine, that the spiritual jurisdiction of the English Sees was derived from the Pope; that a See ceased to be void from the moment the bishop-elect was "pronounced in the Pope's Consistory," and that such appointment carried with it all powers of jurisdiction, while episcopal consecration conferred only powers of order.

J. MOYES.

## WARHAM'S DEFENCE.

*(State Papers, Henry VIII., v. 245).*

(1)\* . . . . . nother in dede I entende to say or doo anything . . . . . or discontent the King's highnes, for I have found his grace very . . . . . gratiouse and favorable to my Church and me. But I entende only to doo and say that thing that I am bounde to doo by the lawes of God and Holy Church and by myn ordre and by myn othe that I made at the tyme of my profession. Agenst any of the which I am sur that his grace wel informed wil not advise me, will me or commande me anything to doo or say. And al and every of the premisses saved, I shal be as glad as the lowest and poverest subjecte in his reame to doo anything that his grace wold commande me.

(2) As toching this matier of Praemunire which dependeth only upon this that I according to the Pope's Holiness' bulls directed to me as to a Catholique busshop, and according to the prerogative of my church of Cantorbery belonging to me as to metropolitan consecrated to the busshop of Sancte Assaph, before he had exhibited his bulls the King's grace, and doon his homage and made his othe of fidelite and sued oute his temporalties as it is sayde and surmised. For it is thought I shuld not consecrate any busshop tel after he had exhibited his bulles to the King's grace and had doon his homage and made his othe of fidelite to the same; and had sued out as agreed with his grace for the temporalties and also that I shold not give to a busshoppe his spiritualties until he wer agreed with the King's hyhness for the temporalties of his bushoppick.

(3) To this, I say that by the law, a thing doon between other persons can not be preiudicial to the therde person which is not bounde to the knowledge thereof. But Archebusshoppes of Cantorbury be not bounde to know whether suche persons to be consecrated busshoppes have exhibited their bulles to the King's grace or have doon their homage and given their othe of fidelite or have sued out their temporalties or not. Wherefore I say that whether he that is to be consecrated busshoppe doo exhibit his bulles to the Kings grace, dooing his homage and feautie or sue his temporalties before his consecration or no, his negligence or oversight therein can not of right be imputed or to be preiudicial to tharchbusshop that doth consecrate hym.

(4) And that th Archbusshoppes of Cantrebury be not bounde to know whether suche as be to be consecrated busshoppes by him have exhibited their bulles to the Kings highness dooing their homage and fidelite or have sued out their temporalties or no it may right well apper if the maner and forme used and accustomed in consecrations heretofor be called to remembrance. In the which it hath never be used that th' archbyssshop shuld examyn that shuld be consecrated whether he had exhibited his bulles to the Kings grace, and had doon his homage and made his othe of fidelite and had sued out his

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\* I have numbered the paragraphs for purpose of reference.

temporalities or not. For if th arche . . . . . to intromitte with that acte that . . . . . the which examination he that shold consecrate . . . . . annswer he wold. For if he intended to doo th Archbusshopp any displeasur to put hym to besoyness, he might say that he had exhibited his bulles to the King's grace, and doon his homage and given his othe of fidelite and sued out his temporalities, wher he had not so doon. Whereby the Archbusshopp might be put to like besoyness as I am nowe.

(5) And, that no suche question hath be asked or demaunded of busshoppes that have be consecrated in tymes passed at the tyme of their consecration by th' archbusshopp. I referre me to my brethren, the busshoppes of my province of Cantrebery, which (if they be so required) can showe whether any suche question was made to any of themme at the tyme of their consecration.

(6) And, if th archbusshoppes shuld be bounde not to consecrate any busshoppe until they had sent to the Kings grace and knewe whether the person to be consecrated busshopp had exhibited his bulles to his highness, doon his homage, and given his othe of fidelite, and sued out his temporalities of his grace or no, that were a grete bondage to Archebusshoppes that they shuld at their propre costs for an other mannes besoynes send from one ende of this reame to thother as peradventure from Cantrebery to Berwik or percase some tyme out of the reame where it shuld fortune the Kings grace then to be, to knowe whether the busshopp to be consecrated had exhibited his bulls to the King's grace, had doon his homage, had given his othe of fidelite, and had sued out the restitution of his temporalities or not.

(7) And, also many busshoppes have be consecrated before they have sued their temporalities, as it may appere by matier of Records. The tyme of their consecration by the act of my Registre and the tyme of suying out of their temporalities by the Records of the Kyngs Chancellery duly seene and accompted and also as it appereth in the lives of Archbusshoppes of Canterbury for CC yeres passed as Thomas Bradwarden, Archbusshop of Cantrebury and William Wittelsey and others were first consecrated and long tyme after sued to the King for their temporalities as it appereth in the history of their lives.

And, so it hath contynued until this tyme withoute any trouble of any Archebusshop or interruption of suche consecrations to be at their libertie.

(7) And, if the archebusshoppes of Cantrebury have be bounden in tymes past to sue to the Kings grace to knowe whether the busshopp . . . . . s bulles to his Highness and had doon his homage. . . . . and had sued out his temporalities or no. I . . . . . s requisite it wole appere by som records or actes that th Archebusshoppes had made such sute to the Kings grace and that som certificate had be made from the King's grace or his officers at his commandment to the archebusshopp befor this tyme in that behalve.

And, wher it can not apper by any records or acte that any suetes or certificates have been be made hertofor in this case, it appereth evidently that th archebusshoppes be not bounde to knowe whether suche as be to be consecrated busshoppes have exhibited their bulles to the Kings grace and doon their homage, and geven their othe of fidelite, and sued out their temporalities or not.

(8) And, if it wer requisite that busshoppes to be consecrated shuld firste exhibit their bulles to the King's grace, doo their homage, and give their othe of fidelite, to the same, and sue out the restitution of their temporalities befor their consecrations: It is to be thought that some wise and wel learned men that have be promoted to busshopriches within this reame in tymes past aswel by the Kings grace's dayes now, as by his most noble progenitours, wold not have be noted nor seem so negligent or so greatly overseeme as to have omitted their dutie towarde their prince in that behalve considering that therby they mought fall not only into gret damage and daynger but also into gret displeasur of their princes with whome they wer befor in singular favour and also mought hurt tharchebusshop that dyd consecrate them. Which it is to be thought by liklyhode they wold be lothe to doo, considering the labours and peynes that he susteyneth by reason of their consecration.

(9) And, if this thing had be so requisite as it is surmised, it is thought that suche singular wise princes as have be in tymes past, which had as diligent an eye to the observance of the lawes and custumes of this their Reame wold have caused this thing to have be very diligently looked to by their officers, and the same to have be strictly observed, and the omitters and brekers theorof to be extremely punished. But it hath not be herd nor seen at any tyme that any Archebusshop or busshop in tymes past hath be put to any trouble or besoynes for any suche cause.

(10) Item, Almighty God hath ordeyned in a . . . . . powers, one spiritual and thother tem . . . . . have theyme occupieth them dist . . . . . u . . . . (r)esist or interrupt any of the said powers as contrarie to th ordinance of God. Wherfor as the Kings grace hath the temporal power to graunte and to deliver oute of his custody the temporalities of busshopriches at his pleasur, so in likewise the Archebusshop of Cantrebury for the tyme being having the spiritual jurisdiction of al busshopriches within his province of Cantrebury whyle they be voyde in the right of his Church, may at his libertie graunte to him that is lawfully promoted at Rome in the Pope's Consistorie a bisshop of any see being voyde the spiritualities of the same busshopriche.

(11) And, if th Archbusshop of Cantrebury shuld not give the spiritualities to hym so promoted a busshop, til the king's grace had had graunted and delivered to him his temporalities then the spiritual power of the archbusshoppes shuld hang and depende of the temporal power of the prince, and so shuld be of little or none effecte whiche is against al lawe. And so there shuld not be II distincte powers

according to Allmighty Goddes ordinance. For if the archebusshop shuld not give any benefice til the Kings grace shuld give his consent to him that shuld have it, it were in maner as good not to have the gifte of such benefices which he moughte not give but at another mannys pleasur. And so it were in a maner as good to have no spiritualties as to have such spiritualties as he myght not give but at the princes pleasur.

(12) Also, if the Archebusshop of Cantrebury after that an electe is provided a busshop at Rome in the consistorie and after the presenting of the Popes bulles to hym by the which he is ascertayned that he is a busshop, shuld kepe the spiritualties in his handes til the King's grace had delivered to the said busshop his temporalties, in that case the archebusshop shuld doo to hym that is provided busshop grete injury and wrong, keping from hym his spiritualties, withoute any reasonable cause. For tharchebusshop hath the exercise of the spiritualties no longer than the busshopriche is voyde. And when any electe is provided a busshop of any see being voyde by the Popes Holiness in his consistorie, and when that appereth to tharchebusshop then the see is no lenger voyde, and then no lenger can th archbusshop kepe the spiritualties in his handes except he wol doo the busshop wrong.

(13) Item, if th Archebusshop of Cantrebury shuld not graunte the spiritualties til the Kings grace had graunted the temporalties suche Kings have be in tymes past and may be herafter, which have kept and indede will kepe the temporalties of the busshopriches in their hands many yers as King Henry . . . . . Kinges have doon. And so he that were elected . . . . . at Rome shuld in this case have nother the temp . . . . . busshopriche nother the spiritualties and so shuld he be inforced to goo a begging, which were no smal inconvenience.

(14) And in this behalve I speke against myne owne profite and against the profite of my sucessours. For the lengyr the spiritualties shuld be in myne or their hands, the mor shuld be myne or there profite. And so if I shuld not graunte the spiritualties til the Kings grace had graunted the temporalties. If his grace shuld kepe the temporalties an hole yer or II in his hands, it shuld be to my grete profite, if I shuld kepe for al that tyme the spiritualties in myne handes which were not to be refused if I mought have them so with good conscience, but better it wer for me and my sucessours to lacke suche a profite, to doo an otherman injury and wrong.

(15) Item, it standeth not with good lawe or reason that a man shuld be punisshed for a dede by the which no man hath damage or wrong. But by the consecration of a busshop befor he hath exhibited his bulles and doon his homage and given his othe of fidelite to the Kings grace, and befor he hath sued oute his temporalties the Kings grace can have no loss ne damage, for his highness may at his libertie (notwithstanding the consecration) kepe in his hands the temporalties stil and take the profecte of theym until that the busshop consecrated hath doon his homage and given his othe of fidelite, and hath agreed w<sup>t</sup> his highness for the restitution of the same temporalties as his



grace in such cases useth to doo. And the said busshop is no lorde of the Parliament until he have doon his homage and hath given his othe of fidelite and hath sued out his temporalties ffor th acte of consecration giveth to hym no place in the Kings Parliament. Wherfor seeing that the Kings grace hath no loss ne damage by th acte of consecration methinketh ther shuld no punishment therupon sue. And diverse Archebusshoppes and busshoppes have be in England which have had only ther spiritual jurisdiction and have lived therupon, and have not had a long tyme after ther temporalties as Bisshop Pekam and others.

(16) And as toching hym that is consecrated: he is made no busshop by his consecration, as paradventur some men thinketh, but he is made and provided a busshop at Rome in the Popes consistorie, and hath befor his consecration, al things apperteyning to spiritual jurisdiction as a busshop and by his consecration he hath no jurisdiction given to hym, but only suche thyng as be apperteyning to his order. Which be mer spiritual as consecrating of children, giving of or . . . . . consecrating holy oils, blessing the . . . . . the which the Kings grace taketh any wrong . . . . . with Kings or princes pleasures to differ consecrations of busshoppes til they had graunted to theyme ther temporalties which befor they wold doo, paradventur shuld be long or never at their pleasir it mought folowe that the Church shuld have no busshoppes and consequently no prests by theme, and so al the sacraments of holy Church mought cease at princes pleasure, ffor albeit that we have nowe a very graciouse and noble prince, God knoweth what Prince may be in England hereafter, which percase mought make grete decay in holy Church and in the religion of Christe, if busshoppes shuld not be consecrated, but only at princes pleasirs by the pretence that they have given temporalties to the Church.

(17) Farthermor, if it wer reason that busshoppes shuld not be consecrated til they had sued oute their temporalties which Princes have given to their myters, by like reason, the Pope should not be consecrated or crowned til he had sued out his temporalties of the Emperor which Constantine, somtyme Emperor gave to the See of Rome; and so ther shuld be no Pope but at th' emperours pleasure, and til he had graunted to hym hys temporalties.

(18) Item, if ther wer no lawe, it standeth best with good reason that every spiritual man that shuld exercise a spiritual roome shuld endeavour hym selve fyrst to obteyne al suche things as be requisite to his spiritual besoyness and after to obteyne such things as apperteyneth to his temporal besoyness and not temporal things first, and afterwards spiritual things perverting good ordre which is against reason, wherfore if ther wer no lawes, it standeth with reason that a busshop shuld be consecrated firste and after to sue for his temporalties. And if ther wer a lawe to the contrarie it were not a reasonable lawe to make a spiritual man first to sue for his temporalties and after for his consecration.

(19) Item, it wer according that a spiritual man shuld first give his  
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othe of obedience to the spiritual hed which is the Pope. Which is not used to be doon but at the tyme of the busshoppes consecration : and that doon, then to doo his temporal duetie and fidelite to his temporal Prince and not to preferr the temporal Prince to the Pope in a spiritual matter.

. . . . . busshop of Assaph and nothing but that I was . . . . . maundement in the vertue of the othe of myne obedience of the whiche thes be the words "*mandata aplica totis viribus observabo et ab aliis faciam observari.*" And in so doing, I was but the Pope's commissarie. And the consecrating of the said busshop is principally the Popes dede which commanded it to be doon. Wherefor I thinke it not reasonable that I shuld fall into a premunire for doing of that thing; whereby (if I had doon the contrary) I shuld have fallen into perjury.

(20) And it seemeth not to be a reasonable ordinance by the whiche a man dooing according to his othe of obedience to the Pope, head of al Xren men, shuld fall into any penaltie. For a spiritual man which hath sworne obedience to the Pope, is more bounde to execute his commandement, namely in a spiritual cause, as the consecration of a busshop is, than to forbear it and deferr it for any temporal law made to the contrary. And wher in this case, not dooing the Pope's commandement, I shuld fall into perjury and dooing his commandement I shuld fall into a premunire, as is supposed, if a man coulede not chose but to fall into one of the said dayngers of perjury or premunire *melius est incidere in manus hominum quam derelinquere legem Dei.*

(21) Now al and euery of the forsaid reasons depely considered. Seeing that another mannys negligence or omission ought not to be prejudicial to me, ne yet bynde me to any inconvenience.

And seeing that the archebusshoppes of Cantrebury from tyme oute of mind have be in possession of the right to consecrate at ther libertie busshoppes of their province withoute any interruption or impediment or any question made to the contrary hertofo.

And seeing that I have only used my spiritual power in this behalve, toching the spiritualties, as the Kings grace doth use his temporal power concernyng the temporalities.

And considering that I have the exercise of the spiritualties no longer than the busshopriche is voyde, and that I shuld doo to the busshop promoted at Rome enjury, and so knowen injury, if I shuld deferr the consecration and kepe from hym his spiritualties any lengyr. And considering that it moughte be a grete decaye in Christ's faith hereafter, if consecrating of busshoppes and so consequently al sacraments of the Churche shuld depend upon princes pleasures. Which peradventur hereafter moughte be suche as shuld not be so good and so graciouse as the Kings grace is now.

Considering also that it wer to my grete profecte to diferr consecration a long season. And to withold the spiritualties, which profecte I were not wise to refuse if I mought take the same with good conscience.

And seeing that it is no reason that a man shuld be punisshed for

dooing of a good dede by the whiche no man is damaged or wronged as I have showed that the Kings highness hath no maner of damage or wrong by the consecration of the bussshop of Sancte Assaph, which is made no lorde of the Kings Parliament, and hath no place given to hym ther by thacte of his consecration, and a good spiritual acte (as a consecration is) can not derogate the Kings grace's crown or regalitie.

And considering that it is convenient for a spiritual man fyrst to obteyn al thinges apperteyning to his spiritual bysoyness, and afterwards suche things as apperteyneth to his temporal besoyness and also to give his othe to his spiritual hed, the Pope, which othe is given at his consecration, before he make his othe to his temporal hed which is the Kings highness.

And finally considering that I have doon none other thing but that I was bounde to doo at the Pope's commaundement to whome I am sworne to execute his commaundement a . . . . .  
 . . . good or godly disposed man that wol judg . . . . .  
 . . . . . in this case than is beseeching for me to doo but according to the lawes of the Church and myne othe.

(22) Item, this case that we be in nowe, was one of tharticles that King Henry the seconde wold have had Sancte Thomas and other bussshopes to consent unto, and to confirme by ther writing and seales at Claringdon which they deneyed. And this article was one of the causes of the exile of Sancte Thomas and finally of his deth and marterdom. And wher Sancte Thomas is canonised for a sancte and so is takyn over al for speking and laboring and taking his deth to fordoo and destroy the said Article and others which were conceived and written at claringdon, it is to be thought that who so ever labour to the contrarie that Saint Thomas dyed for shal sor displease God and the said sainte and grevously offende his conscience.

The words of the said article toching the matier that we be in nowe followeth *Cum vacaverit Archiepiscopatus vel Episcopatus vel abbatia vel prioratus de dominio Regis, debet esse in manu eius et inde percipiet omnes redditus et exitus sicut dominicos et faciet electus homagium et fidelitatem Dno Regi sicut ligo Dno suo de vita et membris et de honore suo terreno, (salvo ordine suo) prius quam sit consecratus.\** The which Article amongst others was damned by the Church of Rome. Alexander the thirde then being Pope, as it appereth by the life of Sancte Thomas in the xxiv lefe of the seconde colum. The words followeth *Dominus Papa, lectis et relectis, et diligenter et attente auditis et cognitis singulis consuetudinibus Chirographi eas in audientia omnium reprobavit et ab ecclesia imposterum damnandas censuit.†* Of the which Articles and custumes this was one. And by Sancte Thomas they that observed the said Article, and other put in writing at Claringdon, and they

\* An abridgement of 12th Constitution of Clarendon. Wilkins, i. 436.

† See "Vita S. Thomae auctore Herberto de Boseham," l. iv. c. 10. Vol. ii. p. 341. Roll Series.

that exacted counseled or defended the said Articles by the Church of Rome and hym damned he denounced accursed as it appereth in his life where it thus written *Scriptum illud in quo continentur non consuetudines sed pravitates quibus perturbatur et confunditur ad praesens ecclesia Anglicana et ipsius scripti auctoritatem, invocata Sti. Spiritus gratia publice condemnavimus et universos auctores, observatores, exactores, consiliarios, auditores seu defensores earundem excommunicamus.\**

And besides the premisses, King Henry the Seconde which put Sancte Thomas to al this trouble for the said Article and other conceived and written at Claringdon which wer the cause of Sancte Thomas martirdom swor solemnly befor certayne legates sent from the Pope that he wold fulfill al suche penaunce as they wold enjoyne him for dethe of Sancte Thomas. And they enjoyed to fordoo and leve up the Statutes of Claryngdon and al other evil customes against the liberties of holy Church. To the which, according to his othe, the said King dyd assent as it appereth by Sancte Thomas life wher be this wordes *Juravit Rex quod quicquidque in poenitentia ei Cardinales iniungerent vel satisfactionem plenarie exequeret: qui Cardinales iniunxerunt quod prava statuta de Clarendon et omnes malas consuetudines quae in diebus suis in detrimentum ecclesiae Dei adductae sunt, penitus dimitteret. Ad quae omnia rex secundum suum adjurandum assensum praebeuit.*

(23) . . . . . ng at the tumbes of Sancte Thomas renounced the same . . . . . Claringdon as il and injuste as it appereth in the life of Saint Thomas fol. xlv. iiiith columnne. *Consuetudines etiam illas quae inter martirem et ipsum Regem totius fuerunt dissentionis materia Rex tanquam vere poenitens pro martiris devotione et per martiris virtutem abdicavit malas et iniquas,† &c.,* of the which abdication and renuntiation Herbertus writeth‡ in this considering that the church of Rome and Sancte Thomas damned this article and others. Which is the case nowe of the whiche the words be rehersed afore and be thus. *Electus homagium et fidelitatem Dno Regi sicut Dno ligeo suo de vita sua et membris et de honore suo terreno, salvo ordine suo, praestet priusquam sit consecratus.* And considering that Sancte Thomas of Cantrebury excommunicated them that observed the said Articles so damned as is afore rehersed, and rather than he wold consent to ratifie them with

\* Taken from "Epistolae S. Thomae," 73, p. 162. Giles.

† See "Excerpta ex Herberti libro Melorum," p. 546, vol. ii. Materials for life of Archbishop Thomas Becket. Roll Series.

‡ *Rex huic de quo nunc agitur praesenti chirographo decreti renunciavit renuit et vim eius omnem et auctoritatem explosit.* And further writeth the said Herbertus toching the said custumes put in writing at Claredon as followeth. *Si funesti illius Cyrographi consuetudines aliquae manent et tanquam de stirpe noxia de nocivis amputatis, non nulla quasi spuria vitulamina mala excrescant, adhuc sperandum ad Archipraesulum martiris successorum instantiam per regum clementiam quum crebro et devote martiris et martiris cause exteterint memores imperfectum supplebitur et plene a facie Dei computrescet servitutis ecclesiastica jugum, aut si non habebitur, Alt-ssimo disponente, sit martiris successores Archipraesules hiis diebus carnis suae exeroendae probandaeque virtutis materia.*

his writing and seale, went into exile and after suffered deth. And considering that the King then for the tyme being, which stickked so sor for these Articles at the last lefte up and abdicated them as ill and injuste. I see not why that I shuld fall into any penaltie of premunire consecrating a busshop and graunting to hym his spiritualties befor he had doon his homage, given his othe of fidelitie, and sued out his temporalties of the King's grace's custody

(24) Item, if it be objected that the consecration of this busshop is prejudicial to the King's grace's crown and to his regalitie. As to this I say that I would be as lothe as anyman living to doo anything oneselme or suffer anything to be doon by any other that I might withstand which shuld be prejudicial to his graces crown, and his regalite as I am so bounde and with the gladder mynde by as much as I (albeit per case unworthy) by the grace and suffraunce of God, firste enunacted his Highness King, and after put the crowne of Englande on his graces hed at the time of his coronation. And for the grete goodness and nobleness that I have seen in his higness for the time of al his reigne I wold be glad and gretely rejoyce to put 111 crownes mo upon his graces head if it lay in my power so to doo, rather than to doo anything prejudicial to the leste part of his graces crowne or regalite. And I trust that the Crowne of England was never so weke, that any prejudice, damage or diminution mought be doon to it by the consecration of a busshop whatsoever tyme it wer doon. Considering it is a good and spiritual acte and that by a good and a spiritual acte can growe none yll to the Crowne when so ever it be doon. And if such things doon against the kings lawes as be yll, as killing of a man in the Kings presence (which God forbede) doo no prejudice to the Kings graces crowne or yet diminissheth any parte of his regalite much more thact of consecration of a busshop (which is a good dede) can do no such hurt.

(25) It is to be thought that the Kings gra . . . . .  
 . . . and surly when his grace suffereth the . . . . .  
 . . . . . according to the graunts of noble princes Kings of  
 England . . . . . and other which reigned nobly and  
 died vertuously and according to Magna Carta, which sayeth *Habeat  
 Ecclesia Anglicana libertates suas illaesas*, the brekers of the which  
 charter wer solemely accursed at Paules Crosse by the mooste parte  
 of the busshoppes of England for that tyme beeing and the same  
 curse confirmed by Pope Innocent the IIIIth. But *ecclesia Angli-  
 cana non habet libertates suas illaesas* when the Churche hath not his  
 libertie to consecrate busshoppes but at Princes pleasures, for in case  
 it shuld not please princes to have any busshoppes consecrated so  
 the Church should cease.

(26) And for Goddes sake, lett not men only looke upon other  
 princes acts made against the Churche and the liberties of the same, not  
 discernyng whether they be good or ill. but let men looke substantially  
 upon theffecte of theme and also consider what yll fortune or punish-  
 ment of God hath fallen upon such princes in whose dayes and by  
 whose auctorite such acts (as the case which is layde to my charge)  
 is one and other, were made to the derogation of the lawes and

liberties of the Church. Of the which princes King Henry the Seconde which was begynner of this case that we be in now, and of many other in Sancte Thomas dayes not long befor his deth by expresse words forsake God, and after his deth was so nygh spoiled by them that were about him, that he lay al nakyd until a servaunte having piete and shame to see his maister which was so grete a man of the world, so to lye, cast his cote upon him to cover and hyde his secrete parts.

(27) Edward the thirde also following his predecessours steppes in this behalve, in his last dayes, his subgiects rebelling ayenst him, and notwithstanding his grete conquestes and his grete triumphs, finally dyed in povertie, and hate of his nobles and subjects.

Also Richard the seconde maker and confirmer of suche actes as be afor rehersyd at thende of his reigne renounced the right of the Crown confessing him selve not to be able and sufficient to occupie the same and after was in prison in the Castel of Pomfrete ther murdred or meserably fanished.

And Henry the IIIIth being of the nombre of princes aforesaid was stryken with so grete and so fowle a leprosy and so evil favoured by reason of hys disease, that suche as he loved best and had doon most for, abhorred him so sor that they wold not com nygh to hym, and so he mor miserably died than is to be rehersyd.

(28) I wil not take on me to judge the judgement of God and say determinately that the said Kings were punished by the hande of God for making of suche actes. Yet it may be reasonably thought that the same was the hole or [some part of them] their punishment. For wher this Article that is the case . . . consecration (which is surmised to be a premunire) was one of tharticles that Sancte Thomas of Cantebury dyed for and for his so dooing for this Article and others made ayenst the liberties of Goddes Church was rewarded of God with the grete honour of martirdom, which is the best deth that can be. Which thing is the example and comforte of other to speke and to doo for the defense of the liberties of Goddes Church. Then it followeth of likyhode that suche princes as I have rehersyd making this Article toching the Consecration of a busshop and others ayenst the liberties of the Church of God wer punished by Godds hands with an ill deth in example of others to beware to make or to execute suche articles ayenst the liberties of Christes Church.

(29) And when Sancte Thomas of Cantebury dyed and was and is a holy martyr, because he wold not consent nor obey to these Articles and others made ayenst the liberties of the Church, it is to be thought that they that made contrary acts to the said liberties and never repented nor reformed themselves were punished by God with suche manner of sickness and adversite as I have spoken of befor to cal theyme to his grace. And therfor Sancte Thomas for the tendre love that he had to Kyng Henry the Seconde by whome he was promoted wrote to certeyne of the said Kings counseile which mought doo much with hym, those words which be writen in Sancte Thomas life, fol. cli. *Consulite Dno nostro regi qui eius comparatis gratiam super ecclesie dispendio ne (quod absit) percat*

*ipse et domus eius tota sicut et ipsi periere qui in consimili delicto comprehensi sunt.* And Sancte Thomas in a certaine scripture of excommunication that he denounced against thaim that hurted the liberties of the Church of Cantrebury, son after his return from exile sayth that it hath not ben herd that any man hath hurted the Church of Cantrebury but that he was punysshed of crist. *A saeculis inauditum est quod quis ecclesiam cantuariensem leserit et non sit correctus a Christo Domino.* By the which sanctes saying it may be probably thought that the punisshment of the said princes came of the hand of God for making of statutes against the libertie of the Church. I do not speke of any excommunication or curses.

(30) And in case that there be any statute or acte made that th Archebusshop of Cantrebury for the tyme beeing shuld be restrayned from his liberties and spiritual power to consecrate a busshop or to graunte to him his spiritualties til the kings grace had delivered to him his temporalties, and that th Archebusshop dooing the contrary shuld fall into a premunire, Pope Martine which was a very good and holy Pope wrote to King Henry the IIIIth concernyng thacte of premunire made ayenst the liberties of the Church, in the whiche writing be conteyned these words that followeth of the which I make not mention here for that intent that I wol use and stikke upon theyme for my defense nother to thentent to derogate the lawe of this lande or to discontent any man therby hygh or low, but spetially for II causes, fyrst that suche as have the handling of premunire shuld loke the more substantially upon the dainger of their soules and consciences executing the same, for a man knowing the danger may the better avoy . . . . . may appear by the said Popes writing how streithely lorde Henry Chichely Archebusshop of Canterbury because he did not resis . . . . . and speke ayenst th' acte of premunire as much as in hym lay of the which writing to the said Archebusshop I wol reherse som partes after I have showed partes of that the said Pope wrote to the said King, which followeth

*Martinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei charissimo in Christo filio henrico regi Angliae illustri salutem et Aplicam Ben. Quum omnis divina et humana ratio vetet &c.*

(31) And my lordes where mention is and hath be made to you to defende this matier that is nowe in question by the swerde, I doubt not but that ye beeing noble, wise, and discrete men and goddes knightes wol be right wel advised to drawe yor swerdes in any suche case as this is, in the which by the grace of God and the Kinges, no need shalbe to drawe any sworde or to make mention of any such violence seeing that by this consecration ther is nothing doon ayenst the Kings grace's crowne and regalite which shuld provoke or deserve his high displeasur. Spetially wher by that consecration I entended nothing lesse than to displease the Kings grace, I take God to my record.

(32) And ye my lordes seeing that this case that I am put to trouble for is one of the Articles that Saincte Thomas of Cantrebury dyed for, I trust ye wol not drawe yor swordes to the displeasur of

God and of Sancte Thomas in this behalve, into whose holy hands I recomende this my cause and the cause of the Churche. For I doubte not but that ye have herde befor this tyme howe how the knights that exercised their swords ayenst Sancte Thomas for this article and others wer punisshed of God for their grete presumption and mysdooing. So as unto this present day the punisshement of them remaineth in their bloode and generation.

(33) And in case ye shuld be so noted by other folks instigation and ungodly meanes to drawe yor swerds in this case and to hewe me to smal peces (which God forbede ye shuld doo) yet I thynke it were better for me to suffre the same than ayenst my conscience to confesse this Article to be a premunire for which Sancte Thomas dyed. For I see not howe I shuld graunte it and by my so graunting shuld bring the Churche of Christe into suche perpetual bondage that I and my successors shuld not consecrate a busshop but at princes pleasures, but that thereby I shuld dampne my soule for wher Sancte Thomas saved his soule and is a gloriouse sancte in hevyn for the denying of this Article, and others, I see not but that I, dooing expressly contrarie to that that Sancte Thomas dyd (for the which he was a Sancte) and confessing this to be a premunire; shuld dampne my soule . . . . . is objected that I am bounde to the knowledge of this Article for . . . . . as it is a lawe of this lande. If this Article be a lawe of this land, it was conceived and put in writing at Claringdon by King Henry the Seconds dayes CCCC save XXXI yeres past. And wher it was never put in execution ayenst any Archebusshop albeit diverse of theyme have consecrated diverse busshoppes befor the same busshoppes had doon their homage and given ther othe of fidelite to the Kings grace and sued out their temporalties of the same, I thinke that nother by lawe reason or conscience I or any other is bounde to the knowledge or observance of suche a lawe which hath not be used and was never put in execution for the space of iiij<sup>e</sup> almoste.

(34) And where it pleaseth you my lordes to assigne to me lay counseile, my lords, I wol not refuse their counseiles beeing good, albeit for II causes I think they shal little profecte me. One, for laymen have always used and be accustomed to advaunce their owne lawes rather than the lawes of holy Churche as yor lordships may see that laymen dayly encrocheth upon the lawes and liberties of the Church by premunire and prohibitions, whom Christ rebuketh in the Gospel saying, Wo worthe ye that breke the lawes of God for the maynteyning of your owne lawes. *Ve vobis qui transgredimini legem Dei propter traditiones vestras.* And in this behalf I understand that suche temporal lerned men as have be assigned of counseile with spiritual men lately in cases of premunire (as it was surmised) for th advauncing of their temporal lawes, and for the derogation of the lawes of the Church have counseiled theyme and induced theyme to confesse and graunte a premunire. Wherto peradventur, they wold advise me in like wise. Which if I wer so minded to confesse, I needed not to have their counseile.

(35) The seconde cause is, I am informed that temporal lerned men



that wold speke ther lernyng for suche as they have be of counseile with; wher they have spoken anything contrarie to the mind of som of the Kings most honorable counseile they have be called foolles, and put to silence, and so peradventur they shuld be entreated in this case if they shuld speke their mynds for me according to their lernyng whereof I wold be lothe that any man shuld be so rebuked for my cause.

(36) And in as much as this matier togeth th acte of a busshoppes consecration which is mer spiritual the natur and condition wherof is best known by spiritual men I desire and require you my lords as you shal answer befor God, that I may have such wise, sadde and discrete counseile lerned in the spiritual lawe, as can and will give to me godly counseile according to their lernyng and conscience and such . . . . . shuld take counseile at yor assignment peradventur . . . . . counseile assigned to me, which wold not or durst not give to me . . . indifferent counseile.

(37) Item, if it be sayde that I shuld fynde suerties. To that Sancte Thomas answered in this maner, fo. lxi. *Quis unquam vidit vel audivit Cantuar. Archiepum iudicari, condemnari cogi ad fidei-missionem in curia Regis.* And in another place of Sancte Thomas life, fo. xv. Sancte Thomas sayeth *Siquidam a saeculo non est auditum quemquam Cantuar. Archiepum in curia regum Anglorum pro qua cumque causa iudicatum tum propter dignitatem ecclesiae tum propter auctoritatem personae.* And giving of suerties is for suche psons. of whose fleeing or departing oute of the country it is fered, but as for me, if I had be disposed to flee, I mought have fled befor this tyme and befor I had entred this matur. And I thank God and the Kings grace, I have suche promotion to live upon as I entend not to forsake and go to other places wher I shuld have nothing. And beeing her, if I had lost al my goodes yet I trust I shuld have som succor and helpe of my freinds and lovers, but fleeing to other places I shuld percase ther have nother goodes nor freinds.

(38) And wher grete besoyness hath be befor this tyme between princes of this reame, and Archbusshoppes of Cantrebury in farr greter causes than thies be, as betweene Sancte Anselme, Sancte Edmunde, Robert Winchelsey, John Peckham, and John Stratford and princes for their tyme beeing, they wer never compelled to give any suerties ne yet wer committed to warde.

And I trust that ye, my lords, be as godly disposed and as good Xristian men as they wer in the said Archebusshoppes tyme, and that ye wol none otherwise entreate me, than they entreated my predecessours, spetially for the consecration of a freer, which is no deadly syn. And also who soever laye violent handes upon a busshop in takyng hym and after empresonyng hym is a cursed, of the which he cannot be assoiled but of the Pope except it be in *mortis articulo*. And the place or places wher a busshop takyn is kept as long as the busshop is so kept is interdicted and the II diocesis next adjoynante also: as it appereth by the lawes of the Church made in that behalve. Wherfor, if ye fer the lawes and censures of Holy

Church ye can not take me ne emprison me except ye wol be accursed, and the place where I shuld be takyn or kept in shalbe interdicted which evry good Christian man which trusteth to be savyd by God and by the Church owe to drede and gretely fer.

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Endorsement written in late 17th century handwriting.

*Reasons alledged by the Arch.B.P. of Canterbury why he ought not to incur the praemunire because he consecrated the Bp of Assaphe before Licence given by the King.*

J. MOYES.

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## APPENDIX.

### I.—HENRY STANDISH.

THE Bishop of St. Asaph, whose consecration by Warham formed the basis of the charge met by the foregoing document, was Dr. Henry Standish. In the text this bishop is not mentioned by name, but is spoken of as a friar. This fact is sufficient to fix the identity of the prelate referred to. Warham, during the course of his long episcopate, consecrated three successive bishops to the See of St. Asaph. These were David ap Owen (February 4, 1504), Edmund Birkhead (May 29, 1513), and Henry Standish (July 11, 1518). The first was not a friar, but a monk. The second was a Doctor of Canon Law at Cambridge, and is not recorded as belonging to any religious order. The third was a friar minor, and a distinguished member of the Franciscan Province in England. In him, therefore, we have the "freer" whose consecration to the See of St. Asaph was made the ground of indictment against the Archbishop.

Henry Standish was the second son of Alexander Standish, of Standish.\* Although a cadet of one of the leading Lancashire families, he gave himself to the Order of St. Francis. In the year 1506 he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and his name appears on the list of English pilgrims ("*in forma nobilium*," for the 14th of May of that year) preserved in the archives of the English College.† He was already Doctor of Divinity, and Provincial of his Order in

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\* This was the same family (still staunchly Catholic under the Elizabethan persecution) with whom Laurence Vaux, the last Catholic Warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, took refuge, and to whom he entrusted a large portion of the Church plate (see Laurence Vaux's "Catechism," edited for the Chetham Society, Introduction, p. xxiv.).

† "*Nomia peg'noꝝ in for<sup>a</sup> nobilium a 4<sup>o</sup> Maji 1506 usque ad 4<sup>o</sup> Maji 1507 Mēs Maji. Frater Henricus Standish, sacre pagine Doctor F. provincialis Ordinis mīoꝝ in Anglia, Coventrensis Dioecesis 14<sup>o</sup> Maji. (Ex Archivis Anglorum Coll. Romae, vol. i. f. 29–32, given in vol. v. p. 72 of "Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica.")*

England. On two occasions Dr. Standish came prominently before the public. In 1510 there was a sharp crisis between Church and State on the question whether clerics accused of certain crimes might not be brought before lay judges. Kedyrmyster, the Abbot of Westminster, championed the immunities of the clergy in a fervid discourse at Paul's Cross. To the surprise and indignation of a large number of his brethren, the Provincial of the Franciscans took the part of the anti-clericals. Convocation appears to have regarded him as a public mischief-maker, and its Prolocutor said so in no very measured terms.\* His popularity with the king and Court would probably not suffer on account of the part he had taken. In Lent, the king usually went to Greenwich, and in March, 1511, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, Dr. Standish received 20s. for preaching there before his Majesty.† He was thus well known to Henry VIII., and stood high in his favour. Like all men in an eminent position, he was held in a very different estimate by different parties. The *Bibliotheca Franciscana* includes him amongst the great men of the Order, and describes him as "a man illustrious by his piety and learning, and a staunch defender of the Catholic Faith." In 1518, the See of St. Asaph became vacant, and the king recommended Dr. Standish to the Pope in almost identical terms. But there were others who did not look upon the appointment in the same light. Wolsey had endeavoured to secure the See for W. Bolton, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's. On the 12th of April, Pace writes to the Cardinal‡ to say that he has been told that the king is going to promote the appointment of "Freir Standysche, wheroff I wolde be ryght sorye for the good service he was like to do the Church." He adds in Latin, "Nevertheless it seems to me that it will be a hard matter to get over the King in this matter, for his Majesty, when formerly talking to me on the subject, praised him for his learning, and all these Court people are for him on account of the special way in which he has worked for the overthrow of the English Church."

Whether the above be mere malicious gossip or not, the tactful Cardinal dropped his candidate, and sixteen days later the king wrote his letters of presentation and recommendation to Rome in favour of Standish. The Pope provided Standish to the See, and Warham consecrated him on the 11th of July.

Two years later, and Dr. Standish was again in evidence before the religious world, but this time as the champion of orthodoxy against Erasmus. The new edition of the New Testament by Erasmus had just been issued, and its risky renderings—amongst others the "*In principio erat sermo*"—kindled the holy indignation of the Franciscan Bishop. He preached at Paul's Cross on the 31st of July, 1520, a vehement denunciation of the innovator and all his works. On the same day he dined at the Palace, and when, during dinner, the conversation turned upon the sermon, and he was taken to task by

\* "State Papers Henry VIII.," vol. ii. Nos. 1312-1314.

† *Ibid.* King's payments for above dates.

‡ *Ibid.* A.D. 1518, Nos. 4074 and 4083.

some of the courtiers, Standish roundly abused the writings of Erasmus. Raising his hands and eyes to heaven, in a theatrical attitude, he apostrophised the king, and implored his Majesty to come to the aid of the Spouse of Christ, if no one else would. One of the incorrigible courtiers, mimicking Standish's voice and gesture, begged to be informed what were the dangerous heresies which the bishop had complained of.\* It must be remembered that we owe the account of this incident to the sharply pointed pen of the very Erasmus who was the object of denunciation, and whose description can hardly be other than an *ex-parte* statement.† That Standish ranged himself on the side of the orthodox party as opposed to the followers of the new learning, is further shown by his action as judge or assessor in several of the heresy trials which took place about this time. In 1524, he was associated with Sir John Baker as ambassador in Denmark.‡ On Sunday, the 5th of January, 1527, when the great Cardinal, proceeding by water, landed at Blackfriars, and amid a splendid retinue and a huge concourse of people, went in procession to St. Paul's, flanked by the Ambassadors of the chief European Powers—the Imperial on his right and the French on his left—Bishop Standish was there to receive him.§ When the Divorce trouble began, he was one of the four bishops appointed to act for Queen Catherine, and was thus associated with Archbishop Warham, West of Ely, and Blessed John Fisher of Rochester. He is said to have been treated with dis-favour by the Queen, who shrewdly suspected that his appointment to her cause was made not in her but in the King's interest.|| He subsequently assisted at the consecration of Cranmer and at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. He lived to see the storm at its worst and the work of the English Reformation all but completed. The Act of the King's Supremacy—the famous 26 Henry VIII. c. 1, which severed England from Rome, was passed on November 4, 1534. The summer and autumn of that fateful year was the time of test to the bishops and clergy, and month by month the Commissioners were busy in seeing that the schismatical oath was tendered to them. Blessed John Fisher suffered on the scaffold on June 22 of the following summer, 1535. Blessed Thomas More followed him on the 6th of July. Henry Standish died three days later—July 9th—and was buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, in London.

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\* Letter of Erasmus, *pridie Calend.*, August, 1520, in "Calendar of State Papers Henry VIII." vol. iii. 929.

† "State Papers Henry VIII." vol. iii. 3639.

‡ Rymer, xiv. 12.

§ "Cal. State Papers Henry VIII.," vol. iv. part i. 3764.

|| Baines' "Lancashire," p. 160.

## II.—RECORDS.

The following subsidiary documents referring to this case may be of interest as showing how English bishops were made under Henry VIII., and in the period which immediately preceded the Reformation.

## A.

The See of St. Asaph became vacant about the beginning of April 1518. On the 26th of the same month, the King wrote to the Pope the following letter :

*To our Most Holy and Most Clement Lord the Pope.*

MOST BLESSED FATHER,

After most humble commendation and most devout kissing of the blessed feet.

When it was made known to Us, that the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph, in Our principality of Wales, was left vacant, and destitute of a Pastor by the death of the Rev. Father in Christ, Edmund, its last bishop, We thereupon thinking to make provision therefor, have considered that the charge and care of the said Church may be worthily entrusted to the Venerable and religious man, Henry Standysh of the Order of Conventual Friars Minor, professor of Sacred Theology, a famous preacher of the Word of God, and endeared to Us not less by his exquisite learning than by his modest, upright, and circumspect life, and finally by his integrity of morals.

Wherefore, We earnestly commend him to your Holiness, Whom We entreat as a special favour to Ourselves, to deign to appoint the said Henry to the said Church and constitute him thereto as its Bishop and its Pastor—which We trust will be for the honour and wellbeing of the aforesaid Church, as it will be unto Us exceedingly pleasing.

And may health and happiness be given to your Holiness, Whom may the Most High God preserve for long years to come.

From our Royal Palace at Woodstock, the 28th day of April, 1518.

Your Holiness's

Most devoted and most obedient Son, Henry, by God's grace, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland.

## B.

The King, according to custom, backed this letter up by another addressed to Cardinal Julian, who was Vice-Chancellor of the Sacred College, and Cardinal Protector for English affairs at the Roman Court.

This supplementary letter is as follows :

Henry, by God's grace, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland.

To our most dear friend, the Most Rev. Father in Christ, the Lord Julian by Divine Mercy, by the title of St. Laurence in Damaso, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Vice-Chancellor of the same, Legate of Bologna, Protector, &c., of Us, and of Our kingdom at the Court of Rome, greeting.

Having lately heard that the Bishopric of St. Asaph's in Our Principality of Wales has been vacated by the death of the most Rev. Father in Christ, Edmund, its late pastor, We have commended to our Most Holy Lord, the venerable and religious man, Henry Standysh, of the Order of Conventual Friars Minor, Professor of Sacred Theology, conspicuously adorned by eminence of learning, uprightness of character, and holiness of life, and earnestly entreat that He would deign to raise and promote the same to the aforesaid bishopric.

Wherefore, We also ask your Most Reverend Lordship to be good enough to put the matter forward in the usual way,\* and to see that the whole business may be carried through according to the tenor of Our letters. It will be, moreover, especially pleasing to Us, if out of regard to Us, you will extend your favour to the said venerable Father in the expedition of the Bulls.†

Fare ye well,

From Our palace at Woodstock,  
28th April, 1528.

HENRY.

### C.

The Cardinal Protector evidently bestirred himself, for in little more than a month he had passed the whole matter through Consistory and was able on the 8th of June to notify the King of its successful issue.‡

Humble Commendation to the Sacred Most Serene and Royal Majesty.

Seeing that lately there was a vacancy in the Church of St. Asaph, in Your Majesty's Principality of Wales, by the decease of Edmund, its late bishop, you petitioned that provision should be made in the person of the venerable and religious man, Henry.

His Holiness, moved both by your prayers, which ever count much with Him, and by the learning and virtue of the man, has willingly appointed him to the said Church as its Bishop and Pastor. In which affair I (as your Majesty directed) discharged the office of

\* "Referre"—i.e., to make the usual relation in Consistory, reporting to the Sacred College the vacancy and state of the church and the merits of the person commended.

† Both these letters are given in the MSS. Collection of the Abbate Marino, preserved at the British Museum, vol. xxvi. p. 525.

‡ This document is in the Record Office; 4220, vol. ii. part ii. "State Papers Henry VIII."

your relator and humble servant, as I shall always do as often as it may happen to me to transact any affair for the service or honour of Your Majesty, to Whom I humbly commend myself. Fare ye well.

From the Apostolic Palace Rome, 8th of June, 1518.

Your Serene Majesty's

humble servant,

JULIAN, Vice-Chancellor.

D.

The Bulls must have quickly followed the Cardinal's notification, for on July 11th Archbishop Warham consecrated Henry Standish at the manor of Otford. The entry in Warham's Register is in four parts.

1. There is given in full the profession of canonical reverence and obedience made by Henry Standish to the Archbishop, in which he promises to obey him "according to the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs."

2. This is followed by the usual Oath of Fidelity and Obedience which Henry Standish took to the Pope, "to be his helper and the defender of the Roman papacy against all men."

3. There is next in order the record of Consecration.

"On Sunday, viz., the 11th day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Five hundred and Eighteen, the said Most Reverend Lord and Father in Christ, the Lord William by Divine permission, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic See, in the chapel of his Manor of Otford situate within the immediate jurisdiction of his Church of Christ, of Canterbury, conferred the gift of Consecration on the said Reverend Father and lord Henry, the assistants being the Reverend Fathers and Lords, Robert of Chichester and John of Calipoli, by God's grace, bishops. There were also present the Venerable men, Masters Walter Stone, Chancellor of the said Most Reverend Father, and Thomas Welles and Clement Broton, professors of Sacred Theology, and Ingelram Bedell, Thomas Millyng, and John Ayluf, clerks, and William Potkyn, public notary, and many others."

4. Incorporated in the above, and continuous with it, is the record of the livery of the spiritualties to the new bishop.

The operative clause of the Archbishop's writ addressed to the Dean and Vicars-General is as follows.

"Seeing that Our Most Holy Father and Lord, the Lord Leo X., by Divine Providence Pope has provided our venerable brother the Lord Henry to the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph recently vacated by the death of the Lord Edmund, of good memory, late bishop of the said Church, and has appointed him to the said Church as its Bishop and Pastor,

We charge and command you, and each one of you, that you

fully and entirely deliver or cause to be delivered to the said lord Henry, or to his ministers or deputies all registers, documents concerning the spirituality of the said City and Diocese, now in your hands, reserving to us the Registers, Acts, and transactions done before or for you or any of you during the aforesaid vacancy, and which we desire and command to be integrally transmitted to us, and that you permit the same lord Henry and his officials and ministers in spirituals in the said City and Diocese to freely administer and to dispose of the same."\*

It was this livery of spirituals in 1518 which was made a count of the indictment against the Primate in 1532. Its whole tenor is entirely in keeping with the theory of jurisdiction which Warham states so clearly in the document, namely, that the writ of livery did not confer spiritual jurisdiction to a newly appointed bishop, in so much as he had already received it from the Pope in Consistory, and the Primate could not therefore lawfully withhold it. Such a writ could consequently be but an official notification and command to the Dean and Chapter (they would already have received the Papal Bulls to the same effect), to allow the new bishop the free exercise of the jurisdiction already possessed. We have thus a striking example of the harmoniously concurrent character of Papal and Primatial Jurisdiction.

J. M.

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\* Warham's Register, fol. *xxi*.



## Science Notices.

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**The Electric Machinery at Niagara.**—In a recent note in this REVIEW there was a description of the civil and hydraulic engineering works in operation at Niagara Falls, for the purpose of utilising this vast reservoir of power for the production and transmission of electric energy. At the time that this notice appeared the electric portion of the work had not been commenced, for the precise nature of the machinery requisite for such a prodigious undertaking had not been decided upon. Now, however, after exhaustive deliberation and widespread search for what might be fittest, the nature of the plant to be installed has been finally settled. Professor Forbes, the consulting engineer to the Cataract Construction Company, lately brought the conclusions of the Company before the Society of Electrical Engineers. The electric current will be transmitted by a two-phase alternating current at the very remarkably low frequency of twenty-five periods a second. This low frequency may be considered to be the chief novelty of the undertaking. Its adoption will enable a direct current motor to be used when it is required to utilise the electric energy as motive power. This is a decided advantage, as direct current motors have been made in larger quantities than alternating motors. When the frequency is low enough it is an easy matter to alter a direct current motor into a synchronising alternate motor by placing two rings on the commutator. These two rings are in electrical connection with the commutator, and there is a brush rubbing on each of these collecting rings. With such a low alternating current there is a fair choice of different motors. There is the synchronising motor, the series wound motor with laminated field and commutator, the multiphase motor, and several single-phase motors which Professor Forbes says have not yet been placed on the market because of the high frequency which has been prevalent. The lower frequency appears to be advantageous from a purely commercial view. It is true that lowering the frequency increases the size of the transformers, but the increased cost is not in proportion to the lowering in frequency, because a high induction can be used. To quote Professor Forbes: "Mr. Steinmetz has shown that the loss due to hysteresis varies as the induction raised to the power 1.6, and it is this loss that must be kept constant when we vary the frequency. I deduce from this law the fact that

in any transformer if the hysteresis loss is kept constant, its power of doing work varies in proportion to the frequency raised to the power 0.4 (but it is probably unwise to increase the induction so much as to saturate the iron). It follows that when we double the frequency we get out of the same transformer 132 units of work instead of 100. If the frequency were quadrupled we should get 174 units instead of 100." But at the same time it must be remembered that the cost of transformers is to some extent increased by lowering the frequency. If the frequency is reduced to one-half the cost is increased some 50 per cent. It becomes a question therefore whether the benefits to be derived from lowering the frequency in such proportions would compensate for the extra expenditure as indicated. Professor Forbes thinks that the gain is far in excess of this amount. He says that in passing from 42 periods to 21 periods, and varying the frequency in that proportion, we have a gain of at least 3 per cent. in the efficiency of the motors. Neglecting the increased value of the motors from this cause there is 3 per cent. more power at disposal, which at only 10 dollars per h.-p. per annum would amount to 30 cents per annum, or capitalised at 5 per cent. represents an increased value of 6 dollars per h.-p. of the plant, against which there is the increased cost of the transformers only 1.76 dollars.

Professor Forbes thinks that the most obvious advantage of low frequency is the improved efficiency of motors. This fact he finds to be not only in his own experience but in that of others. With synchronising motors it has been a thoroughly established fact that the performance is very much improved by using low frequencies. Actual practice in electrical engineering has shown that the use of high frequencies tends to produce loss of power on the line and the destruction of the insulation.

Alternating currents at low frequencies cannot be said to be well adapted for electric lighting, whether the lamp used is of the arc or incandescent type. Therefore, in the case of the Niagara installation, it will be necessary to use the alternating current to work motors that will drive the lighting machines. This may, perhaps, seem to be a roundabout way of doing things, but it must be borne in mind that the main object of the Niagara works is not to illuminate cities, but to produce and transmit the electric current for a variety of purposes in the most economical manner possible. Concerning the frequency that is requisite to prevent arc and incandescent lamps from flickering, Professor Forbes has made several conclusive experiments. A 16 candle-power 50 volt incandescent lamp shows a flickering up to 25 periods a second at its normal brightness, but if

pushed to an excess of incandescence, up to 27 or 28 periods. In the case of arc lamps at  $37\frac{1}{2}$  periods there was pronounced flickering. At 40 periods it was still bad. At 41.7 periods there was just enough flickering to be objectionable. At 45 periods it was just possible to notice it on a printed page held close to the lamp. At 50 periods the flickering was hardly noticeable.

Concerning the pressure at which the electric current will be transmitted, Professor Forbes regrets that it has been found impracticable to transmit it for near purposes at a higher voltage than 2000 volts. This is the voltage that the first three dynamos have been designed to give. For the distant work the voltage will be raised by step-up transformers. The reason why the Company have had to be content with the low voltage and consequent high cost of the conductor is that American manufacturers have never supplied alternating dynamos at a higher voltage than 2000 volts, and are not practically acquainted with the high pressures which have been successfully handled in Europe. Most of the manufacturers have in fact positively declined to go above 2500 volts.

The dynamo machines have been manufactured by an American Company—viz., the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company. The design of the machines did not, however, emanate from the Company, since the Cataract Construction Company made their own specification as to what was required, and submitted it to the American manufacturers for tender. The machines are being built in units of 5000 h.-p. The revolving field of the generator is being constructed with inwardly projecting poles, and with revolving horizontal plane being mounted upon the vertical shaft of the turbine. Professor Forbes estimates that the efficiency of the dynamo will come out very high in dealing with the large units of 5000 h.-p.

There can be little doubt that the efficiency, electrical and mechanical, of our dynamos, may reach at least 98 per cent. Taking off  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for losses on the line, we would have  $94\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. delivered electrically at Buffalo if no transformers were required to raise the electric pressure to the full 20,000 volts. In cases at Buffalo, where the power consumed is very large, the motor can be constructed on the same principles as the dynamo; and if in this case it be ever possible to work at the full pressure without a transformer, it is obvious that the total efficiency of the system—that is, the power delivered by the motor to the shaft of the machinery, divided by the power delivered by the shaft of the turbines to the dynamo—will be certainly over 90 per cent.

Amongst the immediate uses to which the Niagara energy will be applied, is the supply of the continuous electric current at 150 volts for the production of aluminium. One of the first kinds of mills to receive water power will be wood pulp mills. This type of mill uses

many thousands of horse-power and works continuously day and night. They do not require to be ever reversed or stopped. Professor Forbes considers that this is an important class of work for the Company, since the current can be supplied to such mills by synchronising alternators, the efficiency of which is very high. But perhaps the most interesting of the immediate applications of the power will be its transmission to Buffalo for lighting that city. There the motors that will receive the alternating currents will oust out the steam-engines that have been hitherto used to drive the lighting machines.

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**Sugar as a Food.**—Dr. Vaughan Harley has recently been investigating the importance of sugar as a food for promoting muscular work. By means of the ergograph he is able to estimate the amount of work done under various conditions by the middle finger of each hand, which is made to lift weights of 3 to 4 kilogrammes. The total height to which the weight is lifted is multiplied by the weight used, and this expresses in kilogramme metres the actual work done.

Dr. Harley's first experiment was to discover the effect of sugar on muscular work when taken alone. During a twenty-four hours' fast, on one day water alone was drunk; on another, 500 grammes of sugar was taken in an equal quantity of water. It was found that the sugar both prolonged the time before fatigue occurred and caused an increase of 61 to 76 per cent. in the muscular work done; 200 grammes of sugar was added to a small meal and the total amount of work done afterwards was increased from 6 to 39 per cent. Then 250 grammes was added to a large mixed meal, when it was found not only to increase the amount of work done from 8 to 16 per cent., but to increase the resistance against fatigue.

Lastly, 250 grammes of sugar was added to the meals of a full diet day, when the work done during eight hours was increased 22 to 36 per cent. These investigations would seem to show that the appetite of children for sugar, whether pure or in confections, is a healthy instinct.

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**The late Professor Hertz.**—In the short notice of the scientific work of Professor Tyndall which appeared in the last number of this REVIEW, reference was made to Professor Hertz's discoveries in electro-magnetic radiation. Since that notice was published death has cut short the scientific work of that distinguished physicist at the early age of thirty-six. His career has been brief, but in the

comparatively short space of life that has been allotted him he has lived sufficiently deep to secure for him a place amongst those greater discoverers who stand out in relief as epoch-makers. Professor Heinrich R. Hertz studied as an engineer up to the age of twenty-one. He took his degree at Berlin, after which he became assistant to Professor von Helmholtz. In 1879, the Berlin Academy of Sciences proposed a problem to establish experimentally a relation between electro-magnetic forces and the dielectric polarisation of insulators. Professor Helmholtz happened to call the attention of his assistant to this problem. This incident first directed his experimental work to electric oscillations, which research ultimately led to the brilliant discoveries in electro-magnetic radiation which had secured for him lasting fame.

In 1885 he was appointed professor at the Technical College of Carlsruhe, and in 1889 he succeeded Clausius as Professor of Physics at the University of Bonn. The British nation may be congratulated in being the first to recognise the real importance of Professor Hertz's work. There happened to be two scientists, Professor G. F. Fitzgerald and Dr. O. J. Lodge, who had worked in a similar direction to the German investigator, though it had not fallen to their lot to solve the problem of detecting the electric waves. When, however, Professor Hertz discovered and applied the detector, though these scientists knew that the German investigator had reached the goal before them, they did not grudge to give the honour where it was due, and used their scientific influence to publish his discoveries far and wide.

In 1890 the Royal Society conferred upon him the Rumford Medal, and he came over to England to receive it. It is satisfactory for English readers who may wish to appreciate the researches of Dr. Hertz in electro-magnetic radiation to know that his twelve masterly papers on the subject have been translated into English and published in a book entitled "Electric Waves," a preface to which has been written by Lord Kelvin. Just before his death, Professor Hertz completed the manuscript of a work entitled "The Principles of Mechanics." This will shortly be published. Amongst the other scientific works of Professor Hertz were his experiments on the time of contact of elastic bodies of certain shape before they rebounded, and a discovery of his concerning the curious effect of ultra-violet light in promoting electrical discharge.

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**Smokeless Combustion.**—In the Journal of the Society of Arts, mention is made of some experiments that have been tried at Berlin

to secure smokeless combustion, by burning the coal in a finely divided state. The powdered coal is introduced into a pear-shaped combustion chamber, which is lined with fire-brick, and is fitted with an induction apparatus such as those used in petroleum-fired furnaces. The coal dust is drawn along by a jet of steam or compressed air. The combustion chamber has two apertures—one in the centre line of the boiler to correspond with the usual fire-hole door, while the other serves for the introduction of the coal dust through a pipe, so placed that the dust is well distributed over the chamber. The finely divided coal is ignited by any source of heat, and when once ignited, the combustion goes on intensely and regularly under the action of the air-current, which is regulated in accordance with the quantity of dust necessary to produce the degree of heat for the requisite amount of steam.

As each particle of coal comes into intimate contact with the oxygen necessary for its combustion, the combustion is almost perfect, and there is no perceptible smoke. The air introduced into the combustion chamber can also be previously heated by the waste gases, so as to form a regenerative system to produce great heat for metallurgical purposes. The North German Lloyd and the Hamburg-American Packet Companies have already been employing the system, which may possibly have a future before it.

## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**The Ainus of Saghalien.**—Mr. Douglas Howard\* owed his unique experience of a visit to the Ainus of Saghalien to the chance which made him acquainted with the Governor of that island, which, as it is now the penal colony into which the more dangerous of the Siberian exiles are drafted, is inaccessible to the outer world except by favour of the authorities. The Ainu settlements are, moreover, buried in the depths of the interior forests, with only a few fishing stations on the coast, so that they have entirely escaped modern investigation, and are only mentioned by two writers some three hundred years ago. Even more completely secluded from contact with the external world than their brethren in Japan, they preserve in a still higher degree the primitive simplicity which has remained unchanged for thousands of years. The traveller's journey to their homes was made in the company of a convict who acted as guide and driver of the springless vehicle called in America a buck-board, which has a single long plank placed over the wheels as the foundation of the seats. The road or track, after skirting the beach for a time, plunged into the forest where horses and men are alike assailed by insect foes so formidable as to make it impossible for either the one or the other to live in certain zones at some seasons of the year. Two days' travelling through rock, heath, and jungle brought the visitor to the first Ainu settlement, where the old chief received him with all courtesy and invited him to share the hospitality of his hut. This offer he promptly accepted, and dismissing his guide remained entirely alone with the Ainu villagers, sharing their huts and fishing excursions, and living in all respects, save that of his food which he cooked for himself, as one of them. The village consisted of twelve family huts and about half that number of store-houses raised on piles. The dwellings are mere shelters thatched with grass, and with walls of the same about five feet high. When it is remembered that during the winter, which lasts nine months of the year, the temperature is often forty degrees below zero of Fahrenheit, it would be incomprehensible how they could live through it were it not for the covering of snow which buries and protects them. Their

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\* "With Trans-Siberian Savages." By Douglas Howard. London : Longmans. 1893.

clothing consists of birch-bark, various kinds of fur patched together, and fish-skin, of which complete suits are made. Their food comprises game, caught in traps or shot with poisoned arrows, roots, herbs, and fish. Their usual dish is made by boiling in a common cauldron salt fish, pounded roots, and any available meat, old dog, venison, or bear, into a stew renewed from day to day without any intervening cleansing out of its receptacle. The poison of their arrows is carefully compounded of aconite or monk's-hood, boiled down with powdered spiders and the gall of the fox. The meat of the animals struck by the arrows is only eatable if killed immediately after receiving the wound, as it would be poisonous if the system had time to become infected with the decoction.

The visible symbols of the Ainu worship are peeled willow wands with stripped bark hanging down in ribands. These are called Inaos, and are the recipients of various offerings, including the first-fruits of all game and food. The minor deities represented by them are, however, but intermediaries with the Supreme Being, adored as the ruler and creator of the other gods as well as of the heavens and the earth. They believe also in demons as the sources of all calamity, but do not seek to propitiate them. The immortality of the soul and a future state of rewards and punishments is part of their creed, which is altogether of a much more elevated kind than might be expected from their low order in the scale of humanity. The women are excluded from all religious rites, and denied the hope of a future state, although the immortality of the souls of animals is believed in.

The physical peculiarity which differentiates the Ainus from all other savages, is the growth of hair, common to both sexes, but differing much in quantity in different individuals, which covers their whole bodies. The scalp hair and beard, too, are very luxuriant, the latter sometimes beginning immediately under the eyes. They are described by this peculiarity in Chinese records of the date of 200 B.C., and were then settled, as now, in the Japanese archipelago; but whence they reached it remains an impenetrable mystery, save that they are conjectured to be of Aryan descent. They are allowed by the Russians to live in perfect independence, and all the game of the country both large and small is strictly preserved to them, while they are protected from further degradation by the prohibition of the sale to them of any form of ardent spirits.

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**Ainu Dogs.**—Their dogs are of about the size of a foxhound, and of wolfish type, with hair generally of a reddish hue. They are principally used for sledge-drawing in winter, and are always started



fasting, as they go to sleep the moment they are fed and cannot be roused. They are also trained to assist in the chase, and even in fishing, their share in which is described by the author as follows :

At a concerted signal the dogs, about thirty in number, were started from their respective points and swam straight out seaward in single file in two columns. At a wild sharp cry from all the Ainus the right column wheeled left, and the left column wheeled right, until the head of each column met. Then at another signal, all of them swam in line towards the shore, advancing more and more in crescent formation. As they neared the shore increasing numbers of fish appeared in the shallow water, frightened forward by the splashing of the advancing column of dogs, which, as soon as their feet touched bottom, pounced upon the fishes as quick as a flash. The dogs promptly brought the fish which they had seized to their masters, who cut off their heads and gave each dog the head which belonged to him as his share of the catch. The dog which caught nothing, got nothing. I believe this dog drill of the Ainus is entirely unique. It is all the more remarkable, too, as the dogs, many of which have been captured from the forest, are still half wild.

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**The Ainus of Yezo.**—Mr. A. H. Savage Landor's study\* of the Ainus of the Japanese Island of Yezo is based on still more intimate acquaintance with those people, acquired in a journey of 4200 miles round its coast without companion or attendant, and performed for the most part on a native pony and rough pack-saddle. His conclusions as to their religious ideas are directly opposite to those of other travellers, and he places this strange remnant of a failing race even lower in the human scale than previous observers. The Ainu have, according to him, an extremely limited range of thought and perception, rendering them incapable of improvement from contact with the outer world. Those who are removed from their native filthy and wretched surroundings have to be restored to them to save their lives, as they pine in the unaccustomed atmosphere of cleanliness and comfort. Even in their own country they are rapidly dying out, as tribal intermarriage between closely related descendants of a common stock causes the increasing transmission of hereditary disease, while the waste of infant life is great, owing to want of care and treatment. The men, who have generally two wives, with a third if possible, are quite indifferent to their offspring, and the women too ignorant and callous to give them proper attention. The Ainu half-castes, on the other hand, do not survive the second generation, as the children of mixed marriages (with Japanese) rarely live more than a few years, and are mostly diseased, malformed, or idiotic, while insanity too is common amongst them. Although the senses

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\* "Alone with the Hairy Ainu." By A. H. Savage Landor. London: Murray. 1893.

of sight and hearing are acute in the Ainus, as in all savages, they have those of touch and taste imperfectly developed, as their hands are insensitive, and their palates incapable of discriminating between putrid and sound dried fish. Certain germs of artistic feeling are discoverable amongst them in the elaborate embroideries with which some of their garments are decorated, as well as in the rude chant with which they accompany most of their avocations, and in which they narrate any thrilling or tragical incidents which have befallen them. They weave a sort of cloth out of the fibre of elm bark, and sew skins together so as to form warm coverings for the winter. In summer they are indifferent as to clothing, and mostly dispense with it altogether. Their skins exhale a very strong odour like that of monkeys, and the smell of an Ainu village can be perceived afar off. Their passion for strong drink and the absence of any restriction on its sale in the Japanese dominions will hurry their extinction.

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**The Pit Dwellers of the Japanese Archipelago.**—According to Ainu tradition, and the evidence of some scanty remains, the present aborigines were preceded in pre-historic times by a race of smaller men whom they term dwarfs, living in excavated dwellings covered with semi-cylindrical roofs. The remains of their villages can still be traced by these pits as well as by fragments of arrow-heads, pottery, and stone implements found near them, the presence of these two last classes of objects indicating a higher degree of civilisation than that reached by their successors. There seems some probability in Mr. Landor's conjecture that this race were akin to the Eskimo, to whom the present Aleutian islanders bear a strong resemblance, and that they occupied these islands as well as the Kuriles with part of Kamschatka and the north-east of Yezo. The occurrence of Ainu names throughout Japan shows that the present aborigines had at former periods a much larger range than their existing descendants.

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**The Pamirs and their Inhabitants.\***—Scanty as is the population of the Pamirs, rumour seems to be there no less active and mendacious than in places provided with a daily press. Lord Dunmore's shooting expedition in the autumn of 1892 was thus magnified by native report into a British force of occupation, and the construction of his permanent camp with a bakehouse attached, construed as the erection of a fort by the invaders. Hence two

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\* "The Pamirs." By the Earl of Dunmore. London : Murray. 1893.

Chinese mandarins arrived in succession from Kashgar, fifteen marches off, to inspect and report upon the doings of the perfidious English. The conquest by these latter of Hunza and Nagar, nominal tributaries of the Celestial Empire, had given great umbrage to its representatives, particularly as two of the latter, sent to take part officially in the installation of the new Mir of Hunza, were compelled to appear there as simple guests. They have also a fear lest the British should annex some fragment of territory claimed by Hunza north of the Karakorum, and in order to avert this catastrophe resorted to the device of burying a boundary stone, antedated by some centuries, at the top of the Mintaka Pass leading into the Hunza country, in order to disinter it when the point should be raised, as a proof of their priority in possession. Meantime the Russians from Turkestan have raided far into their undoubted territory, and destroyed Aktash, one of their principal forts, on the Tagh-dum-Bash Pamir, but have not remained in permanent occupation of it. The light-coloured cliff from which it derives its name of the "White Rock," stands out boldly into a great plain like a headland into the sea, while behind it rise in successive stages the snowy peaks of the Great and Little Pamir ranges. The fort, situated on a spur of sand and gravel, was a scene of desolation, as the Russians had not left a stone upon a stone, while the nomad Kirghiz, who had occupied an encampment close by, had fled to the hills. These people, the only inhabitants of these desolate plateaus, hoped earnestly for a British protectorate, the pacification of Hunza and Nagar having inspired a feeling of trust and confidence far beyond their frontiers. The travellers invariably received a hospitable welcome from these tent-dwellers, and the author has nothing but good to tell of them. They breed horses, camels, yaks, sheep, and goats, occasionally sowing a little barley, but depending mainly on their flocks for sustenance, and moving their encampments every two or three months in search of fresh pasture. They manufacture thick felt blankets called *numdahs*, which they exchange for cotton, cloths, prints, boots, and kettles. They are described as a simple peaceable folk, who neither raid nor rob, and Lord Dunmore never saw a case of drunkenness among them. Their spirit is the koumiss, now so much recommended as a fashionable cure, made from mare's milk fermented with an acid. Their camps are governed by Begs assisted by elders, called *aksakals*, or "whitebeards," and the very large flock-owners, the Lots and Abrahams of the steppe, are called Bais. The Kirghiz, though Mohammedans, are without prejudice against those of other creeds, and their women, who go unveiled and enjoy perfect freedom, are treated with great deference.

**Climate and Zoology of the "Roof of the World."**—The Pamirs consist of a group of elevated plains, generally reckoned as five in number, lying between the Hindu Khush, the Alai, and the Tian Shan mountains, at an elevation of from 12,000 to 13,000 ft. and separated by passes from 14,000 to nearly 17,000 ft. high. The Great, the Little, and the Alichur Pamirs are mainly within Afghan territory, while the Rangkol and Tagh-dumbash Pamirs are respectively Russian and Chinese; but boundaries are very ill-defined in this platform of Tartary, and the Russians have been encroaching on their neighbours, slaughtering an Afghan outpost on its own territory, and demolishing the Chinese frontier fort of Aktash. The sole value of the Pamir steppe is its strategic position looking down the throat of the passes through the Hindu Khush leading to the Kanjuti valley, the watch-tower of Further India since the Hunza-Nagur campaign carried the British flag right up to the glaciers of the Indian Caucasus. The climate is almost prohibitory of European occupation, as Lord Dunmore declares the cold to have been more insufferable than any experienced by him at nominally lower temperatures in Canada and Spitzbergen. His thermometer reached its lowest limit at twenty degrees below zero of Fahrenheit in the month of November, and the ink froze solid as he was writing in his tent. The heat of the sun in summer is equally intolerable, as the rarefaction of the air diminishes its tempering power. The game which attracted him to this desolate region was the *ovis poli*, so called from its sheep-like head with long spirally twisted horns, though its skin is like that of a deer, and its height over twelve hands—that of a pony. It is extraordinarily wary, descending from the topmost glaciers only to its habitual feeding grounds during the day, and sniffing the air suspiciously in order to scent a possible enemy from afar. The author, although he had come at the wrong season of the year, the spring being the only time when they descend to accessible places, succeeded in shooting four out of six shots obtained, after spending many nights out from camp at excruciating temperatures. There were rival hunters in the field, too, in the shape of packs of wild dogs, who chased the mountain sheep and other game, like hounds in full cry, and scared all the wild creatures from their haunts. As seen through the telescope they appeared to be dark-coloured on the back, and lighter below, with long bushy tails curled over their backs. Another singular form of chase witnessed was a hare hunt by a pair of eagles. The hares, which abounded on the hills, were followed by the birds overhead across open ground, but cleverly managed to evade their aerial pursuers, stopping dead short and running back-

wards at the instant that the eagle swooped, and so baulking his attack. There are many lakes on the Pamirs, whose waters are covered with wildfowl, both geese and ducks, while the woods of Kashgar at a lower level swarm with jungle fowl, partridges, turkeys, and pheasants. Lord Dunmore describes as follows a Khirghiz hawking party joined by him in order to see the sport:

We were a party of seven, and started off to catch hares and partridges on a large plain; the hawker, a young Beg, riding on the right on a piece of elevated ground, while we other six, scattered over the plain on his right, and acted as beaters. I rode next to the young Beg who carried the bird, a fine specimen of the peregrine falcon, and we saw nothing in the shape of game until coming suddenly round the bend of the river, I put up four wild duck, and thought of course the Beg would fly his hawk at them, but no such thing; he waited until a covey of partridges rose between me and the next man on my right, and then let the bird go, but the small birds were too quick for the big one, of whom they had a good start, and he failed to catch them up. Then came rather an amusing scene—namely, the Beg trying to regain possession of his falcon, which being only a borrowed bird, did not know the man who was hunting him. It took some time, but by dint of great perseverance and a little raw meat, he eventually got the bird on his wrist again, and we started off in pursuit of more game. We rode for some time without seeing any hares, and the Beg at last gave it up as a bad job, as he had to return to Yegin, and we parted, he having prattled away to me all the morning in the Khirghiz tongue, and I nodding my head at intervals without having understood a single word of his interesting conversation.

A subsequent hawking party was more successful, and the horsemen followed the birds at full gallop, covering some fifteen miles in the chase. Lord Dunmore says the natives cannot explain the meaning of “Pamir,” but it may be a corrupt abbreviation of “Bam-i-dunya,” Roof of the World.

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**Folk Songs of Ladak and Baltistan.**—An interesting paper on the folk songs of these Tibetan countries was contributed to the Congress of Orientalists by Father Hanlon, of St. Joseph's Missionary Society, Mill Hill. His residence at Leh enabled him to collect them from natives of distant villages who pay occasional visits to that city, but none could be recited without music, the airs having to be played over to call them to mind. A collection of 148 ballads has thus been made by him, some of which are ancient and some modern, forming a very curious addition to our knowledge of the thoughts and feelings of this remote population. They are adapted for recital on all occasions, at marriage festivals, family gatherings, religious ceremonies, and meetings for polo and other games. There

are songs in praise of kings and queens, of lamas and of private individuals, of villages, of monasteries, of mountains, and a whole series for the drinking of chang or barley beer.

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**An Englishman in Afghanistan.**—Mr. Salter Pyne, in an interview with a representative of Reuter's Agency, gave an interesting account of the work he has been engaged on for the Ameer during the last nine years. The sight of a portable engine with a dynamo and flash light attached, at the durbar at Rawul Pindi, fired the Afghan ruler with a desire to introduce machinery into Kabul, and with that view he invited to his capital the Frenchman in charge of the apparatus. The latter, however, after a short visit proved faithless, and when sent on a mission to India, took the opportunity of escaping from the six Afghan officials escorting him and returning to Europe. The Indian Government were at first reluctant to comply with his Highness's desire of importing an Englishman to take his place, from the dangerous character of the mission, but were at last prevailed on to accede to his request for the services of Mr. Pyne.

In the result [he says] I was allowed to go to Afghanistan, and on March 12th, 1885, I left Peshawur for Kabul, placing myself entirely in the hands of a squadron of Afghan cavalry, who had been sent to act as my escort. I soon found that the soldiers considered it an insult that they had been told off to accompany a "Feringhee." My first night on Afghan soil was spent at Dacca, at the Afghan end of the Khyber Pass, and it was one I shall not easily forget. The Shinwaris, who were not so subjugated as they are now, burst into the village after nightfall and plundered it, and some fighting occurred in the dead of night in which several men were killed and wounded. As a measure of precaution I was placed by my escort in a small chamber built in the wall surrounding the town, access to which was gained by a ladder and a trapdoor. When I was once in the room, the ladder was removed and I was a prisoner with fighting going on all round. My feelings in this position may be better imagined than described, and I resolved to turn back on the following morning. I was told, however, that that was impossible, as the Ameer's order was that I was to be taken on to the capital; that a receipt had been given for me by the Afghan officials, and, moreover, that the Khyber was closed. There was therefore nothing for it but to proceed. We resumed our journey, and reached Busowal. On arriving, tired out and very much troubled in mind, I went to sleep. On waking next morning, the first object that met my eyes was a fakir, bound hand and foot, lying in the courtyard. I inquired what he had been doing, and was calmly told that he had made an attempt to murder me during the night. He had been caught within a couple of paces of my bedside with a long Afghan knife with which he would have despatched me had he not been caught in the very act.

Despite a second attempt to murder him, he eventually reached Kabul in safety, where many strange stories were told him of the possible reception he might meet with from his princely employer.

To his agreeable surprise it was a most cordial one. The Ameer, after greeting him with a warm shake-hands, had a chair placed for him opposite his own, and continued in conversation with him for eight hours.

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**Creation of Foundries and Factories in Kabul.**—Unlimited command of men and money enabled him to make rapid progress with the necessary buildings, and at the end of three months the Ameer was so delighted with the result, that he declared his visit of inspection to have been the happiest day of his life. A more difficult task was the transport of the heavy plant and machinery which Mr. Pyne was commissioned to purchase in Europe, spending eighteen months in the completion of the order. A like interval was consumed in the conveyance of the goods to Kabul, as the journey thither from Peshawur over mountain roads presented enormous difficulties. Sawing and planing were the first operations undertaken, after which a mint was set up and many thousands of rupees coined, though the cutting of the dies by untrained Afghan workmen required considerable expenditure of skill and patience to render it successful. The manufacture of arms and ammunition was the next desideratum of the people, and after similar difficulties in training workmen, machinery was established, now capable of turning out 7,000 Martini and 9,000 Snider cartridges a day. A gun and rifle factory was then set up, by which some fifty muzzle- and breech-loading field-guns were turned out last year. The manufacture of soap, candles, and boots, the latter with a maximum output of 500 pairs a day, was then undertaken, with a distillery for brandy, produced at the rate of 800 bottles a day. Plant for rolling cartridge metal has been manufactured in the Kabul foundries, where castings of six tons have been made. Gunpowder, shells, fuses, swords, carriages, furniture and jewellery are among the articles which can now be produced in the capital of the Ameer. He has further extended his industrial enterprises by the establishment of workshops in Jellalabad, where valuable timber, brought down from the forests of Acmar by the Kunar and Kabul rivers, will be worked up and exported to India. The Ameer's delight on his last visit to the workshops was so great that he could not resist filing metal and turning wood with his own royal hands.

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## Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

### ITALY.

**Civiltà Catholica.** *Decembre 1893—Marzo 1894.*—There are among all civilised nations certain classes who are recognised as non-belligerents in time of war. We mean women and children. Reviewing at a glance the chivalry of the Italian mind as represented in her history and literature, we should hardly expect to find in Italy any body of ladies against whom harsh laws would be enforced. That generous sentiment of honour and noble feeling which runs through Dante and gives us Beatrice, and Petrarch and gives us Laura, the refined feeling which springs from the Madonna, ought to be a barrier of protection against attacks on the lives and freedom of women. This, on the mere level of a gentleman of the world. But an additional surprise is felt when this suffering of women in a chivalrous land falls upon nuns—ladies who aim at a nobler type of womanhood on earth than the daughters of Eve ever reached before. Women, sanctified by pledging their loyalty to God, are on the verge of starvation all over the fertile land of Italy, being robbed by a Government swarming with “Cavalieri”!

This sad fact is revealed by the *Civiltà* (Dec. 1893), which is the means of gathering in alms from all quarters to help the nuns all over Italy who are despoiled of their own. The “conversion” of ecclesiastical property in Italy is one of the gravest features of the unification of the Peninsula. When the convents were despoiled a miserable pittance was given by way of pension to maintain the nuns. The destitution of the nuns is so acute and widespread that one agency alone, the *Civiltà*, was the means of giving help to about four hundred convents. And the letters of the superioresses of these institutions reveal a state of things that brings the tinge of shame and indignation to our cheeks. One reverend mother writes from a convent in Umbria: “I thank your reverence for the help you so sent me. I was waiting for it from the hand of God, as a child waits for a piece of bread. I had only a few centimes”—it takes ten of them to make a penny—“we watch out for the day when your assistance comes, as we are in extreme want.” Another writes, and among other items we read that the Government has allowed her convent one hundred lire a month out of their property, to a community of five. That is twenty lire per head for thirty



days, or about six pence per diem. How is a reverend mother to keep and dress, and supply the necessities of a convent on such a pittance?—but then they are starving. And these are, many of them, ladies of gentle birth, advanced in years, as no novices could be received in many convents since the financial troubles of Italy began.

To readers who have drunk at the Pierian spring of Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence—a subject of antiquarian interest in these lands—we recommend a series of articles on the “Patriarchate of Venice” (quaderni 1041, 1041, and 1045, January 6, 1894). In June, 1893, the Pope appointed a patriarch to Venice. The Italian Government refused to recognise him, and not only that, but refused the *exequatur* to all the Italian bishops preconised in subsequent consistories. This was the cause of the tears. The Italian crown claims a *jus patronatus* over the Church of Venice, which the Pope does not admit. Hence history and canon law were ransacked by both sides. The defence of the claim of the Italian crown was entrusted to Rinaldi, a barrister of considerable ingenuity, with a slight taste of the Vicar of Bray. It is refreshing to find the Italian Government developing scruples in the matter of canon law; but then we remember that the quoting of Scripture is not confined to honest men. Rinaldi is prolific and expeditious. Last October he published 249 pages of matter, written in forty days, amid political and professional distraction. This contained so much bad history, bad logic, and bad law, that it afforded abundant materials to the Catholic press all over the country. As a result a vast body of literature has grown up around the matter in dispute. The press of the Venetian Patriarchate published a booklet on the matter. Reviews, such as the *Civiltà*, published articles in rapid succession; from north to south newspapers took sides, and finally Rinaldi himself has published his “Final Answer” of 150 pages, the keynote of which is *quod scripsi, scripsi*.

The question is—Has the crown of Italy a *jus patronatus* over the Church of Venice? The *jus patronatus* is the right of presentation to benefices, and can be acquired by founding a church. Clement III. (Nobis 25th Decretal) says: “Si quis ecclesiam cum assensu diœcesani episcopi construxit ex eo jus patronatus acquirit.” This very quotation is a point in dispute. Rinaldi holds that it means the right of presentation to a cathedral church—i.e., of nominating a bishop, provided a cathedral is built. This the *Civiltà* denies, and holds that a papal concession is further required. The King of Italy is lineal successor to the royal privileges of the Doges of Venice and the House of Austria, and on the strength of the claim

of the Doges and the Hapsburgs the Italian Government make their claim. First of all, did the Doges of Venice found the church and endow it? or its predecessor, the patriarchal church of Grado? Was it a papal concession? Did its enjoyment depend on the good behaviour of Venice? Was it renewed to the House of Hapsburg in 1817? Was such renewal necessary? And, if so, has it been renewed to the House of Savoy? The answers to these questions settle conclusively the fact that the King of Italy has no claim whatever to the patronage of the church of Venice. The question and its treatment by the *Civiltà* recalls the days when we assisted at those brilliant lectures on the "*Institutiones Publicæ*," and we fancy we can detect the keen mind and the same scientific analysis and finish which were such a notable trait of the work done in the Jesuit University. *O si sic omnes!*

Some miscellaneous articles are a defence of Nicholas III., an Orsini, Pope 1277-1280. "Liberalism and Anarchy," "The Migrations of the Hittites," continues, and we have a learned overhauling and examination of Strabo, Ptolemy, Dion, Cassius, Diodorus, Siculus, Herodotus, Plutarch, Apollo, Rhodensis, Stephen of Byzantium, Pausanias, and all the ancients, with de Morgan, Sayce, Rawlinson, de Harlez, Schroeder, &c., among the moderns. The serial—beginning quaderno 1045—is titled "Agnes and Susanna; or, the Last Years of the Persecution of Diocletian," while the Archæology and Bibliography are particularly full and interesting.

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## GERMANY.

1. **Katholik.**—The January issue opens with a review of the new edition of the "Bangor Antiphonary," as preserved in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, and edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by Rev. F. E. Warren. Richard Heinrichs contributes an elaborate treatise on the estates of the Church in Italy during the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great. To F. Perger, S.J., we are indebted for a review of "*Andreae Sononis Filii, Archiepiscopi Sundensis Hexameron libri duodecim.*" The first editor of this precious manuscript is Professor Gertz in Copenhagen, who published it with a learned introduction and commentary in 1892. Archbishop Suneson, Chancellor of Denmark, who died in 1228, owed his theological education to the University of Paris. He wrote a compendium of theology in 8040 hexameters. It embraces the whole range of theology, except the doctrine on sacraments, and breathes throughout the spirit of the schoolmen. Abbé Paulus, of Munich, gives a biography of an almost forgotten Franciscan, John Winzler, who, in the stormy period

of the Reformation, both as a preacher and writer, did his utmost to defend the Church, and to check the revolution initiated by Luther. Any one who desires to obtain an insight into the present state of the theological studies in the Austrian Empire, will do well to read the article in the January issue, which exhaustively deals with a recent work on the "Theological Studies and Establishments of the Catholic Church in Austria" (Vienna, 1893). We may give credit to the Austrians for their unwearied exertions in the improvement of their studies. But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that the baneful influence of Josephism is still prevailing in some quarters, and the Church is sighing for such a measure of liberty as only can enable her to fittingly discharge her divine mission. We may further mention a critical notice on an excellent text-book of philosophy published by Dr. Grimmich, an Austrian Benedictine of the Abbey of Kremsmünster. In the February issue are to be found articles on the Holy Father's Encyclical "Providentissimus Deus," on the Study of the Bible, and the "Septililium" of Blessed Dorothea of Montan. The Saint lived in a small house attached to the cathedral of Marienwerder (Prussia), became favoured with extraordinary graces and revelations, and died June 24, A.D. 1394. Her visions and her spiritual instruction were committed to writing by her confessor, Master John of Marienwerder, Professor of Theology in the University of Prague, and Canon of Marienwerder. The first editor was Canon Hipler of Frauerburg, who brought out the manuscript in the "Analecta Bollandiana" (vols. ii.-iv., A.D. 1883).

The Septililium is a spiritual treatise on the Grades of Charity, the Mission of the Holy Ghost, the Holy Eucharist, Contemplation, Perfection of Christian life, and Confession. B. Dorothea may be held to rank amongst the best ascetical German writers of the Middle Ages. Professor Sägmüller, University of Tübingen, contributes an article on the first beginnings of the *ius exclusivæ* in the election of the Roman Pontiff. He dates it from the reign of Charles V.

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**2. Historisch-politische Blätter.**—The January issue has an essay on the great strike of the English miners, which has recently been brought to an amicable settlement. Another article deals with Dr. O. Klopp's recent work on the "Thirty Years' War." The second volume is reviewed. It starts from the defeat of James I.'s son-in-law, Elector Frederick, and traces the history of the next ten years, dwelling mainly upon those events which led to the campaign of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany. The negotiations of the treaties of James I. of England with Christian IV. of Denmark for waging war

on Germany, are fully treated by Dr. Klopp who, as usual, bases his work on historical materials which are well up to date. The February issue contains articles on Wolfgang Seidl, a famous Benedictine monk in the sixteenth century, and F. Theodosius, a Swiss Capuchin, who, by his labours in the cause of social reforms, has earned the title of "the greatest Swiss philanthropist in our century." Professor Wattenbach has recently brought out the sixth edition of his "Sources of Mediæval History," which is highly praised.

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3. *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*.—In the January issue we find articles from F. H. Pesch on State Socialism, the most recent danger which is threatening us in Germany. F. von Hammerstein writes on the German system of Higher Schools. F. Beissel comments on the Mosaics in Roman churches. An article, amply repaying perusal, is devoted by F. Baumgartner to the position occupied by Mr. Aubrey de Vere in English literature. F. Knabenbauer, the well-known editor of the "*Cursus S. Scripturæ*," has a substantial essay on the Papal Encyclical "*Providentissimus Deus*," which he aptly illustrates by the disastrous results of Higher Criticism in German Protestant theology.

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4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck).—F. Rinz writes upon the conception of God as shown in the theological works of the late Dr. Albrecht Ritsch, Professor of Protestant Theology in Göttingen. The conclusion at which he arrives is: "An idea of God which is annihilating God's essence is at least no theism." Professor Schmid contributes an article on Transubstantiation, mainly dealing with the theory of "*Adducto corporis Christi*."

## Notices of Books.

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**The Tragedy of the Norse Gods.** By RUTH J. PITT. Illustrated by G. P. Jacomb Hood and J. A. J. Brindley. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893. 8vo, pp. 256.

THE authoress, in her preface to this book, says that her work is intended to show what the pagan religion of the ancient Norseman was; what were the ideas that braced him for warfare and death, and all the solemn issues of his life; and that she has tried to show this in a shape likely to appeal to a class of readers, who, with no time for study themselves, may care to trace back to their roots some of the characteristics and habits that have made us a great English nation.

That programme she has more or less carried out. The book then, if we may judge by the programme, is intended, in great measure, for those who know nothing of the most ancient Icelandic lore. Whether the authoress herself knows anything at first hand from the old Icelandic sagas, or, which very closely indeed concerns her treatment of the ancient theogony of the North, from the Edda of Snorro Sturleson, or from the "*Voluspa*" ("*Woluspa*") which is a portion of the Edda of Sæmund, it is not for us to say. This, however, we may say fearlessly, that she never gives a quotation from, nor even a reference to, any Icelandic or Norse work. What authorities she has used, she states in her preface, are all English, with the exception of three, and these are: Wiborg's "*Mythologie des Nordens*," Grimm's "*Deutsche Mythologie*," and Maurer's "*Islandische Volks-sagen der Gegenwart*." The ethical part of Sæmund's Edda, called *Haavamaal*, is not so much as mentioned.

*Woluspa* is, properly speaking, two words, written thus: *Wölu Spá*, which mean "The Prophecy of Wola." So *Haavamaal* is resolved into *Haar* or *Have* and *Maal*, and mean a *High Discourse*.

We must say that, after seeing the title and opening the book, we were somewhat disappointed. We certainly thought that a person, who wrote on such a subject as the Norse gods, would know something of the Norse literature at first hand; even though the book was intended for those who have no time for study. Icelandic is not a difficult language to acquire, so far as regards its prose. The poetry, on the other hand, is difficult even to Icelanders themselves;

and nowadays the Norsemen themselves have to have the meaning of the poetic words explained in notes, and sometimes the editors of these outbursts of poetic diction have to put figures over the words that occur in the stanza, to show the particular and relative position of each word according to the grammar and sense.

The state of Northern heathendom may be learned from the following passages.

As to the cosmogony. Originally there was nothing but a "yawning abyss." Still earlier than this was *Niflheimr*, and still earlier and opposed to this was *Muspellsheimr*. The abyss lay between these two. Through hoar frost from *Niflheimr* mixing with air and sparks from *Muspellsheimr* arises *Ymir*—a huge giant—who begets his posterity from himself. From the melted frost arises the cow—*Audhumla*—whose milk nourishes the giants. The passage runs thus: "Og förrar Miölkur Aar Runnu vr spenum hennar / og thar a fæddest Yme / enn fæde Kyrennar var thad / ad hun sleike Hrymsteina er sallter voru. Og hinn fyrsta dag er hun slejkte Steinana / kom vr Steinunum ad kuöllde Manns Haar. Annan Dag Manns Høfud / thridia Dag var thaad allur Madur så er neffndur Bure / Hann gat Son thann er Bør er neffndur. Hann fieck theirrar Konu er Belska er neffnd / Dötter Bergthórsers Jótuns / og gåtu thaug thriå Sonn / hieteynn Odenn / annar Wile / thridie We. Sa Odenn og hanns Brædur voru Stjörnendur halldner Himens og Jardar." ("Edda Islandorum," A.D. 1215. V. Dæmesaga.) And four streams of milk flowed out of her dugs, and thereof *Yme* was fed: but the cow's food was that which she licked from the frosted stone, which was salty. And the first day that she licked the stone, there came out of the stone a man's hair, the second day a man's head, the third day it was a complete man who is called *Bure*. He begot a son, who is called *Bor*. He took as wife the woman called *Belska*, the daughter of *Bergthórer*, a giant, and they had three sons, one called *Odenn*, the second *Wile*, the third *We*.

The heathen doctrine of gods and devils had a complete religious system. It spoke both of the future and of the past. First among the gods came the *Ásir*; second the *Vanir*. At the head of the *Ases* is *Odinn* (Allfather); he rules all; he is the god of war and victory (*ib.* XVIII. Dæmesaga). Among the *Vanes*, *Njodr* rules the wind. *Freyr*, his son, rules rain. *Freya*, his daughter, rules love. Originally there were *three* worlds only; later there were *nine*: 1° for man, *Mannheimr*; 2° for gods, *Asaheimr*; 3° for other gods, *Vanaheimr*; (the latter two together called *Godheimr*).

The nine worlds are: Two worlds of gods, *Asaheimr* and *Vanaheimr*; two worlds of elves, *Alfheimr* and *Svartalheimr*; one world

of men, *Mannheimr*; three worlds of giants, *Muspellsheimr*, *Niflheimr*, *Jotunheimr*; one world of the dead, *Helheimr*. In reading the "*Voluspa*" ("*Woluspa*"), the "*Haavamaal*," or any other Icelandic book treating of the cosmological or mythological part of the period embraced by the Icelandic sagas, this condition of the superior beings must be borne in mind.

Subordinate beings were: *Vættir* (English *wight*), an example would be *Troll* (a giant, fiend). Among *Vættir* come *Alfar*, elves, 1° *Ljosalfar* (elves of light); 2° *Dokkalfar* (elves of darkness). Of the giant race came *Hel* (feminine), ruler of the dead world. Men after death came to her unless by excellence they had merited to enter into the abode of the gods.

The gods and the giants fight. The sons of *Börr* kill *Ymir*, and of his body form this world. They throw it into the abyss, and from the flesh form the earth; from his bones, hills; from his teeth, rocks. From his skull they form heaven, which at the four corners rests upon the earth, supported by four dwarfs, at North, South, East, and West. From his brains they form the ill-humoured clouds; from his blood the sea and waters. The sea surrounds the earth, and beyond that the giants dwell. The Ases now take sparks, and form sun and moon and small stars. Then they fix the stars and arrange seasons. Now is the golden age among the gods. The gods note the dwarfs, which, like mites, have grown in giants' flesh and bones; they give them understanding and human form. Then three of the gods find two logs of wood by the seaside, and of them they form a man and a woman, *Odin* giving spirit, *Honir* breath, *Lodur* sense (*i.e.* spirit and life), consciousness and motion, good appearance, speech, hearing, and sight. Thus ends creation.

"*Så er ellskur er allra Guda hiet Alfader enn i Assgarde hinum forna atte hann tölff nøffn*"—He who is oldest of all the gods is called Allfather; but in the old Asiatic state he had twelve names (*Edda* as above, iii.). These twelve names are given:

"*Ad Ygdrasels eign Gudenn Döma sijna huorn Dag*" (*ib.* xiv.)—Near the tree *Ygdrasel* the gods hold their judgment court every day. *Odinn* is the highest and oldest of the Ases; and though the other gods are mighty, they all serve him as children serve their father (*ib.* XVIII. "*Damesaga*"). Of the rest *Thor* comes next. *Ballder* is always spoken of with respect. He had such a majestic form that the whitest flower might be compared with his forehead (*ib.* xx.). *Heimdallur* sings of himself:

"Eg Em Mædra  
Møgur Nyn  
Og Systra Sonur."

I am the true son of nine mothers, and they are sisters.

The Allfather sent Hel to Nifheim and gave her power over nine worlds. She was to bestow mansions upon those who went there. These were such as died of illness or old age (*ib.* xxviii.). Some poets said that as all warriors who fell in battle went to Odin, and that a very great number had so fallen, and more would fall, there would be a difficulty in providing food for them. The food, however, was provided very simply. Though consumed in the day it returned every night.

In the second part of the Edda is given some curious information. The Ases had seven appellations, which are given. Odin's names—only used by poets, and some being rather far-fetched—number one hundred and twenty-six; Thor's twelve, Baldur's seven, Niordur's three, Frey's ten, Heimdallur's six, Thyr's five, Loke's twenty-three. Others are given.

So far we have made no mention of the objects worshipped by these Northern people. Perhaps we may as well say that we have notices of their worshipping rocks, woods, waters, trees, and other such objects, horses, cows, oxen.

The authoress has spoken very nicely of the dusky twilight of the gods. Had she used more of the forty-eighth Dæmesaga in the Edda, her ending would have been far more pathetic. She needed not to go to her own imagination. The description of the coming end—called Ragnarøkur—is very telling, and quite touches us, in spite of everything being about heathen gods without existence.

The Edda we are quoting from, dating from the year 1250, though treating almost entirely of heathen gods, contains, in the second part, one section headed, "Christ skal kenna"; in other words, a list of names under which Christ was spoken of by the poets. They are very devotional names, but do not concern our subject.

As to the government of the world. The *Ases* and *Vanes* are at peace; and are united against the giants, the *elves* being on the side of the *Ases*. *Loki*, of giant descent, is received among the *Ases*, and thence arises the evil principle among them, *Loki* being the cause of everything bad, a counterpart of the devil. There is a higher power over the gods, namely, the *Normir* (*Môpai*, Parcæ, Fates).

Their Eschatology, in these heathen days, its Polytheism and Dualism (gods and giants) excludes one absolute and supreme divinity. The *Asen* are not the *creators* of the world, but the *arrangers*; the nearest approach to the creative power is *fire*. At the end of ages there is to be a bloody downfall, after which they are to be transformed; a Supreme Being then comes.

For men there was to be another world after this. The General Ruler of the world of the dead is the goddess Hel. The way is on



foot, horseback, or in a chariot. She is half black, half skin-colour (hence, perhaps, our phrase *black as hell*). There is no punishment but gloominess. On the other hand, Valhöll—hall of the dead-in-battle—is a place of joy. Odin has the choice of who is to go there. Their daily life is to go and fight with one another, then return in peace. Women also are not absent. In fact, life in Valhalla is an ideal picture of life at the court of some great prince. *Ran*, a sea-giant, causes death by drowning; sometimes giants run away with men. Each man's death is caused by that power into whose hands he falls in death. Odin takes heroes; Thor servants; Freyja women; Gefjon virgins; the rest fall to Hel, a cowardly and dastardly set who die in a bed.

The authoress says in her preface that the old Norseman was *informed* in his hard and stern heroism, in his contempt for cowardice, in his reverence for home, and in the honour in which steadiness to duty, obedience and trust—virtues on which our family and national constitutions are founded—and *upheld* and *influenced* by his religion. (The italics are ours.)

She consequently ascribes the grand qualities of the English mind to the qualities of the minds of the heathen Norsemen. The subject of her book did not lead her to speak of Norsemen under the Christian law; she speaks of Norsemen pure and simple—Norsemen as living under heathen gods.

We must now speak out boldly. The ideal set before the heathen Norsemen for their imitation was the life of a *viking*, that is, of a pirate and freebooter. Robbery, plunder, murder and massacre were the means adopted; and such means were in no manner reprobated: rather, when successful, constituted the way to honour, fame and wealth in this world, and promised a life of happiness with Odin in Valhöll in the next. These sort of pirates, at the time we are considering, infested the seas in all directions; and the seas would still be infested by such men, were it not for the strong arm of an organised Christian civilisation. The natural man found no dishonour in such a life. The universal notion was that every people, not in alliance with them, was an enemy, and might, without further cause, be plundered and massacred. The notion was exactly the same as what prevailed among the Greeks in Homeric times. Odysseus boasts of his dreadful work:

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασεν,  
Ἰσμάρῳ ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραζον, ὤλεσα δ' ἄντους·  
Ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ λαβόντες  
Δασσάμεθ'.

(*Odys.* I. 39–42.)

“A breeze bearing me away from Ilium brought me to the Ciconians,

to Ismarus: there I sacked their city and destroyed them (*i.e.* the men): after taking their wives and much property out of the city, we portioned them out."

Thucydides also, speaking of this early custom, writes:

οὐκ ἔχοντός πω ἀισχύνην τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης  
μᾶλλον (i. 5.)

"Such an occupation in no respect having disgrace attached to it, rather bringing somewhat of glory with it."

To these times, and to the people living under this religion, we may apply the words of Tennyson:

"A heathen horde,  
Reddening the sun with smoke, and earth with blood,  
And on the spike that split the mother's heart  
Spitting the child."

(*Coming of Arthur*, p. 5, ed. 1869.)

And these:

"Well is it that no child is born of thee.  
The children born of thee are sword and fire,  
Red ruin, and the breaking up of laws,  
The craft of kindred, and the godless hosts  
Of heathen swarming o'er the Northern sea."

(*Guinivere*, p. 363.)

Most of us know well, from the pages of Dr. Lingard, the way in which the Northmen ravaged our country. The historians of France have the like doleful tales to tell. During this period of heathendom in Norway (about 886) a petition was inserted in the Litany:—"A furore Normannorum, libera nos Domine" (Petersen, "Danmarks Historie i Hedenold," ii. Del, p. 290.) Norsemen have been pursuing this career of rapine, bloodshed and murder for whole generations and centuries. Even their treatment of the bodies of the killed in battle is too revolting for insertion here. They were fond of the sea: it was their element: their country was poor: for riches they preyed upon their southern neighbours. We see them in their heathendom. We see them living under the effects produced upon them by their religion. Let us call them savages at once, but organised savages.

There can be little doubt that the Saxon conquest of England was attended with similar scenes of bloodshed, cruelty and rapine as the Danish. But the conquerers are not spoken of with the same horror. And of the sufferers we may safely say the reason is,

"carent quia vate sacro." (Horace, *Od.*, lib. iv. 9, l. 28.)

We must say a little more about the ideas entertained by these pagan Norsemen about their gods of whom we have so much in the

book before us, and which will partly account for the cruel character of these men. It is not at all unusual, just before and after the introduction of Christianity, to find Norsemen, when asked what was their faith, or in whom they believed, answering: "We believe in our own might and main." Such men had no belief in the might of Odin or Thor as above their own. Their own they could see, and in that they believed. Believing in their own might, they had no need of worshipping any deity; for it was accepted, as a matter of course, that if a god is worshipped, it is because of the power he possesses. Holiness as an essential attribute of the Deity seems never to have entered their minds, no more than it did the minds of the ancient Greeks. The holiness of God, according to our notion of it, is essentially a notion imparted to us by revelation; first in the Old, and then in the New Testament. Nothing like this is to be found in the pagan world. In Homer, the holiness of the gods shows itself simply in what they honour or punish in man, not in any intrinsic quality. Thus Eumæus:

Οὐ μὲν σθένεσσι ἔργα θεοὶ μάκαρες φιλέουσιν,  
Ἄλλὰ δίκην τίουσιν αἰσίδα ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.

(*Od.* ε. 85, 86.)

"The happy gods do not love wicked deeds, but honour justice and the seemly works of men."

And on the destruction of the overweening suitors, Laertes exclaims:

Ἢ ῥά ῥ' ἔσται θεοὶ κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπόν,  
εἰ ἐτεὸν μνηστήρες ἀτάσθαλον ὕβριν ἔτισαν.

(*Od.* ω. 351-2.)

"Assuredly then, you gods still are in great Olympus, if really the suitors have paid the penalty of their criminal arrogance."

For any proper understanding of the book before us, inasmuch as it is wholly concerned with the gods of the North, the more we know of the religious ideas of the Northmen in general the better. That opinion of ours accounts for and explains what we say about their religious and ethical notions. Some of these have to a certain extent prevailed in Christian times. Just as the ancients thought that the gods punished, and immediately, very great crimes, so we may see from the Saxon Chronicle (year 1137) that the Christians of those days had similar notions, when people said openly that Christ and His saints were asleep—that is, they expected a visible manifestation of their power.

When we are treating of the formation of the mind by the Northern heathenism, we must always remember that they had no

notion whatever of the meaning of the word *sin*. *Foolish* and *wicked* in their language are kindred in meaning: *glöpr* means a *fool*; *glæpr* (derivative) an *evil deed*. Similarly in the Old Testament *foolish* and *wicked* are often synonymous. Take the first example that occurs: "*Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus.*" (Ps. xiii.): "The *fool* hath said in his heart, There is no God." The description of foolish men, given in the subsequent verses, is a description of wicked men. In the Homeric poetry the same notion prevails, namely, that uprightness lies not in the will, but in the understanding. It is said of the suitors:

ἐπεὶ οὐτι νοήμονες οὐδὲ δίκαιοι. (*Od.* B. 328.)

"Since they are in no way discreet, neither are they just."

Again:

Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ πείσεις' οὐ Μέντορι ποιμένι λαῶν,  
Ὑμετέρους ἡαῖδας καταπνέμεν ἀφροσυνάων.

In the Old Testament הָלַל (Jeremias xxix. 23), is used in the same sense: "They have acted *folly* in Israel"; in the Vulgate, "quod fecerint *stultitiam* in Israel."

So also in Old English, *unred* means *sin*:

"xii ger or ysaac was dead  
Jacobes sunes deden *un-red*."

("Genesis and Exodus," Early Eng. Text Soc., p. 55, l. 1905-6.)

We have been thus diffuse in speaking of the Northern gods, and of the effects of a pagan religious system upon the morality of the people, because it seemed to us that in the treatment of her subject the authoress had spoken far too favourably of a heathen theogony, and entirely hidden from the eyes of her readers the patent effects of that religion upon the inhabitants of Scandinavia. That religion was no civiliser, as we have sufficiently shown. C. B.

**Tabulae systematicae et synopticae totius Summae Theologicae S. Thomae Aquinatis.** P. BERTHIER, O.P., Editio altera. Friburgi Helvetiorum, sumptibus Veith, Bibliopolae Universitatis, 1893. Tabulae xxix.

IN these days of handbooks, royal roads to knowledge, and rapid cramming generally, we are inclined to smile when we read in the prologue to the "*Summa Theologica*" that St. Thomas proposes to write that stupendous work, of which Dean Milman, if we remember rightly, said that it would take almost a lifetime to properly read, for the instruction of beginners. "As unto little ones in Christ,

I gave you milk to drink, not meat," says St. Thomas, quoting from the Apostle. But, however we may look at the matter, Cajetan takes this declaration of St. Thomas in all seriousness and, in consequence, feels constrained to make, though with evident reluctance, some sort of apology for the "subtleties of doctors" which he has decided to introduce into his commentaries.

It is quite true [says Cajetan] that the "Summa" is intended for beginners, but please don't infer from this that it provides only a superficial treatment of its subject, or is a mere compendium. No! St. Thomas has too much respect even for beginners to set before them such fare as that. It is suited to beginners because of its severe neglect of all that is superfluous, its avoidance of all useless repetition, and because of its "*pulcherrimus ordo*."

We are not surprised to find Cajetan applying the epithet "*pulcherrimus*" to the ordering of the "Summa." St. Thomas defines beauty as "unity in variety." That there is variety in the "Summa," with its six hundred and thirteen questions, three thousand one hundred and twenty-five articles, and its nearly ten thousand replies to difficulties and objections, no one will question. The unity of the "Summa" is, of necessity, less readily seen, but to the careful student the unity is as apparent as the variety, for articles and questions dovetail into each other and combine together to form one grand and harmonious whole. It is one, as the solar system is one. If St. Thomas's definition of beauty be the right one, then is there in all literature no thing of greater beauty than his own "*Summa Theologica*." The twenty-nine tables of Father Berthier deal with the questions only, and, so far as the questions are concerned, from these tables can be seen at a glance the wonderful harmony and symmetry of the "Summa." Father Berthier's task was not a difficult one. He had no need to marshal his materials. He found them already marshalled beyond the possibility of improvement. All that he had to do was, by presenting us with a bird's-eye view of the "Summa," to indicate how excellent its order is, and he has done his task well. To those who love to dwell on the beauty of St. Thomas's work, as well as to those who desire to gain what we may call a topographical mastery of the "Summa," we can warmly recommend the tables of Father Berthier.

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**Ben Jonson.** Edited by BRINSLEY NICHOLSON. Three volumes. Vol. I. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. 382.

THE volume before us forms the seventeenth of the Mermaid Series of The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists. It contains an introduction upon the life and work of Jonson, by C. H. Herford,

and a preface by the editor, explanatory of the course followed in the publication of the text, which contains three plays: "Every Man in His Humour," "Every Man out of His Humour," and "The Poetaster." Much care has been taken in order to ensure the integrity of the text. The edition is professedly an unexpurgated one. The advisability of such editions is certainly, to say the least of it, questionable. After making all due allowances for the blunt outspokenness of Jonson's age, there still remains much that is shocking and dangerous which is best unread, and quite prevents the volume being put in the hands of the young. The editors for the Clarendon Press have recognised the force of this, and rejected it in their editions of Shakespeare, &c. The book is well printed, without pretensions to luxury or even elegance, and there are a few brief footnotes explanatory of quaint words and phrases.

J. B. M.

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**Institutiones Ethicae et Juris Naturae.** P. MATTHAEI LIBERATORE, Societatis Jesu. Editio Nona. 8vo, pp. 374. Prati, ex officina Grachetti, Filii et Soc. 1887.

WHEN Benthamite profit and loss Philosophies so much abound; when morality is declared to have a purely conventional origin, and to possess no higher justification than the merely temporal convenience of the one or the many; it is necessary that Catholics should be thoroughly grounded in a sound system of Moral Philosophy. Father Liberatore's "Institutiones" has long been recognised as a standard work on Christian Ethics. The book is too well known to need recommendation. It has already passed through many editions and no doubt will pass through many more.

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**Selections from Swift.** Edited with Life, Introduction, and Notes. By HENRY CRAIK. In two vols. Vol. II., pp. 488. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1893.

WE welcome with pleasure this second and final instalment of selections from the Works of Swift, edited by Mr. Craik. This second volume contains, amongst other matter, three tracts upon Religion; several Irish Tracts, amongst which appear the famous Drapier Letters, copious excerpts from Gulliver's Travels, and many of the humorous and sarcastic poems written by Swift in his later years.

As in the first volume, of which we were happy to be able to speak so favourably, and to recommend so cordially, the introductions and notes to the various selections are terse without baldness, to the

point, and satisfying; and in fact no less so than we should expect from the judicious scholarship of Mr. Craik. The work closes with a carefully prepared index to the notes contained in the two volumes.

It would be useless and impertinent for us to give specimens of Swift's work by way of recommendation. But those works, with their allusions to the politics of the past, and their quaint words, need something in the shape of explanation. Mr. Craik's introductions and notes furnish exactly what is required, and in the pleasantest manner. We transcribe the following passage from the introduction to "Gulliver's Travels":

But the central feature of the book is its bitter contempt for mankind belittling their vaunted prowess, ridiculing their overweening speculations, befouling all that seems good by degrading comparisons, and deepening at the close into a disgust and gloom that are oppressive. It might seem that no contempt could be more scathing than that of Lilliput or Brobdingnag, where the opposite methods of comparison are pursued, to carry the same lesson of the insignificance of humanity; but the shadows grow far deeper as we proceed. No picture of misery in all literature is more unrelieved than that of the Strulburgs; no disgust more overwhelming than that aroused by the Yahoos. Gloom and illness had increased Swift's ingrained bitterness. Uncongenial surroundings; a spirit envenomed by keen struggle; the impending loss of his own lifelong companionship (for Stella was now wasting away); the shadow of a clouded intellect—all these seem to find utterance in the closing books of Gulliver (vol. ii. p. 159).

In bidding farewell to these volumes we may perhaps be permitted to give the following couplets from Swift's own poem "On the Death of Dr. Swift," as a plea for, and an explanation of, his style:

Perhaps I may allow the Dean  
Had too much satire in his vein,  
Yet malice never was his aim:  
He lashed the vice, but spared the name;  
His satire points at no defect  
But what all mortals may correct,  
For he abhorred that senseless tribe  
Who call it humour when they gibe.

(Vol. ii. p. 372.)

J. B. M.

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**Parthia.** By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., F.R.C.S. Story of the Nations Series. 8vo, pp. 432. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893.

PROFESSOR G. RAWLINSON has produced an eminently readable book upon the Parthian Empire. To the thousands who, on Whit-Sunday, hear the passage from the Acts of the Apostles

describing the composition of the crowds who listened to the first preaching of the Apostles,—“Parthians and Medes and Elamites”—the Parthians are little more than a mere name, with as little meaning or association as that “comforting word Mesopotamia” to the devout old lady. But this admirable sketch by Prof. Rawlinson, who speaks with acknowledged authority upon ancient history, shows us that the Parthians were a mighty people, whose story, thus brightly and clearly told, arrests attention and awakens a lively interest. Certainly, no one can complain that the learned author has merely disturbed and displayed the dry bones of history. There are many passages of high literary merit as specimens of descriptive power. We may instance the description of the invasions of the Tartar Nomads given on p. 104.

After an introductory chapter, locating and describing Parthia Proper, and the empire it gradually gathered around it, Prof. Rawlinson proceeds to discuss the origin of the people, and after a careful sifting of the evidence, concludes that the Parthians were of Turanian, and not of Aryan origin, subjects of Persia in the beginning and cast amid a cluster of Aryan tribes. They first appear in history in B.C. 521, in revolt against Hystaspes, the satrap. Later, by a great massacre of the invading Syrians, ordered by Phraates II., and carried out—though the secret must have been in the keeping of thousands, as effectually as the massacres of St. Brice’s Day or St. Bartholomew—Parthia broke the power of Syria, her most constant and dangerous enemy. From B.C. 150 to A.D. 226, the Parthians, by their military prowess, occupied the position of the second nation in the world—“a check and a counterpoise to Rome, preserving the balance of power and preventing the absorption of all other nations into the Tyrant Empire.” The history of their struggles with Rome is full of interest :

Speaking broadly [says Prof. Rawlinson], the position they occupied among the nations of the Old World was not very dissimilar to that which is held by the Turks in the system of modern Europe. They possessed a military strength which caused them to be both respected and feared, while they were further noted for a vigour of administration rarely seen among Orientals (pp. 418, 419).

The work is closed by a chapter upon Parthian art, religion and customs. The style in which the book is produced is that with which we have been rendered familiar by previous issues in the same series. There is a good map, many reproductions of old coins, &c., giving portraits of the Kings, and a careful index. We think that a short chronological table of events would have added to the clearness and completeness of the work.

J. B. M.



**The Labours of the Apostles ; their Teaching of the Nations.**

By the RIGHT REV. L. DE GOESBRIAND, Bishop of Burlington (U.S.A.). 8vo, pp. 212. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 1893.

THE Venerable Bishop of Burlington has published this work with the object of proving to those outside the Church that the Bible is not the sole rule of faith, by showing how the first Christians were converted by the Apostles. He has derived most of the information he has collected from the New Testament, considered simply as a collection of historical documents, and he has, of course, no difficulty in showing that the Apostles appealed, in their dealings with Jews and heathen, not to the Bible, but to their own oral testimony, as the rule of faith. The ground has been so often traversed before that nothing new was to be looked for ; but much may be said in favour of the author's manner of saying it. He treats his subject by way of exposition rather than of controversy ; and its simple, earnest, and unaffected tone will make it pleasing even to those who do not share his views, while a slight tinge of a foreign accent does not lessen its charm. We trust that the little volume may meet with that success which Mgr. de Goesbriand hopes, and which it fully deserves.

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**Entretiens de Jésus-Christ avec l'âme fidèle.** Par JEAN JUSTE LANSPERGE, Chartreux. Montreuil - sur - Mer : Imprimerie N. D. des Prés. 1891.

JOHN JUSTE, surnamed Lanspergius, was born at Landsberg in Bavaria, towards the end of the fifteenth century. Hardly had he terminated his course of philosophy at Cologne than he entered the venerable Carthusian Order. He was essentially a man of good will, having his mind attentive to the least indication of the will of God. Although of weak constitution he was faithful to the austerities of his rule, and never would hear of leaving his beloved convent even for a temporary change. After spending thirty years in religion he was called to Gód, August 11, A.D. 1539. Neither his continual infirmities, nor the heavy duties of the priorship, a position which John filled for many years, prevented him from adding by the labours of his pen to the literary reputation of his Order. He has left a collection of sermons and nineteen small works. Amongst ascetical authors he is known as the "devout Lanspergius," on account of the tender piety and sweet unction which mark his writings. "The Conversations of Jesus Christ with the Faithful Soul" is a small book possessing both these qualities, and,

moreover, a great store of practical wisdom. Written originally for the Canonesses regular of St. Norbert at Hensberch, it soon gained the esteem of other communities and religious congregations, and even became a favourite book of spiritual reading with people living in the world. The spirit of the following of Christ and of the spiritual combat is present in every page, but the author knows how to treat the old truths relating to solid peace of heart and true Christian perfection in a new and fresh manner. The chapter on the Veneration due to Christ's own Mother, might have been written after Archdeacon Sinclair's famous sermon on the Intercession of Saints. The whole volume is palpitating with interest. The printing has been well done.

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**Blessed Gerard Majella, lay-brother of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.** A sketch of his life, and the many favours obtained through his intercession. Translated from the Italian by a priest of the same Congregation, with a portrait. 16mo, pp. 187. New York: Pustet & Co.

THE principal object of both the writer and the translator of this little volume is to scatter broadcast among the faithful a knowledge of the many graces and countless miracles wrought through the intercession of an humble tailor and lay brother. Pope Leo XIII., in his beautiful Encyclical letter on the Rosary, has told us how the workman, in our days, has a tendency to desert his trade, to shrink from toil, to become discontented with his lot, and to fix his gaze on things that are beyond his reach. The life of B. Gerard will tell the Catholic working-man that even in his state of life happiness is attainable; and encouraged by the faithful narration of the many favours obtained through the intercession of this servant of God, those who are in distress will have recourse to him with confidence in their spiritual or temporal necessities. A. A.

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**The Life of Father Charles, Passionist.** By Rev. Fr. AUSTIN, C.P. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1893.

EVEN an imperfect record of the life of one whom we have loved and lost, if it falls into our hands while our hearts are still sorrowful, will be prized above one which has had greater pains bestowed upon it and more time devoted to its arrangement and composition, but which reaches us when remembrance is not so bitter and regret not so heart-piercing. The author of this fascinating narra-

tive has therefore acted wisely in disregarding the Horatian Canon, *nonum reponatur in annum*. His book, though bearing inevitable marks of haste, is perfectly readable. In clear and simple language he has depicted to the life a true lover of the Passion and a dutiful son of St. Paul of the Cross. Father Charles, the subject of this all too brief record, was a Dutchman and a Passionist. He was born in 1821, in a fertile valley of Limbourg, within sight of the blue hills which stand above the banks of the peaceful La-Geleen. From the most Catholic province of Holland he was transferred, in his thirty-third year, to one of the most romantic spots in Protestant England. St. Wilfrid's, in the beautiful valley of Churnet, Staffordshire, was the scene of his labours during three years; and his name still remains there, entwined with the sweet memories of Newman and Faber. In the year 1857 Father Charles went, in the full strength and experience of manhood, and with all the attractiveness of a saintly life, to repay Ireland for the apostolic gifts bestowed long ages before on his countrymen by Celtic missionaries. Love is never fruitless. Twelve centuries after the blood of the Irish missionary St. Livinus, had crimsoned the soil of the Netherlands, one born of the seed which sprang from the martyr's blood was to recompense Ireland for the loss she had sustained in her heroic son. And gracefully did the Island of Saints receive the stranger's offering. The holy Passionist was taken to the great warm heart of that generous and Catholic people. Love, springing from faith, gave Father Charles the key to the Celtic character; love opened the eyes of his adopted countrymen to his merits. These were of no mean order. To the irresistible charm of unsullied innocence, and the keen insight born of the habit of prayer, the disciple of St. Paul of the Cross added the winningness of sincere humility, the grace of unobtrusive kindness, and the all-mastering power of consistent and unintermitting self-denial. His mass was an eloquent sermon on the Passion; his confessional was attended by the blessings which hallowed that of the Ven. Abbé Vianney. In fact, Fr. Charles's life at Mount Argus, both as regards his extraordinary virtues and his wide-spread influence, reminds us forcibly of the holy Curé d'Ars. So we do not wonder when we read of his name being held in grateful veneration even as far as distant Brisbane, or of marvellous cures being ascribed to his prayers, or of his funeral rivalling, both in the number and in the grief of the mourners, the funerals of olden saints. The talented author has brought us face to face with a true servant of God. We thank him for his valuable book. But we want to know more about Fr. Charles. Let Fr. Austin give us more of the holy man's letters, and this life will gain in interest and in usefulness.

**Vie du P. Ludovic de Casoria: d'après S. E. le Cardinal Alphonse Capecelatro.** Par l'Abbé M. Le MONNIER. Avec une Préface de Mme. AUGUSTUS CRAVEN. Paris : Perrin et Cie, 35 Quai des Grands-Augustins. 1892.

THIS is a book which once taken up cannot be laid down until finished. The style has infinite charm. Though a translation it is without stiffness. The French is the French of Monsieur l'Abbé Le Monnier, and possesses all the qualities of grace, ease, and polish which characterise the well-known writings of this cultured ecclesiastic. The original text is Italian, from the pen of the scholarly biographer of St. Philip Neri, the illustrious Cardinal Capecelatro. Fra Ludovico's name is seldom mentioned on this side of the channel, more is the pity. Our devoted missionaries, our over-taxed school-managers, all our workers in the wide field of charity should know this life. Every trait in the Franciscan friar's character, every step in his heroic career, appeals to Englishmen's love of activity, daring, and good-nature. His works in behalf of suffering humanity were simply countless; his labours were prodigious. Besides creating hospitals for the sick, which he provided with skilled nurses of his own training, Fra Ludovico opened refuges for neglected children of both sexes and started technical schools. A true son of "the poor man of Assisi," he loved his order with a passionate love, and sought to extend the sphere of its usefulness in all places and through all classes of society. Long before his Holiness Leo XIII. gave additional impetus to the Third Order, the humble friar, following in the footsteps of Blessed Angelina of Marsciano, had animated it with a new life by wedding it to works of mercy, and increased enormously the number and efficiency of its members. Even as we have just heard the Sovereign Pontiff maintaining that India is to be converted by Indians, so we find Fra Ludovico declaring thirty years ago his conviction that Africa would be converted only by Africans. On this conviction he acted. He went himself to the dark continent, bought young negroes and educated them for the mission-field. Music was the rod with which he corrected his young barbarians. But the list of his enterprises must be sought in the Abbé Le Monnier's book. Music, literary institutes, magazines—nothing came amiss to this zealous servant of God and self-sacrificing lover of his brethren. And this man, who spoke familiarly to Popes and kings and commanded the respect of infidels, the founder of so many stupendous works, what was he after all? A "penniless" friar and a "lazy" Neapolitan. So much for preconceived notions! His incessant occupations did not prevent Fra Ludovico from reach-

ing a lofty degree of prayer and tasting to intoxication the sweets of the contemplative life. The poetry of Dante, the fine air of Monte Alverno, the enchanting sky and sea tints of the Bay of Naples, tone and colour every page of this noble work. It is a book to be lovingly placed near our Fivretti and our Ruskin.

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**Vie de Sainte Claire de la Croix de Montefalco.** Par LORENZO TARDI, O.S.A. Paris: Téqui, Libraire-Editeur, 33, Rue du Cherche Midi. 1893.

**T**HIS volume of nearly 300 pages is a translation into French of a work written forty years ago by an Italian friar of the Order of St. Augustine. The holy abbess, whose life it contains, was born under Clement IV., in the year 1268; but her canonisation has taken place only under the present pontificate. Like St. Dunstan, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and other servants of God, our saint is claimed by two Orders, that of St. Francis and that of St. Augustine. The Italian author naturally defends his own Order; the translator, whose name does not appear, but whose sympathies are evidently Franciscan, pronounces on the merits of the case according to his sympathies. There seems to be no doubt that in her youth Saint Claire was a member of the third Order of the Seraphic Patriarch. It is equally certain that from the time she lived in a monastery under a regular rule she followed the rule of the glorious son of St. Monica. Hippo and Assisi need not dispute: the spirit of both nurseries of religion breathes in the life of the venerable Abbess of Montefalco. Father Tardi has enriched ascetical libraries with an hagiological work of marvellous beauty. Virtues the most lovely, and graces the most wonderful, are here recorded. No ordinary child of earth was St. Claire of the Cross. God chose her from her infancy to be His handmaid. But she was not therefore exempt from the Christian's lot. She knew sorrow and rebuffs; she was acquainted with hunger and cold; trials from without and from within. She could suffer with others, and give sympathy and support to those in need of them. The words of Thomas à Kempis were verified in Saint Claire: "Sweet is Christ's communication with the interior man, and his familiarity exceedingly amazing." Jesus dwelling in her soul set her on fire with His ardent, all-embracing charity. Chapters xx., xxvii. and xxviii. describe a series of supernatural events which it will be difficult to parallel in the history of any other saint. Author, translator, and publisher have successfully exerted themselves to do honour to one of the most beautiful characters that figure in mediæval times. But why is Lorenzo Tardi called an Augustinian *monk*?

**La Vénérable Mère Julienne Morell, Dominicaine : sa Vie, sa Doctrine, son Institut.** Par le R. P. MATTHIEU-JOSEPH ROUSSET, O.P. Paris, Lyons : Delhomme et Briguët, Éditeurs. 1893.

**T**HIS work should occupy an honourable place in the valuable series which the French Dominican fathers are bringing out under the title of "*Bibliothèque ascétique Dominicaine.*" The life which it professes to give has many lessons in it for religious of all orders, and especially for those who are charged with the training of novices. Mother Julienne's piety was singular only in its intensity; her rule was the rule which all must follow who desire to walk in the narrow way leading to life eternal—viz., Jesus Christ. This holy religious, who died June 26, 1653, at Avignon, in the Convent of St. Praxedes, a house of the second order of St. Dominic, was sur-named by her contemporaries "the wonder of her age." When only twelve years old she knew several languages, and publicly defended theses in philosophy before a numerous assembly of the leading men of the day. The queens of Spain, France, and Poland bestowed on the talented scholar many marks of favour. Cardinal Baronius sent her a letter of congratulation in the name of the Pope. But the child's heart longed after other Courts than those of earth, and the voice of the Spouse, calling her to religion, made her deaf to the flattering sounds of human glory. At the age of fifteen, when on the eve of taking her degree of doctor of laws, she left her father's house and entered St. Praxedes, where her virtues encouraged and astonished her companions during the forty remaining years of her life. Her contempt for distinctions was unbounded. The reputation she enjoyed before she quitted the world seemed never to recur to her mind. But the education remained. Her works prove that she was of a singularly acute and reflective mind. Mother Julienne has written a description of the manner of living which her sisters led at St. Praxedes. She is also the author of a Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine, and of a course of Spiritual Exercises. She translated a treatise on the Spiritual Life, by St. Vincent Ferrer, and wrote some devout Latin sequences. As in character and in holiness so does she resemble in her style of writing the saintly Bishop of Geneva and Blessed Peter Fourier. Abbé Martin, the learned author of "*The Future of Protestantism,*" says of her: "This simple girl, as she calls herself, handles the beautiful French of that epoch with admirable perfection." We wonder if the controversy over the authorship of the *Imitation* disturbed the cloistered nuns of St. Praxedes. Our reason for speaking thus is, that we find Mother Julienne attributing the book to the Canon regular

A Kempis, while another member of the community prefers to call it after John Gerson.

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**Scripture Text-Book.** By the REV. KENELM VAUGHAN. 1893.  
London: published by the Author, at 28 Beaufort Street,  
Chelsea. Pp. 928. Price 10s. 6d.

FATHER VAUGHAN, by his diligent labour in classifying the Sacred Text, has contributed to render the study of the Scriptures at the same time easy, delightful, and profitable to the reader. And I am sure that incalculable advantage will accrue to both clergy and people from the use of his book.

These words of the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, in his preface to the American edition of ten thousand copies, need no comment. The American press has been most eulogistic in referring to this remarkable work. Father Hogan of the Catholic University at Washington, says of it:

This work covers the whole field of Catholic theology, gathering round each doctrine the passages of Scripture on which it originally rests, or those which serve best to expand and illustrate it. . . . To the thoughtful reader, unacquainted with technical theology, though instructed in Catholic doctrine, the book will prove of peculiar interest, as showing the perfect harmony of the teachings of the Bible itself with those he had received from the Church. The busy pastor of souls will find it especially helpful, &c.

Nor has admiration for this work been limited to Catholics. We have seen a letter written by a cultured Protestant lady, unknown to the author, in which she says of it: "I thought it the most wonderful book I had ever seen."

The English edition was published before that which, under the title of "The Divine Armory of Holy Scripture," appeared in America. The book consists of one small-octavo volume of 956 pages. It goes through the whole series of Catholic dogmas, illustrating from the holy text the harmony that exists between the teachings of Scripture and of faith. It is furnished with two valuable indexes. At the beginning an Analytical Index, which divides the whole work into five books according to the subjects, subdivided into parts and articles. Each part is prefaced by a valuable doctrinal introduction, giving in a few simple words the essential points of Catholic teaching regarding the particular dogma of faith treated. These introductions are so clear as to be intelligible to any ordinary mind. The author, in his preface, states that, with a few exceptions, they were the work of the Rev. W. Gildea, D.D., late professor of theology at St. Thomas's Seminary. At

the end of the book there is an Alphabetical Index, which in future editions might be enlarged with advantage. The work is compiled, as the author states, on the plan of the "*Theologia Scripturae Divinae*," published by the Jesuit Father Marcellio some two hundred years ago, but it is six times the size of the original, and was compiled with a view to popularise the knowledge of Holy Scripture, and make it intelligible, in its bearing on Christian doctrine, to all classes. A distinctive feature of the book is that it is both doctrinal and devotional, and therefore useful not only for study but also for prayer and meditation.

We congratulate Father Vaughan on the marked success of a book which alone would suffice to transmit his name to posterity, and which will not unlikely one day become a standard work. At present there is nothing of the same kind to compete with it in our language. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, in a special preface to the edition before us, says: "I wish for it every success; and I do not hesitate to recommend it very strongly to the Catholic public, both clergy and laity." We heartily repeat these words of his Eminence.

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**Aurelius Ambrosius, der Vater des Kirchengesanges: Eine Hymnologische Studie.** Von GUIDO MARIA DREVES, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1893.

**F.** DREVES, whose large collections of hitherto unpublished Christian hymns have several times been noticed in this REVIEW, has just issued a most remarkable study on St. Ambrose, commonly styled "the father of ecclesiastical song." The above-named work sheds new light on a hitherto somewhat dark and unexplored region. The historians of music agreed upon St. Ambrose being one of the first authorities in the department of church music, but they totally disagreed on the question as to how many hymns are to be ascribed to him, and likewise on the character of his sacred poems. Fr. Drevés makes a new departure by his logical method in treating the intricate problem. In the first part he seeks to answer the momentous questions: Where are the genuine hymns of the Saint to be found; what hymns, according to authentic historical testimony, are to be ascribed to him, and lastly, what are the metrical peculiarities of his poetry? The result of this laborious investigation is that of forty-one hymns as contained in the hymnarium of Milan, only eighteen turn out to be genuine, and can be accepted as certainly Ambrosian. The discussion on St. Ambrose, the poet, which on every page bears ample witness



to the author's critical acumen, is followed up in the second part by the comment on St. Ambrose the musician. The principal question is: What is the idea we may form of a melody as invented by St. Ambrose? F. Dreves clearly points out that St. Ambrose's melodies were real songs, and not simple recitations. As to the musical system he adopted, there can be no doubt but that it was the Greek one. Whilst further developing this opinion F. Dreves seems to hold that all sacred hymns of the Primitive Church were metrical. Whether or not this theory will meet with the approval of scholars we will not venture to say. In the concluding part the work is devoted to restoring, as far as is possible, the hymns of St. Ambrose in their primitive form detached from the arbitrary accessions and adulterations to which, in the course of time, they became subjected. B.

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**Saint Edmund, King and Martyr.** A History of his Life and Times. From original MSS. By the Rev. J. B. MACKINLAY, O.S.B. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1893.

**A**N apology is due to Dom Mackinlay for not noticing this interesting volume in our last number. Its interest is indeed considerable, and of more than one kind. St. Edmund the Martyr is the St. Cuthbert of East Anglia. His life is nearly connected with English history, with religion, with monastic development, and with popular devotion. We have never before had the whole of the materials of his history adequately brought together in one work. If, to some severe critics, Dom Mackinlay may seem to attach too implicit a credence to the amplifications of mediæval chroniclers, there is notwithstanding much force in the remarks that he makes on the existing documentary evidence. He considers that it is clear that the "old scribes," as he calls them, drew from sources which existed at the time, but have since perished. Gaufridus de Fontibus, for example, wrote, about the middle of the twelfth century, an account of the "infancy of St. Edmund," which succeeding writers did little but copy. Whoever Gaufridus was—and we are not sure that he was a monk of St. Edmund's Bury—he knew the Abbey well, and was acquainted with all the MSS. in the library and all the oral traditions of the neighbourhood. The anonymous author of the most detailed mediæval "life" of the Saint is a compiler from other chroniclers rather than an explorer of original sources. But the great "life" by St. Abbo was written during the very lifetime of St. Dunstan—and St. Dunstan had heard the story of the martyrdom

from an eye-witness. Then there is Dan Lydgate's metrical life. It is a standing reproach that this splendid poem has never been printed. Lydgate's verses, so far as they have been published to the world, are not to be compared to the work of his predecessor and model, Chaucer. But Dom Mackinlay deserves the thanks of students of English literature for drawing attention to a poem which is the fruit of Lydgate's ripe culture and mature years, and which—to judge from the numerous citations given in these pages—is by far the finest of his efforts, whether in imagination or versification.

The life of St. Edmund the Martyr, short as it was, is full of romance, and the facts which are certain are such as to set the imagination working in many directions. As a boy of fourteen, living with his father in those regions at the mouth of the Elbe whence so many "Saxons" had set sail for East Anglia, he was adopted by the aged Offa, who for more than fifty years had occupied the throne of the Uffingas. Crowned on Christmas-day 855, he reigned fifteen years and then laid down his life for Christ. It was when Offa was on his way to the Holy Land as a pilgrim that he saw Edmund and took him to his heart. Dom Mackinlay cannot resist the temptation to go with the aged Saxon King to Palestine, and to give us two or three pages of Adamnan. The coronation of St. Edmund took place at Sudbury, and it is pleasing to observe how the unrecognisable "Bures," which is given by most of the ancient biographers, and even by Dom Piolin in his latest notes, turns out to be the well-known royal Suffolk borough. Our author works up the coronation with much feeling, using Egbert's "Pontificale," which contains the whole ceremony of the anointing and crowning of a king, and there is quite sufficient probability in what he says to make it most acceptable as an illustration of the story. The description of his reign, during the ten prosperous years which preceded the first landing of Hinguar and Hubba, is very idyllic; but there is ample groundwork in recurring phrases of the traditional histories to justify it. As Lydgate says, he was

In his estate moost godly and benygne;  
 Hevenly of cheer, of counsayl provident,  
 Shewing of grace full many a blessed signe;

\* \* \* \* \*

Loved him of herte that lokyd on his fface.

The martyrdom of St. Edmund and the events which led up to it are well described by our author. For some five years the King strove with might and main to make head against the wave of Danish conquest which had set in from the further North. Battle after battle is fought, and Edmund defends his country inch by inch.

The immediate cause of the final catastrophe does not come out as clearly as could be desired. The holy King was victorious over Hinguar in the bloody fight of Thetford (November, 870). Yet he immediately retires to the royal "vill" of Heglesdune, where he is soon afterwards taken prisoner. Dom Mackinlay says, "The carnage on every side, the groans of men passing to judgment, his own sword wet with blood, so affected the saintly monarch, that he determined not to follow up his victory" (p. 121). This seems far from adequate, and is, indeed, pure conjecture. No one will dispute that as the day of his sacrifice drew near, St. Edmund was more and more deeply filled with the spirit of martyrdom. But, from an historical point of view, the reasons which induced so brave a leader to give up the contest just at the moment when he had inflicted a severe check on the invaders, might have been profitably investigated. As it is, there is little difficulty in understanding that the victory of Thetford was dearly purchased, that the Danes were not really defeated, and that (as Dom Mackinlay afterwards relates) large reinforcements were on their way to help them. The alternative before St. Edmund was flight or martyrdom. He chose to give his life for his people. East Anglia, upon his death, became a Danish province. The tide of invasion rolled on, and presently the Danish armies were menacing Wessex itself. But their conquests were to go no further. They were met by King Alfred, and for eight years the war raged with varying success, on the Berkshire downs, round by Wilton, and as far south as Wareham, until Alfred's final victory of Heddington gave the chief English kingdom rest for a time.

But the fame and glory of St. Edmund the Martyr only grew more illustrious as Danes, Saxons, and Normans forgot their conflicts and settled down to the making of England. The story of the recovery of the head, which had been struck off by the Danes, is well known. The tradition of its being found between the paws of a protecting wolf, must have come from St. Dunstan himself, who heard it from an eye-witness. The incorruption of the sacred remains is attested by several mediæval chroniclers, and lastly by Jocelin of Brakelond, who was present at the investigation made in 1198. After that date we hear of no more translations, inspections, or miracles. Dom Mackinlay considers that there is evidence to prove the carrying away of the body to France by Louis the Dauphin, in 1217. But there is no further trace of it until we read, in the inventory of the abbey of St. Sernin, Toulouse, dated 1489, of the "body of St. Edmund once king of England." The Archbishop de Monchal, in translating the shrine in 1644, opened the coffin, which "disclosed a quantity of bones, and topmost a human skull" (p. 243).

In 1807, a solemn commission authenticated these relics (after the disturbance made at the Revolution), and they are still at St. Sernin in a wooden shrine covered with copper gilt.\* We refer the reader to Dom Mackinlay's learned and exhaustive argument on this point. Two things seem quite certain—that the body was incorrupt in 1198, and that it was not in the shrine at Bury St. Edmunds when that Abbey was plundered by the commissioners of Henry VIII. Indeed, we cannot be mistaken in saying that it disappeared a considerable time before that date.

This book is well printed, and is furnished with several plans of churches and a map. Dom Mackinlay deserves sincere congratulations on the production of a work which must have cost a large amount of original research, and which is a distinct addition to English hagiography.

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**Ontologia, sive Metaphysica generalis in usum scholarum.**

Auctore, CAROLO FRICK, S.J. 8vo, pp. 8–204. Freiburg : Herder. 1894.

**D**URING the last few years text-books of philosophy, large and small, have issued from various centres of Catholic teaching, until it has become almost an impossible task to make a satisfactory choice amid such excellence and abundance. Each has had its merits, each among the greater ones has effected some definite advance upon the work of its predecessors, and this appears to be exactly the merit of the treatise on Ontology by Father Frick. It is the third of a series of six volumes comprising the whole course of philosophy, which are being issued by the Fathers of the Society in Holland. While not a large work, it would be untrue to describe it as a compendium. It is in reality a full text *in usum scholarum*, in which the subject and its main divisions are clearly laid out, the definitions carefully constructed and adequately explained, the proofs forcibly and succinctly worked out, the objections stated with point, and answered tersely, but without the irritating defect of meagreness. In bulk the work is somewhat shorter than the corresponding treatises of Palmieri or Zigliara, but longer than those of Tongiorgi or Liberatore. The treatment is characterised throughout by admirable precision and useful references to the other volumes of the series. There is a freshness in the treatment of the most familiar topics which is very gratifying, and not a page but what is adorned

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\* The author seems to say, p. 256, that Cardinal Desprez, Archbishop of Toulouse, gave away, in 1867, *all* the bones of St. Edmund possessed by the Church of St. Sernin. Does he really mean this?

with some novel turn in the exposition, or some hitherto unnoticed connection of ideas. The whole comes living and vigorous from the mind of a clear and subtle thinker, who in the most abstruse portions of metaphysics finds himself the most completely at home. The texture of thought is undoubtedly close, fine, and strong, such as will demand further explanation of the professor, not indeed that he may introduce new matter, but rather open out the full meaning of a studiously careful text. In the details of his subject, the author has shown an experienced discrimination both as regards the choice of matter and the manner of its treatment. Some points are dealt with exceptionally well; such, for example, are the exposition of "Being as such," n. 4-15; the "Analogy of Being," n. 29-47: Individuality, n. 142-154; the general explanation of the Categories, n. 183-194; the proof of Causation, n. 300-305.

The author makes an advance in his clear statement of the issues involved, where he discusses the subtle question of incomplete substances, n. 202. The character of the quotations from St. Thomas shows a wide acquaintance with his works. The quotations are unmistakably to the point, concise, and serve well to illuminate the context. The bias of the writer's teaching lies in the direction of Suarez, to whose monumental work on metaphysics frequent references are supplied. The proportion of the respective subjects is well preserved on the whole. Still, as it appears to us, this might in several instances have been more completely effected without any material addition to the size of the volume. The question of "Truth" is but briefly developed in n. 159-161, while in the question of "Goodness" we notice with regret the omission of all reference to the *modus species et ordo* of St. Thomas (I. q. v. a. 5). Similarly the objections brought forward on "Evil," n. 172, on the "Efficient Cause," n. 299, bear no just proportion to the number and character of the difficulties urged in other matters, for instance, at pp. 55-59, and 84-85. "Metaphysical Composition," n. 326, and the signs of real distinction, n. 158, are too lightly passed over. The treatment of "Personality" is good, but the controversy about the distinction between nature and personality is unexpectedly relegated to the domain of theology. The "Beautiful" is handled with the author's customary lucidity and grasp, except in the closing paragraph of n. 341, where he expounds the view which he himself adopts, namely, that beauty consists in the clear presentation of objective truth and goodness so as to excite the sentiment of delight in their contemplation. It seems to us that no satisfactory explanation is given of the way in which this vivid presentation of blended truth and goodness constitutes the precise and proper quality of the

beautiful. Undoubtedly truth and goodness are indispensable elements of the beautiful, but it does not appear to us from the explanation of Father Frick, that they formally constitute the objective quality of "beauty" as such.

Our author has fallen into an inaccuracy in attributing to Locke the opinion that causality consists in mere succession, n. 292. The fact being that Locke lays it down as a fundamental doctrine that "qualities and substances receive their existence from the due application and operation of some other being" (Essay, Book II. c. xxvi. n. 1); and while admitting the difficulty of ascertaining the "manner of the operation" he expounds the concept of "power" (Book II. c. xxi. n. 4) by an argument substantially similar to that employed by Father Frick to establish the reality of efficient causes, n. 293.

Father Frick adopts a common opinion of the schools in respect of Locke's alleged denial of substance. This opinion, we venture to think, does an injustice to Locke. For although in certain passages he speaks in a loose and sceptical manner, we have no doubt whatever that he taught that substances really exist, adding only that our idea of them is very imperfect. He treats the whole matter *ex professo* in Book II. c. xxiii. His whole mind is expressed in a passage which occurs Book III. c. vi. n. 21.

The "essence" of anything in respect of us, is the whole complex idea comprehended and marked by that name; and in substances, besides the several distinct simple ideas that make them up, the confused one of substance, or of an unknown support and cause of their union, is always a part.

H. PARKINSON, D.D.

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**The Truth of the Christian Religion.** By JULIUS KAFTAN, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German, under the author's supervision, by GEORGE FERRIES, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1894. In 2 volumes. Pp. 802.

THE title which Professor Kaftan has chosen to give to this work is distinctly misleading. Surely the title would lead us to expect that the work would prove to be a vindication of Christianity. But vindication is not to be found excepting in the last chapter of the second volume, and the vindication there contained is a vindication not of the Christian religion as commonly understood, but of the Christian religion as understood by Neo-Kantian theology. The first volume deals with the origin and history of ecclesiastical dogma. Religion is the search for God, the chief good, the striving to partici-

pate in the life of God. We can seek to participate in the life of God in one or other of two ways: either by means of knowledge, or by the moral training of the will. Which of these two ways is to be ranked as superior to the other? The ancient heathen philosophy decided in favour of the former. The Gospel and its first witnesses decided in favour of the latter. But in the second century there came a fusion of Greek philosophy and Christian truth, whence arose dogma. In the earlier stages of this fusion, Christian truth supplied the content of dogma, while philosophy supplied its form or systematic presentation. But before long the principle of Greek philosophy that man must seek happiness, or the chief good, in and through knowledge, was adopted as the starting point of Christianity, while the Logos-idea which dominated Greek philosophical thought, and expressed the philosophical sense of the correlation of God, the world, and man, was accepted as the central idea of Christianity. With Heraclitus the Logos was a materialistic conception. With the Stoics it became spiritualised, and acquired a directly religious significance. But it was the Logos-idea as found in Philo that was appropriated by Christian theologians. The basis of the Logos doctrine as found in Philo is the Stoic theory fused with Platonic and Aristotelian traditions. Emphasising the transcendence of God even more strongly than Aristotle had done, Philo arrived at an abstract opposition of God and the world which did not permit the assumption of an immediate connection between them. And yet some connection must exist. It is the Logos-idea, according to Philo, that establishes this connection. In the Logos theory of Philo the world is in God, and God is present to the world. The Logos is the mediator that interposes between God who is Himself transcendent, and the manifold world that is set over against Him. To know by means of the Logos the things in which the Logos holds sway constitutes the dignity and portion of man. Original Christianity, governed by the idea kingdom of God, associated the end of man with the moral righteousness which has to be realised in this world. But dogmatic Christianity, when once dominated by the Logos-idea, yielded unconditionally the first place to knowledge. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was an honest but only partially successful attempt to liberate Christian truth from the Pagan philosophy which oppressed and distorted it. More thorough success in this direction was reserved for Kant, whose work was organically connected with the Reformation, and was indeed its completion and perfection. Kant, by teaching that the articles of religion should be understood from the motives of practical life, ousted knowledge from its usurped position, and restored original and moral Christianity. Such is in summary the theory of Professor

Kaftan on the origin, development, and dissolution of ecclesiastical dogma, and this forms the matter of the first volume of his work. The second volume is nominally devoted to a proof of Christianity. But by far the larger portion of the volume is merely perambulatory, and treats of knowledge, the primacy of practical reason, and the traditional speculative method. The concluding chapter sets forth the proof of Christianity as the Professor understands Christianity and proof; in other words, it seeks to prove that "only the Christian idea of the Kingdom of God as the chief good of humanity answers to the requirements which must be made of the true, rational, absolutely valid idea of the chief good."

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**Brendaniana: St. Brendan the Voyager.** By the Rev. DENIS O'DONOGHUE, P.P., Ardfert. Dublin: Brown & Nolan. 1893.

IN the preface to this interesting work the author modestly attributes much of its merits to other hands. He confesses that he has drawn largely upon the texts edited some years ago by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Sydney. But even those who may possess Cardinal Moran's "*Acta Sti Brendani*" will acknowledge that Father O'Donoghue deserves a large meed of praise for his spirited translations of the mediæval Latin or ancient Gaelic records which bear upon his subject. The copious and apposite notes which are appended to the life of the great voyager contain valuable information on the topography and early ecclesiastical history of the Saint's native country. The writer begins with a description and plan of the ancient Cathedral of Ardfert-Brendan, its chapels and chancels, and shows how precious the present ruins must be in the estimation of the archæologist. After this introductory chapter, Father O'Donoghue presents us with the "*Irish Life of Brendan*" from the "*Book of Lismore*." A literal English translation is given on opposite pages for those to whom Erse is a mystery even when dressed in the characters of the Roman alphabet. The "*Life*" is very short, a matter of two dozen pages; but, like the Breviary lives of the old saints, its brevity does not prevent its being a complete and vivid picture of a living personality. The notes on the Irish life fill seventy pages. This at first sight seems an alarming proportion, yet we venture to think that the reader would not willingly surrender a line of them. They contain a storehouse of facts, sayings, legends, descriptions which reveal the learning of the author, but are free from the tedious excursions, extravagant theories, and dry-as-dust technicalities of ordinary antiquarian annotations. All through it is St.



Brendan who stands out; the commentator is content with placing us in the proper position to observe his hero, and then utterly effaces himself. Naturally the celebrated voyage, *Navigatio Brendani*, is the chief feature in this book. It occupies nearly two hundred pages in the English translation, and still seems short. Reading it one can understand how this tale of the sea took such a hold on men's minds in the middle age, and how it passed in various shapes and versions into almost every language and dialect of mediæval Europe, even, it is supposed, contributing the Whale-island incident to the Arabian tale of Sinbad the Sailor. A new translation of the Latin life of St. Brendan comes next, and this is followed by five short legends, vestiges of Irish settlements and missions in North America before the tenth century, and the records of a public pilgrimage to Brendan Mountain in 1868. Two early English lives, one in verse, the other in prose, with which this scientific and romantic volume comes to a close, are proofs that St. Brendan was a favourite even amongst the Sassenach. In clearness of type, in size, shape and arrangement, the volume leaves nothing to be desired. When, however, Brendaniana attains the honours of a second edition, which its scholarship and literary beauties are certain to win for it, the author would do well to round his work with the finishing grace of an index.

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#### **An Explanation of the Gospels of the Sundays and Holidays.**

From the Italian of Angelo Cagnola by Rev. L. A. LAMBERT, LL.D. Together with an explanation of Catholic Worship, &c. From the German by Rev. RICHARD BRENNAN, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 368, with 32 large illustrations. 2s. New York: Benziger Brothers. London: Burns & Oates.

**I**N a single and handy volume the learned author of "Notes on Ingersoll," and Fr. Brennan have given us good translations of two books of approved merit. There is no reason why "An Explanation of the Gospels" and an "Explanation of Catholic Worship" should not meet with a success amongst English-speaking populations, equal *servatis servandis* to that which they attained in their original form. Catholics, priests, and laity alike will find their contents to be valuable as well as interesting. The simple catechetical instructions on the Gospels are full of edifying and suggestive information. The literal and moral meanings of the scriptural passages are set forth in plain, direct, and concise language. Though the margins are encumbered with notes, there is evidence that the very marrow of the best patristic and scholastic commentators

is served up in these unpretending pages. Not a point is lost, not a lesson is passed over. Words, expressions, phrases which through continual iteration are supposed to be known, are here subjected to a searching yet brief investigation, with the result that a deeper and more practical sense is discovered and learned. For those living at a distance from church, or for persons looking for a book to read to the sick and other "shut-ups," its worth can hardly be estimated.

Since the issue of Canon Oakley's well-known work, the "Explanation of Catholic Worship" is one of the best English compendiums published on the subject. Nothing has been omitted by the German author which could help a Catholic to give a short, clear, and correct answer to any question addressed to him in regard to the ceremonies, sacraments and festivals of his Church. After explaining what is to be understood by Catholic worship, the writer treats of its five great acts—viz., the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass; the Sacraments; the sacramentals; preaching; prayer and sacred music. There are valuable notes on the altar, the chalice, the vestments, the missal and the priest's invaluable friend and benefactor, the server. The ceremonial acts used in conferring the sacraments have their mystical significations pointed out, and the cycle of the liturgical year is run through, special references being made to the principal Church seasons and festivals. The translation is what we should expect from the names of those responsible for it. The illustrations are helpful, the printing and paper excellent, and the volume merits the most cordial reception.

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### THE QUARTERLY SERIES.

**The Story of St. Stanislaus Kostka, of the Society of Jesus.**

Edited by FRANCIS GOLDIE, of the same Society. Third edition, enlarged.

**The Life of Saint Francis Borgia, of the Society of Jesus.**

By A. M. CLERKE. London: Burns & Oates. 1893.

**T**WO editions of "The Story of St. Stanislaus Kostka" have already appeared. The work seems to have been partly a translation from the Italian life by Boero, partly original matter from the pens of the late Father Henry Coleridge and of the present editor. This edition is almost a new book. A MS. life of the Saint, long known to exist, but never printed textually before 1892, by Father Ubaldini, the King of Poland's procurator in the cause of the Canonisation, has made it necessary to rewrite a large part of it. It does not appear that Father Ubaldini contributes anything of

first-class importance to what was already known. Father Goldie, however, has given his readers a well-arranged and vigorous narrative. The new fashion in writing "Lives" is to pursue every character, however subordinate, to his most secret haunts, and to print everything. This somewhat overloads the narrative; and Father Goldie does not escape from the snare, as, for example, when he gives us, in the text, miniature biographies of about five-and-twenty Jesuit novices who may have been in the noviceship with Saint Stanislaus. Nevertheless the industry, research and piety displayed in this acceptable volume are in every way noteworthy.

Miss A. M. Clerke's "Life of St. Francis Borgia" is new, original, and on an adequate scale. Such a Life has long been wanted in English. To those who are conversant with Father Ribadaneira's "Life," either in the original Spanish, or in one of its many translations, there are not many fresh facts in these pages, if we except what the writer has said in the first chapter about the Borgias in general. The work of Ribadaneira, which is considered by Alban Butler to be "the masterpiece of the pious author," is the groundwork of the story, and it would have been better if the present writer had indicated more clearly those passages which are directly translated from it. We have long paragraphs and pages in inverted commas, but are very rarely told where they come from. Miss Clerke's arrangement and narrative are admirable. The style of the book inclines to the devotional, and this will give pleasure to the numerous readers who look, in the life of a saint, for spiritual profit. There are certainly, in the story of the great Spaniard who laid down his dignities to become a Jesuit, materials for devotional treatment in the greatest abundance. St. Francis Borgia's great gift was heroic humility, and this virtue shines in every page. He had, moreover, great tenderness of devotion and a singular faculty of devout expression, of which there are many examples in the work before us. His extraordinary persistence in the practice of prolonged prayer moves the admiration of all who understand ever so little of the spiritual life. In addition to these saintly qualities, he was a scholar and a statesman. There can be no doubt that he is one of the real founders of the Society, and this might have been brought out with greater force in the "Life." The development of the "novitiate," and of the seminary and college system, which have done so much to make the Society what it has been and still is, was the work of St. Francis Borgia. Miss Clerke, we are bound to say, does not omit to state so much as this; but there must be materials in existence which would show more definitely the point at which he took up the

work of St. Ignatius and of Laynez, and where he left it for Acquaviva to continue. We miss, in this beautiful and scholarly biography, any allusion to the English persecution. It is true that St. Francis Borgia, who sent missionaries into so many lands, was not the General who sent the first Jesuits to England. There were at least three or four English youths in the novitiate at St. Andrea before the Saint's death in 1572. But he never seems to have met either Campion or Parsons, both of whom were sent to England within the next eight years.

One little protest may be made. The person whom Miss Clerke calls Blessed Peter *Faber* may have been so named somewhere and by some people. But there are plenty of Fabers known to letters and religion, and the Blessed Peter is not one of them (except in Latin). Father Goldie, in his "St. Stanislaus," writes the name "Favre"; Alban Butler gives it as "Le Fèvre." The proper and original spelling of the name of St. Ignatius's first French disciple seems to be "Le Faivre."

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**Elementary Course of Christian Philosophy.** Based on the Principles of the best Scholastic Authors. Adapted from the French of Brother Louis of Poissy by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. New York : P. O'Shea, 45 Warren Street. 1893. Pp. 538.

THERE are many who would gladly make some acquaintance with Scholastic Philosophy, but who are not able to study it in Latin text-books. For such as possess a considerable amount of leisure, ample provision may be found in the manuals recently published by the Jesuit Fathers, which are doing such excellent service. But not all that are willing to learn possess the time that is required for the mastery of the six goodly volumes which constitute the Stonyhurst series. And yet provision should be made for these also. The "Elementary Course" is an attempt to meet this demand, and, so far as size goes, the book is just as it should be. A very good elementary course of philosophy could, we think, be presented within the compass of this book. But such a work, to be perfect of its kind, should exhibit an unusual power of condensation and a just sense of proportion in the distribution of its space. It should also, we think, be purely constructive. To attempt to refute, in a few words, each philosophical error in turn would be both futile in itself and a sacrifice of space which the positive side could ill spare. Judged by such a standard the "Elementary Course" is not a perfect work. But if it is not perfect it is at least a good book; and

good books of its own special kind are rare. Indeed, the only other that we know is the "Logic and Metaphysic," published many years ago by Fr. Hill, S.J. There are various minor defects to be found in the "Elementary Course." Most of them are due, no doubt, to a brevity which is not always identical with condensation. What is said, *e.g.*, concerning the independence of civil authority, is very far from conveying the common scholastic doctrine. Thus Victoria, who is styled by Melchior Canus "summus theologiae praeceptor," says ("Relectio de Potestate Civili," n. 7): "Constitutione ergo divina, Respublica hanc potestatem (civilem) habet; causa vera materialis, in qua hujusmodi potestas residet jure naturali et divino, est ipsa Respublica, cui de se competit gubernare seipsam, et administrare, et omnes potestates suas in commune bonum dirigere." This doctrine, which is the teaching of Suarez and of most scholastic writers, could scarcely be gathered from what is said on the subject by the "Elementary Course." But to those that have little time for the study of Philosophy, and to those who, having already studied it, wish to revive, *per summa capita*, their memory of it, we can recommend the "Elementary Course."

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**Christ in Type and Prophecy.** By Rev. A. J. MAAS, S.J.,  
Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College, Ma.  
New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1893.  
Pp. 485.

THIS book, which Fr. Maas has just published, is not, we think, of uniform excellence. The long Introduction which deals with prophecies and the prophetic office in general, and to which one-third of the entire work is devoted, is undoubtedly both interesting and useful. But we do not think that this portion will compare, either in usefulness or interest, with the remainder of the work, which discusses at length and with much learning, the prophecies bearing upon the genealogy, birth, infancy, and names of the Messiah. The following extract from the commentary of Fr. Maas upon the "Blessing of Juda," may serve to indicate the thoroughness of our author:

"The sceptre shall not pass away from Juda." "The sceptre." The word following "sceptre," as it stands in the Hebrew text, means either "shall not depart" or "shall not be wanting." The context determines which of these significations is preferable. Now in the context we read the noun "shebeth," which signifies either "tribe" or "sceptre." Hence we have the two different renderings: "A tribe descending from Juda shall not be wanting," and "a sceptre shall not depart from Juda." Patrizi defends the former of these two renderings for the following reasons:—(1) The Hebrew word "shebeth" occurs 160 times in the

meaning "tribe," only forty times in the signification of "sceptre." (2) In the very chapter to which our prophecy belongs "shebeth" signifies twice "tribe" (vv. 16, 28); hence it is probable that it has the same meaning in v. 10. (3) The fulfilment of the prophecy becomes clearer if we translate "shebeth" by "tribe" than if we render it by "sceptre." (4) If we translate "tribe" we obtain a beautiful climax in the context, which is lost if we give the other meaning to "shebeth." (5) If we render "royal sceptre," the prophecy does not predict anything that is peculiar to Juda (*cf.* Gen. xlix. 28), since the royal power has belonged to the other tribes of Israel as well as to Juda. (6) S. Basil prefers the rendering "tribe" to that of "sceptre."

But (a) it cannot be denied that the authority of only one Father in a matter so much disputed as the present passage is of very little weight. (b) On the other hand, the climax of the passage is not entirely lost, even if we translate "shebeth" by "sceptre." For the words "from his thigh" add clearness and emphasis to the preceding line. However, we cannot assume *a priori* that the passage must have such a climax. (c) As to the frequency of "shebeth's" meaning "tribe," we must fully grant the fact, but deny that therefore "shebeth" must have always such a signification, even when the context calls for another meaning. (d) Though other tribes, too, have wielded the royal power in Israel, Juda has so far outstripped them all that the Jews generally looked upon David and Solomon as ideal representatives of the theocracy. And this power has as completely been taken away from Juda, as the distinction between the different tribes has disappeared. Since then Cardinal Patrizi's arguments are not altogether unanswerable, we may add a few positive reasons, &c. &c.

This very able work will be useful to all; but for professors and students of theology it will have a very special value.

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**The Revelation and the Record.** By REV. JAMES MACGREGOR, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1893. Pp. 265.

THIS book is, for the most part, sketchy and fragmentary as to matter, uneven and jerky as to manner. To read it is like trying to hold a squirrel. Unexpected parentheses, appendices, discontinuities of many kinds are constantly being sprung upon the unsuspecting reader. It often reads more like a series of notes intended one day to be worked up into book shape than an actually existing book. Dr. Macgregor explains the inspiration, and establishes the canonicity of the Scriptures in ways other than those employed by the Catholic Church. Of this we have no right to complain, but we may fairly resent his use of the insulting expressions, "hedge priest of Rome," and "bogtrotter," when he is discussing the Catholic system. We cannot reply to abuse; but we can answer a question; and Dr. Macgregor puts one to us. After stating that "Romish ecclesiasticism" forbids private inter-

pretation on the ground "that Scripture cannot be trusted to be its own interpreter, but if left to itself would be a 'nose of wax' (the expression is Romish), which private judgment would shape at every man's individual discretion, so that for prevention of endless confusions the Scripture has to be 'sensed' by Romish ecclesiasticism (fixing the otherwise 'nose of wax' in a fine commanding Roman shape)," he goes on to declare that the "Romish doctrine" of intention "puts it completely out of all human power to know (infallibly?) who is *bona fide* the Roman bishop, or even whether any true Roman bishop ever existed," and then asks, "*where then is the infallibility to be sought and found that we may know the meaning of Scripture?*" The "Romish" reply to this difficulty is not far to seek. According to Catholic teaching the Church is infallible, not only with respect to revealed truths, but also with respect to dogmatic facts, or facts which though not themselves revealed, have yet such connection with revelation that they cannot be called in question without prejudice to revelation itself. That Leo XIII. is the lawful Bishop of Rome, that the Council of Ephesus was a true Œcumenical Council, are instances of dogmatic facts. The difficulty then is met by a mere statement of the doctrine of the Church. Dr. Macgregor may, of course, deny the truth of that doctrine, but that is nothing to the present purpose. Before Dr. Macgregor undertakes to condemn us out of our own mouth he must first hear what we say. Though there is much in the "Revelation and the Record" that we must dissent from, and not a little that we must resent, we are nevertheless glad to welcome the arguments "*ex concessis*" which Dr. Macgregor urges against Strauss, pp. 157 *seq.*, and against Renan, pp. 209 *seq.*

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**De Effectibus Sacramenti Extremæ Uctionis.** Dissertatio Historico-Dogmatica quam conscripsit IGNATIUS SCHMITZ, S. Theologiæ Doctor. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Sumptibus Herder. 1893. Pp. 86.

IN this very able treatise Dr. Schmitz displays a very large acquaintance with the theological literature bearing on his subject, and considerable power of acumen. He manifests as much ability when he is marshalling the indications presented by the early ages of the Catholic teaching on extreme unction, as when he is discussing with separate treatment the doctrine of B. Albert, S. Thomas, and S. Bonaventure. The section entitled "*De Reliquiarum Abstersione*" seems to us particularly good.

*Philosophia Naturalis* in usum scholarum, auctore HENR. HAAN,  
S.J. 8vo. pp. viii—219. Freiburg: Herder, 1894.

THIS work is the third of the series of philosophical text-books of which Father Frick's "*Ontologia*" was the second. It is uniform in arrangement, size, and print with its companion volumes. Like his collaborateurs, Father Haan is no mere copyist or compiler. His book is no dilution of thought for inferior minds, but a strong and serious work, intended to inform and educate such students as are willing to devote a space of time to the consideration of the deep things of the material universe. He remits, and we think wisely, to other treatises, the subjects of idealism, pantheism, and creation, thus devoting the whole space at his disposal to the subjects most proper to his field of work. One hundred and forty-one pages are given to the study of the "*Non-viventia*," and seventy-five to the questions belonging to vegetative and sensitive life. Some, no doubt, would have preferred that the author had confined himself to the "*non-living*," as coming more strictly within the range of cosmology. But while we ourselves prefer to see the different classes of living things treated together as one whole subject, we frankly admit that this division would have deprived us of some of the best work of our author.

There is no affectation of abstruseness or learning in the laying out of the subject-matter. The table of contents charms by its neatness and modesty. The enunciations of the theses are brief, often not more than a single line, and what is much to the purpose, are clearness itself. The discrimination with which, in almost every topic that he handles, the main point is disentangled and separated from all side issues, is one of the masterly excellences of the author's treatment. His proofs are conspicuously divided to the eye, and for the most part are irresistible, and always presented in the unadorned simplicity and candour of true science. From beginning to end we have noticed with much satisfaction the complete absence of anything like "*padding*." Another feature of the book which ought to render it especially attractive to our scholastic disputant, is the teeming abundance of its "*Objections*." The few "*stock*" difficulties which appear, are no mere men of straw, nor uninteresting fossils of a bygone time, but are living and vigorous, while the rest are the outcome of patient and profound meditations upon the problems involved in this most abstruse department of philosophy.

Many would have desired that the matter which is introduced in the discussion of difficulties were welded into the primary exposition of doctrine. Unity of view, breadth of synthesis, and force of treat-



ment would have been more efficiently secured. But Father Haan has learned, possibly from his experience of pupils, that it is more profitable to suggest to them the strong and actual points of difficulty, than to leave them to invent obscure and airy irrelevances. This is the sufficient justification of the ninety-five pages (or thereabout) of closely printed objections which the book contains.

*Non nova sed nove* is a maxim well observed in this manual. Among those subjects which by common consent of philosophers are assigned to cosmology, we have noticed this newness or freshness of manner particularly in the chapters on Miracles, n. 110–126, on the Numerical distinction of bodies, n. 230–233, and in the excellent synthesis directed against the Atomists, n. 240. The entire section on the peripatetic system of the Composition of bodies, n. 254–290, is free from that formalism with which even the neo-scholastic is sometimes reproached. The gradual opening out of the doctrines in the successive theses is well arranged, and the leading idea of the system enunciated in Thesis xli. (*Principium materiale a formali realiter distinguitur*) is set forth with a clever application of metaphysical principles to the facts of observation, and the conclusions arrived at in previous chapters. Peripatetics of a more rigid school will surely hold their breath when they find Father Haan quite prepared to concede that water is not substantially different from hydrogen and oxygen, and that isomeric bodies differ merely in the manner in which their elements are compounded, n. 236.

The extreme complexity of the views tenable in certain questions (such as Quantity, Space, Place), seems to have hampered our author somewhat in the first Book, where the opinions he adopts are not always evolved with the fulness that is desirable. He moves with greater freedom in the rest of the work. From Books iii.—v., where he deals with “Viventia,” it is difficult to select passages for special mention, when all is so good and serviceable for the student. The lucid and decisive working out of the theses on the absence of Sense in plants (Thesis xxiv.), the presence of Sense (Theses xxvii., xxviii.) and the absence of Intellect in animals (Thesis xxxix.), are instances of the writer's facile treatment. The leading points in the hypothesis of the Evolution of Species are well explained and discussed in Thesis xxxiv. But by far the most interesting feature of the treatment of living things is the well-sustained exposition of the vital principle in plants and animals. The theory of matter and form comes as an induction in the last chapter. It is implicit in the expositions which precede. The vital principle in plants is held to be divisible (Thesis xxvi.); the vital principle of sensation is also held to be divisible and drawn from

matter. We freely recognise that this quasi-materiality of the vital principles in vegetative and sentient beings, does away with all need of postulating a creative act for the production of an immaterial principle; it likewise settles the problem of brute mortality; but it furnishes a new difficulty in the very act of sensation. For we have never been able to comprehend how a cognitive principle, composed of real and quantitative parts, can be shown to provide any intelligible substratum for the immaterial act of sensation. The author touches this difficulty, n. 217, but does it scant justice.

The usual considerations are advanced against the *continuum virtuale*, n. 15, but we are unable to discover that they are as yet invested with a force that is perfectly conclusive.

"Space" is not treated with the same vigour, nor with the same elimination of irrelevant issues which are to be found in other portions of the book. We are somewhat surprised to see that the *sensus intimus* is not enumerated among the internal senses, n. 185. The *sensus communis* is described (*ib.*) as gathering in the perceptions of the external senses. The current notion of this faculty is somewhat different; and the author is well advised in drawing attention to the genuine teaching of St. Thomas, who (*Summa I.*, q. 78, a. 4, ad. 1<sup>m</sup> et 2<sup>m</sup>; and also *De Anima*, art. 13 in O.), speaks of the *sensus communis* as "*potentia ad quam omnia sensibilia perveniunt—radix et principium exteriorum sensuum—communis terminus ad quem referuntur omnes apprehensiones sensuum*";—and gives as the principle "*oportet quod qui inter alia discernit, utrumque cognoscat.*"

H. PARKINSON.

**Le Général De La Moricière.** Par l'Abbé POU GEOIS. Nouvelle édition. Paris: Téqui. 1894.

**L**A MORICIÈRE will always be for Catholics the hero of the gallant stand made by the Pontifical Zouaves against the invasion of the States of the Church in the autumn of 1860. History does not record any incident more charged with hypocrisy and violence than the struggle between Cavour and Garibaldi as to which should be the first to seize on the possessions of Pius IX. At first the papal general expected to contend only against the motley crowd of Garibaldians advancing from the south, but he soon found that he had to face about to meet a veteran Piedmontese army many times more numerous than his own. No amount of skill on his part, or daring on the part of his ill-equipped troops, could save him from irreparable disaster. Three-fourths of his men were shot down or made

prisoners at the battle of Castelfidardo, fought on September 18 under the heights of Loreto; while La Moricière himself with the remnant cut his way through to Ancona, only to lay down his arms eleven days later.

But who was La Moricière, and how came he, a Frenchman, to command the papal forces? He was indeed one of the most brilliant soldiers of his country. It was he who, after a war extending over eighteen campaigns, at last succeeded in overcoming the stubborn resistance of the Arabs, and captured Abd-el-Kader. During the troubled days of the Second Republic, he so distinguished himself as an orator and a statesman that he was one of the victims of Louis Napoleon's infamous *coup d'état*. Hence it was that France was deprived of his valuable services in the Crimea and in the Austrian war, and that he was able to devote himself to the service of Pius IX. After his defeat he lived in retirement in France until his death in 1865. He persistently refused the honours which his admiring and sympathising countrymen were anxious to confer upon him; he would allow no attempt to minimise or explain away his defeat.

Here is surely matter enough for a story of thrilling interest. French writers cannot usually be accused of want of skill in working up their materials, especially when their religious and patriotic emotions are stirred. But it must be said at once that the Abbé Pougeois' book is a most disappointing one. Most of it is made up of cuttings from newspapers and extracts from pastorals and sermons. Some letters from the survivors of Castelfidardo are interesting in their way, but are not of much help to enable us to understand the character and the story of La Moricière. There was some excuse for a book of this kind when it first appeared soon after the death of the hero, and while his enemy was still at the height of his ill-gotten power. But now that the Second Empire has long disappeared, and many additional sources of information are accessible, the volume should have been not simply reproduced, but re-written.

T. B. S.

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**West-Grinstead et les Caryll.** Étude historique et religieuse sur le Comté de Sussex. Par MAX DE TRENQUALÉON. 2 vols. En Angleterre, chez Mgr. Denis, West-Grinstead, Horsham, Sussex.

THE first thought of most readers as they scan these two stout volumes, crammed with the history of a single English family and of one small portion of an English county, will be, how came they to be written in French! The main interest of the work—to English

readers a very genuine one—lies in the story of an old Catholic race which kept the faith through the dreary days of persecution until, overwhelmed by confiscations and debts, it died out towards the end of the last century. In addition, we have here an account of Catholicity in Sussex from the days of St. Wilfrid, with notes on its parishes and short biographies of many of the bishops of Chichester, and much other information, valuable but hardly to the point. The fact that the work has been written for foreign readers may explain this diffusiveness, as well as certain other provoking peculiarities, such as inaccuracy in dates and the misspelling of common English names. Tankerville, for instance, which being Norman might have escaped, gets twisted into Faurandsbydrs! It is still more irritating to have the gossiping letters of old squires and dames and priests done into very modern French from which all their quaintness has evaporated.

Making allowance for these drawbacks, we must be grateful for the great trouble taken over the compilation of this work. To English Catholics the history of the Carylls is one of a most pathetic interest; and we find fully recorded in these volumes how staunchly they kept the faith for two hundred years, how much they suffered, how they founded missions and sheltered priests, and how their sons and daughters gave themselves to religious life. We are able to trace their story in great detail from the ample records which they have left. No less than thirty volumes of Caryll Correspondence were bequeathed to the British Museum by the late Mr. Dilke, who is said to have obtained them from the old mission at Havant.

The Carylls of Benton, of West Grinstead, and afterwards of Harting, in Sussex, were among the many new men who rose to wealth and power during the sixteenth century, and among the few of that class who at the change of religion clung to the old faith. They were loyal to Elizabeth at the time of the Armada, and two of them were knighted by her at Cowdray. Closely related to some of the ringleaders of Gunpowder Plot, one of them was imprisoned on the unfounded suspicion of complicity in that conspiracy. During the Civil War they fought for the king, and with the usual results, that their estates were seized, their house at Harting sacked and themselves imprisoned by the Roundheads; whilst for reward after the Restoration they were persecuted as recusants and imprisoned for Protestant plots. A Caryll was the first envoy of James II. to the Court of Rome, and subsequently Secretary to Queen Mary of Modena. The prudent counsellor and trusted friend of her and her husband, he followed them into exile, and was raised to the peerage by King James as Lord Caryll, Baron Durford; the empty honour

being but a small recompense for his outlawry by William of Orange and the confiscation of all his estates. These were redeemed by his nephew, the next heir, upon payment of an enormous fine. The mansion at Lady Holt, near Harting, became then the chief seat of the family, a beautiful but retired spot among the Sussex Downs, where they hoped to hide their faith and loyalty from the unwelcome notice of the government. These were perhaps the happiest years of their history. Pope, who was a life-long friend of the family, was a frequent visitor to them both here and at West Grinstead, sometimes with his friend Gay. It was Caryll who suggested the idea of the "Rape of the Lock," the hero of which, Lord Petre, and the heroine, Miss Fermor, were both his relations. Some of Pope's pleasantest letters were written to this Caryll; and it was among the beech-woods of the "beauty of Lady Holt," as the park was styled from its superb situation, that a great part of the "Iliad" was translated. Pope, who was an artist, it seems, as well as a poet, had painted a Madonna for the altar of Lady Holt chapel. Caryll, in return, sends him some Emsworth oysters, for which Pope thanks him as follows: "Now as your Lady is pleased to say of my present that St. Luke himself never drew such a Madonna, so I may say of yours that the Prince of ye Apostles himself, tho' he were a fisherman all his life, never eat so good oysters." "You'll be the cause that I shall obey a precept of the Church this Lent."

Anecdotes of this kind abound in these interesting volumes, which contain besides notices of the younger branches of the family, of its chaplains, of the noble houses to which it was allied, and of the other members, twenty-four in all, who became priests or nuns, twelve of them amongst the English Benedictines.

Meanwhile the relentless persecution pressing upon Catholics was rapidly reducing the Carylls from affluence to actual want. Perhaps the book contains no record more eloquent of the miseries to which Catholics were then exposed than the list of "Spoliations and Vexations" enumerated in chapter xvii. of vol. ii. No less than fifty-two official acts of persecution against the family, many of them involving serious fines and imprisonment, are there recorded within the space of a century and a half. To maintain any position under such circumstances needed an abler administrator than the last John Caryll, who, though a man of blameless character, and no spendthrift, had little of the prudence and business capacity of his ancestors. Debts began to accumulate, portions of the great estates were sold and mortgages gathered on the remainder. Sad details are given of the straits to which the family at Lady Holt were reduced when debts crushed, and bailiffs dunned, and his

own relations pressed the squire for payment of their portions. The chaplain, old Father Hunt, writes to tell him that a Petersfield neighbour, Mr. Jolliffe, has sent the sheriff's officers to Lady Holt; and he adds that a shoulder of mutton a week is now all the meat they can get, the tradesmen at Petersfield having begun to limit their credit. His mother-in-law, Lady Molyneux, writes from Woolton: "to acquaint dr. Mr. Caryll that last Wednesday night there came a Bailife to arrest me, but being apprised of it, was lock up, wch I shall be till ye money is paid; so for God's sake have compassion on me and hasten the sale of ye estate." The rising in '45 brought about the final ruin. Suspected as a Jacobite, harassed as "a convict Papist," and driven into hiding, sometimes at Dunkerque, sometimes at Havant, Caryll was unable to raise money in any way, and this was the time chosen by his creditors and Protestant neighbours for foreclosing the mortgages. West Grinstead passed away from him in 1746, and shortly afterwards Lady Holt; the latter, with its chapel, was immediately dismantled; the beautiful park was destroyed, and the monuments at Harting suffered to decay; whilst the last of the Carylls, after following the fortunes of Charles Edward to the last, ended his days in exile at Dunkerque near the convent which his ancestors had founded (1788).

But the memory of the family was not easily obliterated; and their fame still survives in the missions which they established, and the grateful recollections of their village neighbours. To this day the peasants about Harting remember that "the Caryll was good, and therefore we always hoped that he would come back again." Perhaps the hope has been substantially accomplished! At West Grinstead, the Carylls' first home, the Catholic faith has never failed; their missions still flourish at Slindon and Havant; and close to Harting on the Downs by the Sussex border, a new Catholic home and sanctuary have arisen during the last few years within a stone's throw of dismantled Lady Holt.

J. I. C.

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**Documents illustrating Catholic Policy in the Reign of James VI., 1596-98.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by THOMAS GRAVES LAW. Edinburgh: University Press. 1893.

**T**HESE papers, published for the first time by the Scottish History Society, are rather painful reading. Dealing exclusively with the political dissensions amongst Catholics in England and Scotland during the days of persecution, they throw a painful light upon the intrigue, bribery and treachery which often accompanied those

dissensions. The succession to Elizabeth's throne was of vital importance to the Catholic party; but the Scottish king had long been playing a double game, and it was only natural that his claims to the English crown should be violently attacked. It was, however, the dishonest and oppressive policy of Elizabeth that was mainly responsible for the perpetual plots which disturbed her reign. Men were driven to work in secret, and secrecy produced a plentiful crop of informers and traitors; politics became one vast conspiracy, and the results to religion were lamentable. Still it is hard to censure men so severely tried as were the Catholics of that time. They had so much at stake, they had so little guidance from ecclesiastical superiors; they were not all heroes, and not all wise; and we can only lament to see well-intentioned men betrayed into such weakness and such errors.

Of the three persons concerned in these documents, the layman, John Ogilvy, of Poury, seems to have been a spy and a conspirator from the beginning. Both James and the Catholic subjects whom he had been persecuting, were anxious for help from the King of Spain; but it is not easy to sift the grains of truth in Ogilvy's story, and to ascertain whether he was really an accredited agent of the Scottish king, and whether James had really offered to reconcile himself with Rome. The second, Dr. John Cecil, a secular priest ordained in Rome, had been captured by his namesake, the English minister, and soon came to terms with his captors. He certainly became a paid agent of Lord Burghley, and a spy upon his fellow Catholics. It is pitiable to read of his evasions and excuses, and his attempts to reconcile his dishonourable conduct with the remnants of his conscience. Yet he contrived to stand well with his brother clergy and the Catholic authorities. He was sent as a delegate of the secular priests in an appeal to Rome, and was finally appointed chaplain and almoner to a French princess. The most honest of the three mentioned in these papers was undoubtedly the Jesuit, William Creighton, the author of the second document here published, a rather violent political pamphlet called "*An Apologie and Defence of the K. of Scotlande against the infamous libell forged by John Cecill, &c.*" A consistent supporter of the claims of his own sovereign, Creighton had been imprisoned in the Tower, and had often been involved in political intrigues before; but he was undeniably infringing the strict injunctions of his superiors in thus meddling with political matters.

Mr. Law's interesting preface is written in a fair, if not a friendly spirit; and the Documents will form valuable material for a history that has yet to be written.

**The Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., late Dean of Westminster.** By ROWLAND E. PROTHERO, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, late Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. With the co-operation and sanction of the Very Rev. G. G. BRADLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. In two volumes, with portraits and illustrations. London: John Murray. 1893.

IN these two bulky volumes we possess what the present Dean of Westminster and Mr. Rowland Prothero have to say about the late Dean Stanley. We must, however, hasten to add that the joint biographers have been mindful of the first canons of their arduous task, and have not only caused the portrait of their hero to stand out boldly and clearly from their canvas, but have, all through their volumes, allowed the Dean, in letters and journals, to speak for himself. And what is the impression left on the reader after perusing these eleven hundred pages? Chiefly perhaps that here we have the most fascinating specimen which England is ever likely to see of latitudinarianism in its most graceful and scholarlike form. To Catholics, and indeed to any even outside the Church who value dogmatic truth, the fascination of Stanley must exist, if it exist at all, in spite of his extreme latitudinarianism. During his lifetime he succeeded in retaining in personal friendship many to whom his views were utterly repulsive; whether, now that his attractive and kindly personality is withdrawn, his memory will be in any degree cherished for those qualities which no one could help admiring in the living man, is more than doubtful. It is possible that fame will be kind to the man who has given us the biography of Arnold, and still more, to the sagacious and enlightened custodian, restorer, and expositor of Westminster Abbey. So far his memory may survive the fret of passing years. But as a solvent to dogmatism we doubt whether he has or ever had any real influence. The spirit of Arnold was nothing if not aggressive. In Stanley it lived without its aggressiveness; for combativeness was utterly foreign to his nature. On the other hand, it is quite probable that his name will be quoted as representing in this century the antipodes of that Catholic *ethos* which led Newman into the Fold of Christ, and the partial possession of which by such men as Pusey and Liddon makes Catholics wonder why *they* remained outside. And yet it is no mere paradox to say that the Liberalism against which the Tractarians spent their best strength, was the very quality which impelled Stanley to be on their side when the storm over Tract 90 arose. So consistently liberal was this pupil of Arnold that he saw in the argument of the leader



of the "Oxford Malignants" a possible opening for Catholics being admitted into the Church of England! Writing to Tait, one of the four tutors who had protested against the Tract, Stanley says:

From what you say I cannot be surprised at any one using any measures against the Tract who thinks it unadvisable, *per se*, that Roman Catholics should be members of the Church of England . . . though, perhaps, as I myself see no reason against Roman Catholics being Anglicans, except the impracticability of it, I should not have objected to any mode of rendering it practicable which was not on other grounds objectionable.

And writing to his friend Hugh Pearson, he says: "I have read No. 90 and almost all its consequences. The result clearly is, that Roman Catholics may become members of the Church and universities of England, which I for one cannot deplore." Surely this juxtaposition of the words *Church* and *universities* throws more light upon Stanley's ecclesiasticism than hundreds of pages could do. It supplies us with a key to his character and actions throughout his whole career.

At a still earlier period—indeed, before he went up to Balliol—he declares that he is strengthened in his "opinion that there is only one [Article] needed, that there only should be one, viz., I believe that Christ is both God and Man" (vol. i. p. 115).

Thirty years later, we find Dr. Pusey, when declining Stanley's invitation to preach in Westminster Abbey, expressing his belief "that one of the great dangers of the present day is to conceive of matters of faith as if they were matters of opinion, to think all have an equal chance of being right, which involves this—that there is no faith at all." Still more striking are Liddon's words, written in 1866. They clearly mark the distinction between the ideas held respectively by the Canon of St. Paul's and the Dean of Westminster as to what a Church meant. "Is not the practical question this," writes Liddon, "whether the Church of Christ is to be viewed as a mere Literary Society, or as a home and mother of dying souls?" (vol. ii. p. 171). Stanley felt, doubtless, that in opening the Abbey pulpit to preachers of various schools of thought, he was bringing within the reach of his congregation the truths which he believed each exponent held. According to his biographer, he viewed the ancient Abbey over which he presided, the venerable monument of the days when England belonged to the Undivided Mystical Body of Christ, as "the consecrated temple of reconciled ecclesiastical enmities."

It was within this "consecrated temple" that Stanley administered Communion to an Unitarian Minister, an act which was described at the time by other members of the "Literary Society" as "a deliberate

embodiment of insult and defiance to the whole of Catholic Christendom," as "an act of desecration," as "a gross profanation of the Sacrament," "a horrible sacrilege," "a dishonour to Our Lord and Saviour." Stanley, speaking in Convocation about the composition of the "Company of Revisers of the Authorised Version of the New Testament," of which the Unitarian in question was one, draws a distinction between Jews who deny the Divine mission of Our Lord altogether, and the Unitarians who, "like Sir Isaac Newton and John Milton, only differ from us in taking a lower view of His Divine character and Divine nature." That word "only" in such a connection can scarcely, we think, be surpassed. It discloses the small account which Stanley made of the difference in belief of those who worship Our Lord as the Incarnate God, and those who think (with Mahommedans) that He came from God somehow or other. But surely the doctrine of the Incarnation does not admit of any higher or lower "view." Either Jesus Christ is God, or He is not. Not that the Dean's attitude in this matter surprises us, any more than does his biographer's *naïve* statement that "the line of reasoning by which the administration of the Sacrament to an alleged Unitarian was condemned as sacrilegious, was one that had no weight with Stanley" (vol. ii. p. 220). What does surprise us is that persons who can and do appreciate the difference between a Church and a "Literary Society," should remain in Communion with those to whom all "opinions" are tolerable which lie between the Catholic Church and Socinianism. The fact is, however, as every Catholic knows, that the position of High Churchmen like Liddon and the rest, is founded on "opinion" quite as much as was Stanley's.

One of Stanley's greatest pleasures was to visit the scenes of historical events, even when it was not possible for him to witness those events. Thus he went to Paris in the year of revolutions, 1848, and a very interesting account will be found in this "Life" of what he saw. After the great war of 1870 he visited some of the battlefields, notably that of Sedan, which looked "as if five or six battles had been fought." He also saw the cottage in which the historic interview took place between Bismarck and Napoleon III. The woman to whom the place belonged told Stanley that the fallen Emperor sat with his head between his hands after Bismarck's departure, not even looking up when she, and later on, one of the French generals, entered. When a troop of Germans arrived to conduct him away, he presented the woman with five gold pieces which she had framed. "'*Bon enfant,*' she said; the one only good word we have heard of the unfortunate Emperor of the French" (vol. ii. p. 404). To Rome Stanley went on the eve of the Council,

and was much annoyed at being summoned home before it met. And here we must protest against the biographer's inaccuracy in jumbling together the views upon Papal Infallibility of such widely different men as Cardinal Newman, Montalembert, and other Catholics, on the one hand, and Döllinger and Friedrich on the other.

Our space, we are sadly conscious, does not admit of our conveying to the reader any idea of the many lovable qualities of this remarkable man. Of his kindness, his sympathy with the poor and suffering, his appreciation of the historical beauty and interest of the great Abbey committed to his charge—of these and many other things on which we would gladly linger—our readers will find abundant accounts in the volumes before us.

It has sometimes been asserted that he was too free in offering the honour of burial within the Abbey. But his biographer tells us that between 1864 and 1881 there were but nine interments for which the Dean was responsible, "and in no one instance did he himself take the initiative in proposing the burial in Westminster Abbey to the relatives of the deceased." The *Times*, in its obituary of Stanley, declared that "no Dean of Westminster has been more generous than he was in offering the coveted meed of sepulture within its precincts to the remains of great Englishmen who died in his time." This has been assuredly the prevailing notion, and it was this notion, if not the appreciation of the Dean's "generosity," which caused Carlyle, in his last illness, to exclaim, with his vehement nostalgia for Scotland and Ecclefechan: "Don't let that little *body-snatcher* Stanley get hold of me!"

WILFRID WILBERFORCE.

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**The Patriot Parliament of 1689.** New Irish Library. By THOMAS DAVIS. Edited, with an Introduction, by Sir CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893.

IN the light of modern parliamentary events in this country, this reprint of Davis' "Patriot Parliament" will be read with interest. Having the courage of our convictions, we welcome every sober and scholarly contribution to history and truth, no matter from what quarter it comes. Light is light, fact is fact, truth is truth, no matter through what medium we reach it, no matter whether it is in accordance with our mental mould and its family of ideas, or hostile to them. If a man runs his head against a wall, so much the worse for the head; the wall is a fact, and it remains there even when the head is gone. And then, as the logicians say,

"Ab actu ad possibile valet consequutio." Establish your fact, your defence of principles is simplified. Davis' "Patriot Parliament" is worth a ton of argument. A Patriot Parliament *may* be impossible theoretically, but then a Patriot Parliament *was*; and it requires a good deal of theory to upset that fact and the conclusions deducible from it. It was, we believe, Napoleon who won battles where success was pronounced impossible by the theorists. Perhaps in the light of the present volume of the New Irish Library the like success is foreshadowed much against the wishes, the arguments (?!) and the prejudice of the theorists.

The Irish Parliament of 1689 was thrown in difficult times. The reconstruction of a country after a period of upheaval, where confiscation, plunder, depreciation of coinage, unsettlement of claims, destruction of industry and commerce, corruption, jobbery, mistrust, and the wholesale demoralisation of the country prevailed, when communication was difficult and treachery rampant, is a work which can be achieved by the highest genius of statesmen who are endowed with boundless confidence in the principles they profess and the hope that is in them. Ireland had suffered much from the Cromwells, the savage Cootes, the Stuarts, Acts of settlement, and kindred rogueries, Inchiquin the "murrogh of the burnings," Monroe the roaster of men, Borlase and Parsons the legal progenitors of the jury-tuners of our day. James fled and left his throne behind him, thanks to the "loyalty" about which so much rubbish figures in postprandial orations. He retired to France, thence to Ireland, where the Patriot Parliament of 1689 commenced its labours. Mr. Davis unearthed for his readers in the forties the legislation enacted by that much maligned assembly. Its bigotry has been a constant theme of that marvellous family of writers which began with Gerald Barry, and does *not* end with the distinguished professor of history at Oxford. A specimen of its legislative enactments will encourage our readers to read Davis' book.

Chap. VI.—"An Act for taking off all incapacities from the natives of this kingdom." We believe a similar Act was thrown out of our own House of Commons about three years ago.

Chap. XII.—"An Act for Liberty of Conscience, and repealing such Acts and clauses in any Act of Parliament as are inconsistent with the same." When were the Penal Laws abolished in England?

Acts xiii. and xv. provide for the payment of tithes by Protestants to the Protestant Church, and by Catholics to the Catholic Church. Are the Welsh members asking for a similar enactment now over two centuries later? What has been the history of the Irish tithe war down to sixty years ago?

Chap. XVII.—“An Act for the relief of poor and distressed prisoners for debt.” How long is it since our humane legislation abolished, *v.g.*, the Marshalsea?

And so on. But then, if an Irish Parliament of so long ago solved difficult problems with such success, what about the theorists? Is it the ostrich alone that hides its head, and is not seen and does not see? We recommend this book, and above all we recommend Sir C. G. Duffy's preface, to be read slowly, pondered fittingly, for much food for thought is to be found therein.

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**The Convert's Catechism.** By Rev. FRANCIS X. REICHART.  
Pp. 48.

WE heartily welcome and recommend this “new and revised edition” of Father Reichart's “Convert's Catechism.”

Though he calls it a catechism, it is not put in the usual form of question and answer, but is a simple, clear, and uninterrupted exposition of all the more important doctrines of the Church. This little penny booklet supplies a want that has long been felt. Its use will not merely save the parochial clergy much of the time and trouble now spent in instructing the ever-increasing number of inquirers after truth, it will also be of considerable advantage to converts themselves. It will enable them to obtain a more comprehensive as well as a more extensive view of the Promised Land of Christ's Church, and to grasp more clearly the relation between one dogma and another, and the unity, harmony, and beauty of the whole Divine plan.

The various articles of our Faith are explained in easy and intelligible language, so that “he who runs may read”; and the mind is allowed to assimilate the different doctrines undisturbed by any digression into polemics, which, in a small work of this kind, Father Reichart has wisely left untouched.

(For copies, post free, apply to the Rev. F. Reichart, Presbytery at Stockport. The proceeds of sale are intended for a much-needed new church at Heaton Norris.)

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## Reviews in Brief.

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**The Household Poetry Book.** Edited by AUBREY DE VERE. With Biographical and Critical Notes. London: Burns & Oates. 1893.—This handy little volume is a very complete repertory of those masterpieces of English verse which every one likes to refer to, but which few have within reach in their original form of publication. The name of the editor is a guarantee for the taste and judgment with which the selection has been made, giving the public, in this "Poet's Guide to the Poets," a larger anthology than has ever previously been issued at the modest price of a shilling. Beginning with Chaucer, the collection comes down to our own day, but leaves aside the works of living poets, as well as some the publishers of which regard quotation from them as an infringement of copyright. We presume it is on this ground that Browning, whose "Rabbi Ben Ezra" would afford some splendid passages for extract, does not appear in the volume. A few slight errors in transcription may be corrected in a future edition, such as the substitution in the "Burial of Sir John Moore" of "the face that was dead," for "of the dead;" and "alone with his glory," for "in his glory," in the fifteenth and last lines respectively.

**Poems.** By FRANCIS THOMPSON. London: Elkin Mathews. 1893.—Amid the babel of voices that form the poetic utterance of this generation, Mr. Thompson has the rare merit of striking an individual note. To this he owes the attainment of a reputation seldom achieved by the publication of so small a quantity of verse. In dealing with a casket of gems, it would perhaps be hypercritical to complain that the process of polishing and cutting has been sometimes carried too far, but a simple subject is rather smothered than set off by elaboration of language and accumulation of metaphor. Hence the poet is at his best when he soars highest in "The Hound of Heaven," to such mysticism of thought and feeling as can only be conveyed in dimly allusive phrase and far-strained imagery.

**Poems.** By FLORENCE PEACOCK. Hull: William Andrews & Co. 1893.—The music of fluent rhyme and metre gives harmonious setting to the sentiment of these thoughtful lyrics, permeated, like most modern poetry, by strains of vague sadness. The four graceful stanzas called "Divided," are an example of the author's power of

evoking a shadowy romance by the help of a few fragmentary phrases.

**Claude Lightfoot.** By FRANCIS J. FINN, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1893.—Father Finn has here contrived to interweave a beautiful religious lesson with a story that contains much likely to fascinate a boy's mind. Claud Lightfoot is at once the scapegrace of the school from his exuberant vivacity, its champion batter in the American game of base ball, a match at which forms an exciting chapter, and a little hero in devotional earnestness and readiness to face danger in defence of the most sacred mystery of his faith. The story of his schoolboy adventures and escapades is told with such vividness and spirit as to make it stand out strikingly from the average tale intended to inculcate a moral lesson.

**Connor D'Arcy's Struggles.** By Mrs. BERTHOLDS. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1893.—This pretty story of the vicissitudes of fortune experienced by an Irish family of good birth and position is as entertaining as it is edifying. In the opening chapters plunged in poverty so dire that they are reduced to sore straits for the barest necessities of life, they are suddenly raised to opulence by the chance which makes their father an American millionaire. How their various types of character work themselves out in action under the test of these sharp contrasts of fortune, is a problem for the solution of which our readers may turn to the pages of the book itself, and we will not forestall their pleasure in doing so.

**The Last Day of the Carnival.** By J. KOSTROMITIN. (Translated from the Russian.) London: Fisher Unwin. 1893.—This volume, which is the first of a series intended to illustrate Russian life and politics, purports to give a realistic sketch of society in a remote country town, embodying incidents taken from life. It presents a frightful picture of corruption pervading all grades of society, and has greater interest as a study of real life than as a work of fiction. The plot, avowedly framed only to incorporate facts and details of every-day life, ends with the terrible catastrophe of a panic and crush at a masked ball winding up the Carnival festivities. It forms another chapter in the indictment of the social organisation of Russia, which may be said to be the staple of the literature of that country.

**Bogland Studies.** By JANE BARLOW. (Second Edition.) London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.—The reputation acquired by Miss Barlow's "Irish Idylls" will not be diminished by her present volume. She has here cast in poetic form a series of similar

studies of Irish life, with a like tragic note running through them. She has admirably caught the dialect of the Irish peasantry in which they are written throughout, the metre being that of "Locksley Hall." Absolute fidelity to nature, and vivid descriptive power, entitle Miss Barlow's versified idylls to as high a rank in literature as their prose predecessors.

**Legends of the Micmacs.** By the Rev. SILAS T. RAND. London and New York: Longmans. 1894.—This enterprising missionary, who spent forty years of his life among the Indians of Nova Scotia, has compiled a collection of their folklore which will be a treasure to the comparative mythologist. Much of it indeed shows traces of extraneous influences, in the introduction of adjuncts of civilisation unknown to the native Indians, but these tales can be easily separated from the more unadulterated products of aboriginal imagination. In these it is curious to find analogies with Eastern fable, as in one apparently authentic, which is an Indian version of the familiar story of Aladdin. The volume, from its bearing on the comparisons of such widespread coincidences, is a most interesting and valuable one.

**Manuale Sacerdotum.** Accomodavit P. JOSEPHUS SCHNEIDER, S.J. Editio tertia decima. Cura et studio Aug. LEHMKUL, S.J. Coloniae ad Rhenum, F. P. Bachem. 1893.—The name of F. Lehmkul, the author of the celebrated Moral Theology, is a sufficient recommendation of this valuable manual. It is divided into two distinct parts, the former exhibiting the priest's private devotions, and the latter containing the liturgical and pastoral rules. The carefully revised book is wholly up to date, particularly in the department of matrimonial dispensations. To missionary priests the book will turn out eminently useful, since it appears a real prompta bibliotheca regarding the administration of sacraments and the principal other liturgical functions. The second part is closed by excellent prayers in English for the sick and the dying.

**Une Negociation Inconnue entre Berwick et Marlborough, 1708-1709.** Par A. LEGRELLE. Paris: Librairie Cotillon. 1893.—This is an attempt to throw light upon some secret negotiations for peace entered into during the War of the Spanish Succession between Marlborough and his nephew, the Marshal Duke of Berwick. They were part of the uncertain, ever-changing policy which only just failed of bringing back the Pretender to the English throne upon the death of Queen Anne. The author publishes a number of letters from the French ministerial archives bearing on the fortunes



of the campaign and the politics of the time. He concludes that Berwick had greatly exaggerated Marlborough's goodwill towards the Stuarts and his anxiety for peace. As a good Frenchman, he thinks that the English army was in serious straits, from which its General, the victor of Blenheim and Malplaquet, was anxious to extricate it by diplomacy! But he himself sums up the results of these negotiations—and of his own brochure?—as “much ado about nothing”!

**Some Personal Reminiscences of the Curé de St. Germain l'Auxerrois, Paris.** London: F. C. Mathieson & Sons. Pp. 16.—This is a brief but interesting memoir of the late Abbé Legrand, whose long life and fruitful ministry had made him a well-known figure in the French capital. His memory will be especially dear to the colony of English residents at Paris, with whom he was in many ways associated, and upon whom his genial kindness and attention was so readily and so constantly bestowed. This notice draws in striking outline the chief episodes of his eventful life, and the dangers through which he passed both in the Revolution of 1848 and in the outbreak of the Commune in 1870. When already sentenced to be shot, he passed, at the suggestion of a kindly keeper, from an open window, while the sentinel continued to watch sternly at the door. It leaves impressed on the mind of the reader the noble image of a good French Curé, with all the traditional piety, devotedness, and manly courage which enters into the best ideals of the Parisian clergy. One could hope that the writer of this short tribute to so beautiful a life might see his way to collect the required materials and expand his few pages into a biography. Lives like those of the Abbé Legrand are both the fruit and the possession of the Catholic Church, and convey their lessons of edification and consolation to the clergy and the faithful in all countries.

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## Books Received.

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- The Adventures of Jean Paul Choppard.** London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 174.
- Irish Ideas.** W. O'Brien, M.P. London: Longmans & Co. 8vo, pp. 166.
- The Roman Missal, and Supplement adapted for the use of the Laity.** London: Washbourne. 8vo.
- The Conversion of India, from Pantænus to Present Time.** (Illustrated.) George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. London: John Murray. 8vo, pp. 258.
- Some Popular Historical Fallacies Examined.** By the Author of "Religion of St. Augustine." London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, Pt. I., pp. 46.
- Ontologia, sive Metaphysica Generalis in Usum Scholarum.** Carolus Frick, S.J. Fribourg: Herder. 8vo, pp. 204.
- Philosophia Naturalis in Usum Scholarum.** Henricus Haan. Fribourg: Herder. 8vo, pp. 216.
- Elementary Course of Christian Philosophy.** Adapted from the French of Louis of Poissy. By the Brothers of the Christian Schools. New York: P. O'Shea. 8vo, pp. 538.
- Poems.** By Francis Thompson. London: Elkin Mathews. 8vo, pp. 81.
- Andrew A. Bonar, D.D.** Diary and Letters by Margory Bonar. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 399.
- L'Immaculée, son Triomphe au XIX<sup>ème</sup> Siècle:** Poème en douze chants. Joseph Rigal. Paris: Vic et Amat. 8vo, pp. 270.
- West Grinstead et les Carylls.** Max de Trenqualéon. Paris: M. Torre, 51, Rue S. Anne; West Grinstead: Mgr. Denis. 2 vols. 8vo, 262-454.
- Standard Dictionary of the English Language.** By Dr. Funk and others. New York, London and Toronto: Funk & Wagnall's Company. 4to, pp. xvi.-1060.

- Legends of the Micmacs.** Rev. S. T. Rand, LL.D. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 450.
- Brendaniana: St. Brendan the Voyager.** Rev. D. O'Donohue, P.P. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 8vo, pp. 398.
- Poems.** Florence Peacock. Hull: W. Andrews & Co. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton & Co. 8vo, pp. 82. 3s. 6d.
- Christ in Type and Prophecy.** Vol. I. Rev. A. J. Maas, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros.; London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 485.
- Under a Cloud.** M. F. S. London: Catholic Truth Society. 8vo, pp. 194. 1s.
- Seele und Leib.** Tilmann Pesch, S.J. Fulda. 8vo, pp. 30.
- Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., late Dean of Westminster.** Rowland E. Prothero, M.A. London: John Murray. 2 vols. 8vo, 536-573. 33s.
- Documents Illustrating Catholic Policy in the Reign of James VI.** Edited by T. G. Law. Edinburgh: University Press. 8vo, pp. 70.
- The Great Pestilence (A.D. 1348-9), now commonly known as the Black Death.** Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 8vo, pp. 244.
- The Comedy of English Protestantism, in Three Acts.** A. F. Marshall, B.A. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 238.
- The Monastery of the Grande Chartreuse.** By a Carthusian Monk. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 235.
- Life of St. Francis Borgia.** Miss A. M. Clerke. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 464.
- The Story of Ireland.** Standish O'Grady. London: Methuen & Co. 8vo, pp. 214. 2s. 6d.
- Connor Darcy's Struggles.** Mrs. W. M. Bertholds. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Benziger Brothers. 8vo, pp. 300.
- Le Général de la Moricière.** M. l'Abbé Pougeois. Paris: Téqui. 8vo, pp. 360.
- Dante's Divina Commedia: Its Scope and Value.** From German of Franz Hettinger, by Rev. H. S. Bowden, Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 416.
- De Effectibus Extremæ Unctionis: Dissertatio Historico-Dogmatica.** Ignatius Schmitz. Fribourg: Herder. 8vo, pp. 81.

- Officium Hebdomadæ Maioris a Dominica in Palmis ad Sabbatum in Albis**, iuxta ordinem Breviarii, Missalis et Pontificalis editum. Ratisbon, New York and Cincinnati: Fred Pustet. 8vo, pp. 370.
- The Priest in the Pulpit.** A Manual of Homiletics and Catechetics. From German of Rev. Ignaz Schueck, O.S.B., by Rev. B. Luebbeman. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 315.
- The Gelasian Sacramentary. Liber Sacramentorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ.** Edited by H. A. Wilson. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. 400.
- History of England under Henry IV.** J. H. Wylie. Vol. II. London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. 490.
- Méditations sur la Vie de N. S. J. H. C.** R. P. Meschler, S.J. Tom. III. Paris: Lethielleux. 8vo, pp. 460.
- Glimpses of the French Revolution.** John G. Alger. London: Sampson Low & Co. 8vo, pp. xi.-296.
- St. Thomas' Priory.** A Story of St. Austin's, Stafford. Joseph Gillow. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. viii.-175.
- Life of the Princess Borghese.** Le Chevalier Zeloni. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 214.
- Pax Vobiscum.** A Manual of Prayers with Special Devotions for the Sick. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 326.
- The Perfection of Man by Charity.** Fr. H. R. Buckler, O.P. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. xi.-352.
- La Villa Esculape.** Camille Fallières. Paris: Téqui. 8vo, pp. 320.
- Pilate's Wife.** A Tale of the Time of Christ. R. F. Haywarden. London: Burns & Oates. Pp. 102.
- La France Noire.** Marcel Monnier. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 8vo, pp. xii.-298.

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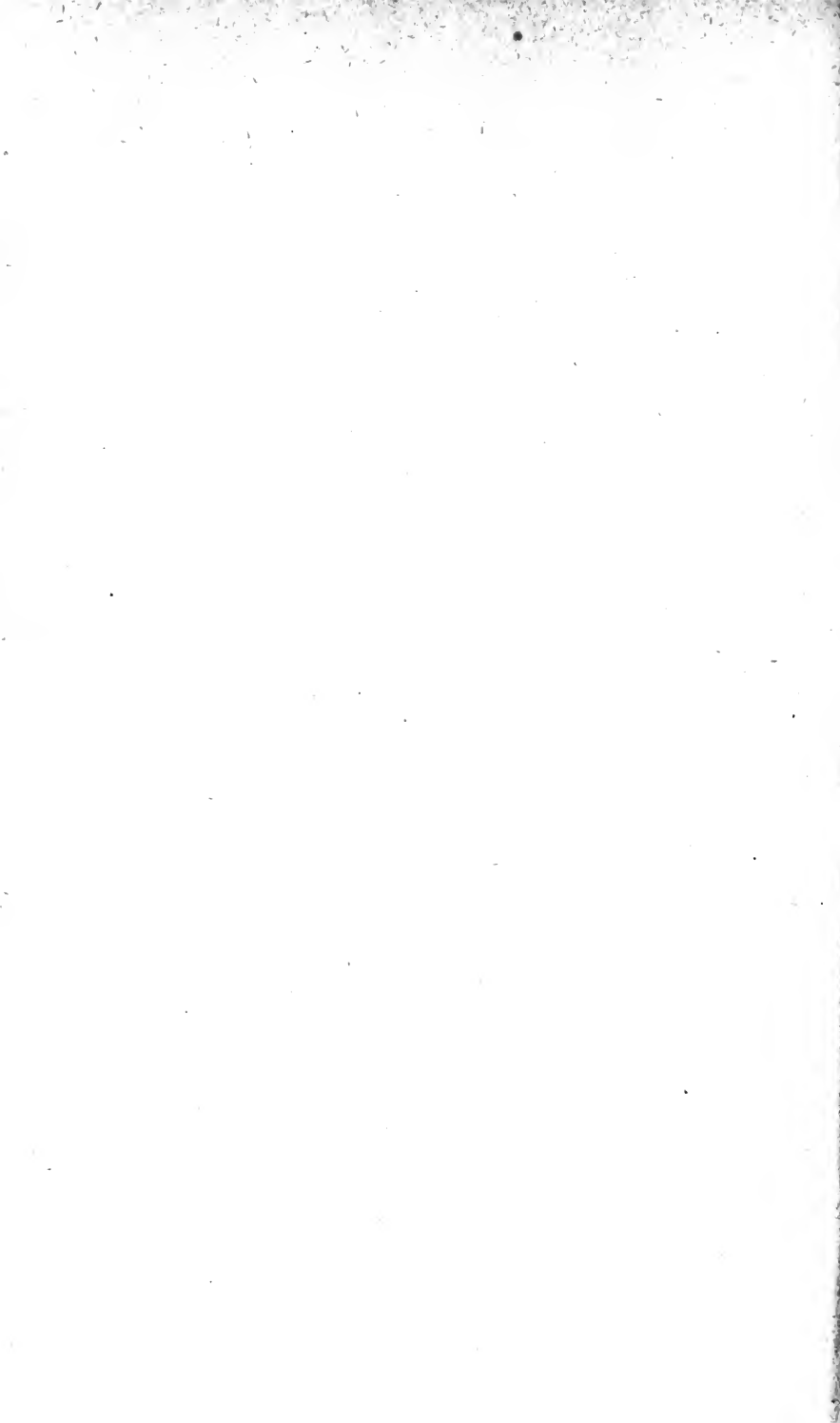
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